

VEDIC VARIANTS



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VEDIC VARIANTS

A Study of the Variant Readings in the Repeated
Mantras of the Veda



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Volume III

NOUN AND PRONOUN
INFLECTION

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PREFACE

This third volume of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* deals with the inflectional forms of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The general plan and purposes of the *VEDIC VARIANTS* series have been set forth in the preface to Volume 1, *The Verb* (1930). Volume 2, *Phonetics*, appeared in 1932.

Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield's relation to this volume does not go beyond the formulation of the original project. On the other hand, I have had the benefit of active assistance from my friend and pupil Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, who supplemented Bloomfield's lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book. I hope that it may be possible for him to continue this cooperation in future volumes of the series; this volume has benefited greatly by his industry and acumen. I have, however, worked over the entire book in the most intimate way, and the responsibility for its final form is wholly mine.

During correction of the proof, we received Hanns Oertel's valuable monograph, "*Zur Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā*" (*SBBAW.ph.-h Abt.*, 1934, Heft 6). We felt able to make only the most important additions from its materials; these are indicated by references to "Oertel" followed by a page-number. They include all appropriate variants not previously noted by us.

The publication of this volume, as of its predecessors, has been made possible by the very generous financial aid of the *LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA* and of the *AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES DEVOTED TO HUMANISTIC STUDIES*, to both of which we are deeply grateful.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The standard abbreviations used in this volume are the same as in its predecessors VV = Vedic Variants; the numerals 1 and 2 after VV refer to the first and second volumes Vedic texts are referred to by the abbreviations used in the Concordance *RVRep* = Bloomfield's *Rigveda Repetitions*.

The asterisk * indicates a variant reading in one text when the mantra occurs in that same text with the reading for which this variant is a substitute; that is, it calls attention to the occurrence of both forms of the variation in the same text

The dagger † is used to call attention to a quotation which needs to be corrected in the Concordance.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

§1. This volume of the Vedic Variants deals with the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of such words in the repeated mantras of the Veda, except as indicated in §9. The material falls into two divisions, which we call formal variants, and syntactic and stylistic variants. Under formal variants we include all variations between what are intended as equivalent forms for the same case, number, and gender. Under syntactic and stylistic variants are included the rest, that is variations in case, number, and gender. The latter are, as was to be expected, much more numerous than the former.

FORMAL VARIANTS

§2. The formal variants constitute a kind of addendum to the third volume of Wackernagel's great grammar, which, we need scarcely say, has been constantly consulted by us and has been of infinite value. Students of that masterly work will find, we hope, that it is supplemented and at times corrected by this book.

§3. We begin with variation between the dual endings *ā* and *au* in all declensions (Ch. II). They are fairly numerous and interesting, but reveal nothing new in principle. Next (Ch. III) the variations between the feminine endings *ai* and *ās* in the dative and ablative-genitive singular, which put this important matter in a somewhat new light. Not only may *ai* forms be used as ablatives as well as genitives, but also *ās* forms as datives; the latter fact has so far as we know, never before been specifically recognized.

§4. Coming now to formal variants in the *a* declension specifically (Ch. IV), we take up first the nom. pl. in *ās* or *āsas*, which is largely a matter of meter. The same is true of the more numerous variations in the neuter plural *ā* and *āni*, and of the relatively few interchanges of the instr. pl. in *ais* and *ebhis*. The abl. sg. endings *āt* and *(a)tas* interchange but rarely, and so far as we have noticed only in pronouns and pronominal adjectives. Still rarer, and somewhat dubious, are the interchanges of *ā* and *ayā* in the fem. instr. sg.

§5. The next chapter (V) is a long one, and takes up variant forms of the short and long *i* declensions. That there is much interplay between these declensions has long been recognized, but the extent and variety of these interchanges as here revealed is surprising and goes farther at a number of points than has been shown by any previous treatment. Next comes a much shorter but still fairly lengthy chapter (VI) on variations in the short and long *u* stems, also with interesting results.

§6. In the *r* declension we find little except variations between long and short *r* in the gen. pl., and one or two shifts of ablaut in the stem final. Such shifts of ablaut form the first part of the section dealing with consonantal stems. It is followed by a section dealing with the interplay of *vanī*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, and *van* stems. Next a section on *n* stems; the principal variations here are in the neuter plural (*a* and *ā*, partly phonetic in character; very rarely *ā* or *a* and *āmī*), oblique cases with and without intermediate ('euphonic') *a*; instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems; and loc. sg. in *an* or *amī*, largely a matter of meter. This chapter (VII) is concluded with a few miscellaneous variants dealing with heteroclitic stems and the like.

§7. The short chapter (VIII) on diphthongal stems does not contain much of general interest. That on adjectives and numerals (IX) is also brief and not very important; it contains chiefly shifts between fem. adjectives in *ā* and *ī*, and nominal and pronominal forms from pronominal adjectives.

§8. Our formal variants conclude with a chapter (X) on the forms of pronouns. Except a few sporadic and miscellaneous variants listed at the end, they all concern interchange between enclitic and orthotonic pronouns, acc., dat., and gen. sg. and pl. Meter is apt to be concerned in them, and in the case of the acc. sg. forms also certain phonetic aspects, which have already been referred to in VV 2.

SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC VARIANTS

§9. These are much more numerous than the formal variants. We have found shifts between every one of the eight cases and every other, as well as between each of the three numbers and genders and every other. In these sections we usually group nouns, adjectives, and pronouns together, without distinction, since it is obvious that as a rule the principles governing shift of case in noun forms are just the same as in adjective and in pronoun forms. The lists are in general as complete as we could make them by repeated and intensive search.

However, in the variations in number we have included complete lists of pronoun variants only when there is no change of person or stem. That is, we have tried to include all shifts between pronouns of e.g. the 1st sg. and 1st pl. and between 2d sg. and 2d pl., but not of 1st sg. and 2d pl. or vice versa. To have included the latter would have swollen the lists out of all proportion to the value of the additional materials for our present subject; in so far as they have a bearing on number, this bearing is sufficiently illustrated by the examples we have included.—In a few other cases, all specifically noted, we have given only examples, rather than complete lists, of formally similar variants occurring in the same passage.

§10. As was to be expected, there are great differences in the frequency of interchange between the various categories. Certain of the cases—such as vocative and locative—hardly ever exchange, while others—such as nominative and accusative—exchange very frequently. Case variations as a whole are much more numerous than those of number and gender, and number variations much more numerous than those of gender.

§11. Roughly speaking we may think of these variants as falling into two main categories. One group consists of those in which the variation has an immediate relation to the meaning of the two varying morphemes. Thus, first, we may find the substitution of one construction for another, where both are equally possible, without change of meaning, or with so little change that the meanings are essentially identical. For instance, after certain prepositions and certain verbs different oblique cases may be used without difference of meaning. Or a double dual may vary with a pair of singulars. Or a noun may vary in gender, and consequently its form, or the form of a modifying adjective or pronoun, may vary, without difference in meaning. Or the difference of meaning may be a very slight one, such that similar changes occur in considerable numbers in Vedic tradition, as is the case with instrumentals and datives like the following: the RV. *pāda sam tam śincatu rādhasē* 'may he sprinkle it unto bounty' is changed in KS., in the like context, to *sam tat śficatu rādhasā* 'may he sprinkle it with bounty,' which means virtually the same thing. There are very many cases of this sort among the interchanges of case, and they constitute one of the most interesting and important results of this volume. They show interplay between the various case forms to a hitherto unsuspected extent.

§12. There are all possible gradations between absolute equivalence and marked difference of meaning in connection with such shifts of

form On the whole, we recognize it as our duty to seek for differences of meaning, however slight, when different morphemes are used. But the important lesson of our materials is not the differences between variant syntactical usages; these were pretty well understood before. It is rather the surprising extent to which they play into one another. Constructions which at first sight seem to have nothing to do with one another turn out to be practically interchangeable on an astonishing scale. Who would think *a priori* that there could be any relation between the instrumental, of either accompaniment or means, and the final dative? Yet we find a large number of cases like that quoted above, in which the two are virtually synonymous. And we shall find that this is no isolated instance.

§13. The second large group of these variants consists of those which have no real relation to the syntactic uses of the variant morphemes, out whose interest consists in the light they throw on the processes of Vedic tradition. They illumine the ways in which the whole stock of mantra material was reworked in the course of centuries, but do not illustrate points of Vedic grammar.

Transfer of epithet

§14. Probably the most widespread of the processes here referred to is that to which we have given the name of 'transfer of epithet'. A change in number, gender, or case, or in two or all three of these, may signalize the application of an epithet (whether noun, adjective, or pronoun) to a different person or thing in one text from that to which it applies in another. Thus, RV 10 125 3cd reads *tām mā devā vy adadhuh purutrā, bhūristhāirām bhūry āveśayanīm*. In the repetition of this in the AV 4 30 2cd, *āveśayanīm* is changed to *āveśayantah*. The RV original means 'the gods have established me (Vāc) variously in many places, me of many stations, bestowing abundantly.' The epithet *āveśayanīm* here agrees with the object, Vāc. In the AV. it is made to agree with the subject, the gods. 'introducing (installing) me abundantly,' or 'making me enter into many things.' By this alteration the AV substitutes a nominative for an accusative, a plural for a singular, and a masculine for a feminine, yet obviously the change has no bearing on the syntax of case, number or gender. It interestingly illustrates the psychology of the Vedic traditionalists; whatever may have been precisely in the mind of the composer of the original form (this is a problem which may be left for exegetes of the passage), the AV. has a secondary lectio facior, the meaning of which is simple

enough, evidently the AV. redactor stumbled over the recondite meaning of the passage in its Rigvedic form. See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 128

§15. Only slightly different is a case like the following. *tasmai devā amṛtāh* (AV *amṛtam*) *saṁ vyayanām* (AV. °*tu*) AV. TS MS. ApMB, 'let the gods provide for him nectar' or 'let the immortal gods provide for him' (objects supplied from the preceding line). Here one of the two variant forms, in this case we believe the original one (that of AV.), contains an independent noun, not strictly speaking an 'epithet' of any other word, which in the other version is 'transferred' as an epithet to the word *devā(h)*. The reverse of this, in which the older form of the variant presents an 'epithet' which is given independent construction in the secondary form, also occurs (an example is found in the next paragraph) Such variants as these are also included by us, with a slight stretching of the term, in the category of 'transfer of epithet.'

§16. Transfers of epithet are extremely common, and are found as between each of the three genders and numbers and almost every two of the eight cases. Often the variation involves more change than that of the word-ending alone; the variant forms may be really different words, as in *asmabhyam indav indrayuh* (SV. *indriyam*) RV. SV; here the RV. *indrayuh* is an epithet of the subject of the verb (*pavasva*); SV changes it into *indriyam*, object of that verb. Since such variations really concern Vedic psychology rather than grammar and syntax, variants of this sort are included in our lists of 'transfer of epithet.'

Form attraction or assimilation

§17. The process described as 'transfer of epithet' involves in many, perhaps most, instances attraction in form (case, number, or gender) to another word in the context. We have, however, restricted the term 'form attraction' or 'assimilation' in a technical sense to a different group of variants. In them a word, without being made to refer to a different person or thing in such a way that the process can be described as 'transfer of epithet,' nevertheless suffers a change in form by attraction or assimilation to an adjacent word in the context. Such variants are fairly frequent as between different cases, and we then describe the process as 'case attraction.' They are much rarer as between different numbers and genders.

§18. The word exercising the attraction may be a name or epithet of the same person or thing to which the variant word refers, as in *yajñasya* (AV. *cittasya*) *mātā* (SMB. *mālarām*) *suhavā me* (AV. *no*) *astu*

AV TB. SMB (preceded in SMB. by *ākūlim devīm manasā prapadye*): 'I do homage with my mind to the goddess Ākūti, the mother of the sacrifice, may she be easily invoked for us.' So SMB, construing the epithet 'mother of the sacrifice' with the accusatives of the preceding pāda, while the other texts make it agree with the subject in its own pāda; but both refer to the same personage.

§19. Furthermore, however, the word exercising the attraction may not refer to the same entity as the attracted word. In such cases the result is a real difference of meaning as well as of construction. In the following formula we have two such attractions, each in a different text: *haviṣā yajña* (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS *°yaih*) VS MS KS TB. The original form was clearly that found in MS KS .. '(They praised Indra,) his strength, with oblation, at the sacrifice' In VS *indriyam* is attracted to the case of *haviṣā* 'with oblation, with powers' In TB *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam*: '(They praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, (his) strength' (§473) Such changes as these are easy enough in the ritualistic language of the Vedic mantras, which are much more interested in impressive sound than in sense. They occur between most of the cases.

§20. Special attention may be called to a particular type of case attraction, in which one form of the variant contains a relative pronoun, most often in the nominative case (the defining or 'articulate' relative), as in *tam kravyūdāṁ aśīṣamam* AV, *yah kravyūt tam aśīṣamam* Kauś, 'I have appeased the flesh-eater' (§396). Here, if we regard the AV form as older (which however can scarcely be regarded as certain), the change is a sort of converse of case-attraction, the assimilated form being the older. But such instances can hardly be separated from the following, where the assimilated form, without the relative, is clearly secondary: *tam u śuhyo antah sindhuḥ sūnuh satyasya yuvānam* AV; *tam u śuhy antahsindhum sūnum satyasya yuvānam* AŚ, 'praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful' (§394).

Phrase inflection

§21. The third type of variation which seems to us to illustrate the underlying psychology of Vedic tradition, rather than the grammar or syntax of the language, is that to which we have given the name of 'phrase inflection'. In it a phrase is lifted out of its original context and used in a different one, which requires a different form or construction for one or more of the words. Sometimes it is a single pāda which is borrowed and adapted to a new context, perhaps in the same

vicinity, as when AV. 4 34. 6b *kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhnā*, 'full of milk, water, and sour milk,' is repeated in the next stanza with *pūr-nān* for *pūrṇā(h)*. The stanzas are otherwise different; in the first the nom. case agrees with the nouns in the preceding pāda, *ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*, while in the second the acc. agrees with the preceding acc (*caturah kumbhāns caturdhā dadāmi*). The same sort of adaptation to new contexts occurs much more often in passages which are not so closely associated.

§22. A somewhat different type of 'phrase inflection' is illustrated by the following: *āyusmatīdam* (ApMB. HG. *āyusmān idam*, MG. once *āyusmann idam*) *pari dhatsya vāsah* AV. SMB ApMB PG. HG. MG. (bis), 'O long-lived one (or, being long-lived) do thou put on this garment.' In some texts the epithet is masculine, here the Aryan boy at the initiation ceremony is addressed. In others it is feminine; these address the bride at the marriage rite. An entire stanza may be thus adapted to a new *material* context (as distinguished from the different *verbal* context concerned in the variant quoted above), and such 'phrase inflection' is a very fruitful source of variation in number and gender, while case variation is usually associated rather with the type of the preceding paragraph. Yet the two do not differ much in essence and it is impossible to draw a sharp line between them. They include a great many variants which the Vedic ritualists would call *ūhas* or *vikāras*.

Miscellaneous variants

§23. It should finally be said that, among the variations in case particularly, there are not a few that are miscellaneous and unclassifiable. Generally they involve rather sweeping reconstructions of the variant passage, with substitutions of different words and other drastic changes. For the sake of completeness we have tried to include even these, and indeed many of them have considerable interest, and throw light on the mental operations of the ritualistic traditionalists, and at times on the exegesis of individual passages.

Arrangement of the materials

§24. In arranging the 'syntactic and stylistic' variants (as distinguished from the 'formal variants', §1) we have decided, after some hesitation, to follow strictly the classifications suggested by the forms themselves. We shall begin with the variants of each case with every other case, whatever their nature, and then follow with the variants

of the three numbers and the three genders This involves separation of the variants of the types last described, cases of 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', 'phrase inflection', and miscellaneous, into thirty-odd possible divisions (not all showing actual examples), so that e.g. variants involving 'transfer of epithet' appear separately under variations of Vocative and Nominative, Vocative and Accusative, Vocative and Instrumental, and so on through the list Of course, such variants may be said logically to belong together, for they illustrate the same aspect of Vedic literary psychology, and nothing else In principle it makes no difference what case-forms, number-forms, or gender-forms are involved

§25. Despite this objection, we feel that it was impossible for us to do otherwise than follow the lines of formal variation For no rigid line can be drawn between the categories at certain points Form attraction or assimilation often seems to have been a contributory influence in bringing about a syntactic shift, which nevertheless occurs elsewhere without any such contributory influence Some types of 'phrase inflection' are closely similar to, and should certainly not be separated from, certain syntactic variations For instance, the shift between a vocative of direct address, usually with a second-person verb, and a nominative of indirect statement, typically with a third-person verb, is a genuine syntactic variation Yet it occurs also, and quite often, in cases where a formula is lifted from its original context and adapted to a new context, and where the change of case is precisely due to this fact, so that we have a genuine and typical case of 'phrase inflection' (see §329) By consulting our Table of Contents and the Index of Subjects it will be easy for any one interested to bring together all the instances of 'transfer of epithet' etc

SUMMARY OF SYNTACTIC VARIATIONS

§26. We shall now proceed to summarize very briefly the contents of the syntactic chapters, and to indicate the most important results that bear on Vedic grammar and syntax In this summary we shall ignore the variants dealing with 'transfer of epithet', 'form attraction', and 'phrase inflection' We shall begin with brief accounts of the most important and interesting ways in which each of the eight cases varies with the others, and follow with corresponding statements on variations of number and gender

Vocative and other cases

§27. Variations between the vocative and other cases usually regularize shift between direct address and indirect reference, as in *mātē-vāsmā adīte* (ŚG. °tūh) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yañsat*) AV. TS MS KS TB. TA ŚG ApMB., 'like a mother grant, O Aditi (Aditi I shall grant) protection unto him' (§§322, 326). However, in variants with the nominative, the latter may be appositional to a 2d person subject, so that direct address is found in both forms. Thus, *ā tiṣṭha mitraraddhanaḥ* (AV. °na) AV. KS TB † ApŚ †, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' (§§323, 331).

§28. Similarly also with other cases in variation with *voc*. Thus, a vocative of direct address may vary with an accusative of indirect reference: *rcā yāmi maruta brahmanaspatiṃ* (SV. °te), *derāṇ* (SV. *derāṇi*) *avo varenyam* RV. SV. MS. KS, 'with a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid' or 'I approach [you], O Maruts' etc (§343). Or else both forms may contain direct address: *namasyāmas tvedyam* (KS. °ya) *jātavedaḥ* RV. MS. KS. TB., 'we pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas (to thee, O worshipful J)' (§348).

§29. With the instrumental, where both forms have direct address, a second subject may be expressed by an associative instr. or by another *voc.*, as in *mo śū na indrātra* (TS. † *indra*) *pṛtsu derāṇ* (KS. *derāḥ*, TS MS. *deva*) RV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB., 'O Indra along with the gods (and ye gods, or O god!)' (§353). On the other hand the instrumentality through which a result is expected may be indirectly referred to in the instr. or directly addressed in the *voc*: *jagatyainam* (AŚ. °ty *cnam*) *mṛkṣe ā veśayāmah* (°mī, °nī) TS. MS KS AŚ., 'O jagati (by means of the jagati) may we (I) settle him in the tribes!' (§354).

§30. Likewise with the dative both these types are found: *agnaye* (AV. Kauś *agne*) *samīdham āhārṣam* (*ahārṣam*) AV. Kauś AG. GG. SMB ŚG PG. HG ApMB, 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great Jātavedas'; *kṣayadvīra* (TS. °vīrāya) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS. (§§358-9).

§31. And with the genitive, the shift between direct address and indirect reference is found in *ghṛtavalī savitar* (MS. KS. °tur) *ādhipatyē* (TS. °tyaḥ) TS MS KS AŚ, 'in [thy] overlordship, O Savitar' or 'in Savitar's overlordship' (§363); while direct address is found in both variants in *bṛhaspatissutasya ta* (KS. om *ta*) *indo* (KS. MS. *inda*) . TS. MS KS, *bṛhaspatissutasya deva soma ta indor* (VSK. *inda*)... VS VSK. ŚB. (§365).

Nominative and other cases

§32. Perhaps the most characteristic way in which the nominative may vary with other cases in general is that in which one variant form has an independent statement, with subject nominative, which in the other form is compressed into syntactic dependence, as a rule on an adjoining sentence, the nominative being replaced by any other case. Thus, with the accusative. *nirṛtim tvāham pari veda viśvatah* VS MS ŚB, *nirṛtir itī tvāham pari veda viśvatah (sarvatoḥ)* AV TS KS, 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti' (§393) Or the dependence may be created by the insertion of an active verb. *iyam vedāḥ paro antaḥ pṛthivyāḥ* RV. AV. VS ŚB AŚ LŚ, *vedīm āhuh param antam pṛthivyāḥ* TS KSA, 'this altar is the extreme limit of the earth' or 'they declare the altar (to be) the extreme limit of the earth' (§392). And notably we find a group in which the independent nominative is put in a relative clause *tam u śluhi yo antaḥ sindhau* AV *tam u śluhy antasindhūm* AŚ, both meaning 'praise him who is within the waters' (§394)

§33. With the instrumental: *gavā te krīnāni* TS. ApŚ: *iyam gauṣ tayā te krīnāni* MŚ, 'with a cow let me buy of thee' or 'here is a cow, with her' etc (§418)

§34. With the dative. *tasmā etam bhārata tadvaśūya (tadvaśo dadāhi)* RV. (both), 'bring this to him who desires it' or 'bring this to him, he desires it and is generous' (§425).

§35. With the ablative: *viṣṇo (viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos) sthānam asī* (MS MŚ *sthāmāsī*, KS *sthāmnah*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ (§433). In KS connected syntactically with the following, *ita . vīryam akṛnot*.

§36. With the genitive: *agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (vṛtrahā) bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ, *agnīṣomau vṛtrahanau tayor (vṛtrahanāv agnīṣomayor) aham devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyusam* KS MŚ (§445).

§37. With the locative. *krte yonau* (KS *krto yonir*) *vopaleha bījam (vījam)* RV AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB, 'in the prepared womb (the womb is prepared,) scatter here the seed' (§450)

§38. With the vocative (§338): *tiṣṭhā ratham (rathe) adhī tam (yam, TB yad) vajrahasta* (TB *tal*) RV VS ŚB TB Instead of 'O vajra-handed', TB says 'since (thou art) vajra-handed'

§39. Otherwise most of the interchanges between nominative and other cases either belong to general classes like 'transfer of epithet' or 'phrase inflection' (§§14-6, 21-2), or are matters of alternative syntactic expressions for what is essentially the same idea. Thus, the same thought may be expressed in an active or transitive form, with accusative of direct object or goal, or in an intransitive or passive form, with the

accusative changed to a nominative, as in (*om*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh, 'I gratify Agni,' but *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG., 'let Agni be gratified' (§373).

§40. Similarly, the instrumental of agent or means expresses that which performs an action, and so in intransitive or passive expressions may vary with another expression in which it is made the subject of an active verb, in the nominative, as in *ya im vahanta āśubhah* RV, 'who travel by horses,' but *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ* SV., 'when horses carry [him]' (§408). And in the same way, with a verb denoting origin, the ablative of source with a passive expression is the equivalent of the subject nominative with the corresponding active, in *asmād vai tvam ajāyathā* .JB. AG. Kauś, 'from him thou wast produced,' *asmāt tvam adhi jāto* 's: VS. ŚB. TA. KŚ. Karmap., same sense, but *ayam vai tvām ajanayad* .ŚŚ., 'he verily has begotten thee' (§432).

§41. In a rather more intricate way, but fairly commonly, the dative of purpose varies with a nominative (usually then an epithet of the subject), as denoting something desired for or attributed to the subject. Thus, *pade-pade pākīnaḥ santi setavaḥ* (AV. °ve) RV. AV. KS ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420).

§42. Other variations are related to specific aspects of the syntax of other cases and will be treated in dealing with them below.

Accusative and other cases

§43. The accusative may be used in forming adverbs, of such loose and general meaning that they may vary with corresponding forms of practically any other case. Thus even with the nominative, the nominative form being then of course an adjective, as in *subhūh svayambhūh prathamah* (AŚ ŚŚ °mam) VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ., where the word 'first' has essentially the same meaning and application whether it be in form an adjective agreeing with the subject (VS. ŚB.), or an adverb (AŚ ŚŚ), §404.

§44. The instrumental varies in such cases especially easily with the accusative, being used in quite the same adverbial way, as in *ghṛtācy asy upabhr̥n nāmnā* (VSK nāma) VS. VSK. ŚB. (and others, §471). Here both mean simply *nomine*, 'by name.'

§45. The final dative may also be substantially equivalent to an adverbial accusative, as in *tam* (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °yi) TS. MS. TA., 'may the gods aid me unto splendor (splendidly)' (§487).

§46. The locative is used as well as the accusative in forms that are

vaguely adverbial. *tena devā devatām āgra* (VS MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS MS KS : *tapara* (TS *layā*) *devā devatām āgra āyan* TS TB TA. MahēnuU, 'by this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning (*agre* or *agram*)' (§530)

§47. The accusative of goal, which develops into, and cannot clearly be distinguished from, the purely syntactic accusative of 'direct object', is found varying in one way or another with every other oblique case. Naturally the psychology of the passages varies to some extent. Thus with the instrumental and accusative, the variation is especially apt to occur when the verb may be felt as connoting the idea of 'joining', which suggests the associative instrumental, as in *śunam līnāh abhi* (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS *līnāśo abhy etu*) *rūhant* (AV TS. *rūhān*) RV. AV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB, 'prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals' (§167). But these two cases also interchange where no notion of 'joining' is present, as in *pra kṇatru* (SV *śmaśrubhir*) *dedhuraś ūrdhvatā bhūt* (SV **dhā bhūat*) RV SV, 'shaking (with) his beard' (§469). Or the 'inner', 'cognate', or 'resultative' accusative varies with an instrumental of manner or means: *ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* AV, *tam arkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam* TB., 'they sing with ghee a song (sing with songs) unto the young' (§465) And *tasmā indrāya havīṣā* (TB *havī ā*) *jihvata* MS TB (and others, §466), 'offer (with) oblation to Indra here'

§48 So the final dative or the dative of the interested party may vary with the accusative of goal; *kāmena mā* (TA. *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA, 'by love love has come to (for?) me'; *sā paprathe pṛthivī pāṛthivāni* (KS MŚ **vāya*) KS TB ApŚ MŚ; 'this earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)' (§§478-9) Many other cases will be found below under accusative and dative variants, but in perhaps the majority of them the psychological difference is greater between the two variant forms

§49. With the ablative we find strict equivalence only after prepositions (*ā* 'until' with acc = abl., §494) But with verbs of separation the two things separated (one acc, the other abl) may change places, as in *vyam duruktāi* (PG **tam*) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB. PG ApMB. MG, 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493).

§50. With the genitive, equivalence to the accusative shows itself chiefly after certain verbs which may govern both cases, and after nouns with verbal force. Thus, verbs of eating and drinking show objects in either case, as also in the locative: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāḥ*

(MŚ °*tyām nadṃyām*, KŚ ApŚ. °*ūm nadīm*) Vait. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ., 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 544).

§51. Verbs of offering take acc, gen., or instr. of the thing offered: *tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota* (TB ApŚ. *juhomī*) VS. VSK MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ., *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV., *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *havir ā*) *juhota* MS. TB. (§502).

§52. Verbs of ruling, of knowing, and of robbing, see §§503-5

§53. Nouns with verbal force: *mām an-²vratā bhava* HG., *agner* (AV. *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtā* AV. TS. KS. TB. MŚ. ApMB. (§506).

§54. As to the locative, its use as virtual equivalent of the accusative of goal is very familiar; a striking instance is *yasya vratam (vrate) paśavo yanti sarve*, *yasya vratam (vrate) upatiṣṭhanta āpah*, §§523, 526, 'into whose control go all cattle, under whose control enter the waters' Here a minority of texts, and different ones in the two cases, substitute a loc. *vrate* for the acc. *vratam*, altho motion is surely implied both times. There are, however, many cases of such variants where the loc. may be interpreted as denoting position, in contrast with an acc. of motion; see our detailed discussion below, §§523 ff. We shall also find there that verbs of placing, *dhā* and its group, govern acc and loc. interchangeably, altho often one may plausibly argue some psychological difference in the variant usages (§§533 ff.). With various prepositions, too, the two cases are at times nearly or quite equivalent (§§539 ff.).

Instrumental and other cases

§55. An important general class of variants between instrumental and other cases concerns the associative instrumental, which may theoretically vary with any other case in this way, that in one form two parallel nouns are put in the same case (any case whatever), while in the other form one of them is replaced by an associative instrumental. That is, 'A. and B.' is the equivalent of 'A. along with B' Such variants actually occur with voc., nom., and acc. Thus, with the vocative, *mo gū na indrātra* (TS † *indra*) *prisu devān* (KS. *devāh*, TS. MS. *deva*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Originally, 'O Indra along with the gods!'; in KS. at least, 'O Indra (and) ye gods!' (§353).

§56. With the nominative, *yavā* (MS. *yavar*) *na barhṛ bhruv kesarāni* VS MS. KS. TB, 'the hairs on his eyebrow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw together with barley)' (§412)

§57. With the accusative, *rūpau apinśad* (TB. **rūpāni pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. TB. (both) N., 'he shaped all beings along with forms', or 'shaping forms (and) all beings' (§459)

§58. The associative instrumental is by its nature related to the meaning of bahuvrīhi compounds, so that in theory we may expect an associative instr., either of a karmaḍhāraya compound or a separate uncompounded word, to vary with a bahuvrīhi compound agreeing with the noun with which the instr. is connected, in any case whatever. We actually find such variants with nom. and acc. only, so far as noted. Thus, nom., *tripād ūrāhva ud ait puruṣaḥ* RV. ArS VS TA, *tribhiḥ padbhir dyām arohat* AV, 'with three quarters (Puruṣa) went aloft (mounted the heaven)' (§413). Acc., *rākām aham suhaviṁ* (AV. °vā) *suṣṭuṭi huve* RV. AV. etc., 'I call on Rākā of (with) good call, with fair praise' (§470).

§59. Verbs of joining, and their antonyms denoting severance or separation, show a curious blend of constructions involving the associative instrumental in interchange with accusative, dative, ablative, and locative. Even the genitive also becomes involved if we add nominal expressions equivalent to verbs of joining; and dat. and loc. vary with each other (§645). Details will be set forth under the various rubrics; here we shall content ourselves with a group of variants which illustrate the several types:

aṅgāny ātman (aṅgair ātmānam) bhīṣajā tad āsvinā, 'the physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)' or 'his body with his limbs' See §462.

saṁ mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (apa) oṣadhībhiḥ, perhaps 'I unite myself with (unto?) waters, with plants' See §460. Acc. and instr.

tvaṣṭā rūpeṇa samanaktu yajñam: tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi samanaktu yajñaiḥ, 'let Tvaṣṭar unite sacrifice with form (forms with sacrifices)' Here the acc. and instr. interchange doubly, the result being substantial equivalence (§461.)

susambhṛtā (°te) tvā saṁ bharāmi, 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.' Dat. and instr.; §560.

saṁvraṇe tanvaś (°vā) cārur edhi, 'in joining of (with) thy body.' Gen. and instr., with a nominal expression. The dat. is also used §§455, 560, 578.

saṁ devānām sumatyā (sumatau) yajñīyānām, '(bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods' Loc. and instr.; §605.

—The following curious case may also be noted here:

saṁyagmāno (°nā, °nau) divā (diva ā) pṛthivyā (°vyāḥ), 'uniting with heaven and earth' or 'uniting from heaven and earth.' Abl. and instr.; §576

§60. The above contain verbs of joining; verbs of separation are

more restricted, and with them the most characteristic constructions are the abl. of separation or the associative instr. (by analogy with verbs of joining).

tebhīr no adya (tebhyo na indrah) savitōta viṣṇuḥ (tebhyo asmān varunah soma indrah), sc *vi muñcanlu*, 'may free us from these (fetters of Varuna)' or the like; §573.

§61. But note also the following, where two accs vary with an acc. and an instr. (for abi.):

vi kumāram jarāyūnā (vi garbham ca jarāyu ca), sc *bhinadmī*, 'I separate the child from the afterbirth (the embryo and the afterbirth)' (§459).

§62. An instr. still felt, apparently, as associative, tho without clear expressions of joining, varies without marked difference of meaning with the acc., dat. and loc.:

pra rādhāsā (rādhānsī) codayāte (°yate) mahitvanā, 'let him promote us with favor (unto favors), with might' (§469)

vaiśvānaro na ūlāye (ūlyā) [ā pra yātu parāvataḥ], 'let V. come unto (with) aid' (§558).

sve dakṣe (svair dakṣair) dakṣapīṭheḥ sīda, seated here in (with) thine own powers' (§603)

§63. The instrumental of means may vary with any other oblique case. The means whereby an end is obtained may also be regarded as its source or cause, and so be expressed by the ablative, or, with nominal forms, by the subjective genitive. With expressions of gratification it may exchange with the objective genitive. It may be felt as the occasion, the sphere within which the action takes place, and so be put in the locative. And finally, with nouns meaning 'something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality' (§556), it very often interchanges with a final dative, as expressing the result rather than the means. There is in this last interchange a slight shift in psychology, but from the point of view of Vedic thought it is very slight, as may be seen from such an example as the following, which is typical of many: *pra no rāyā parīnasā* (SV. *rāye 'panīyase*), followed by *ratsi vājāya panthām*, RV SV. KB, 'break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'. Here the RV original has a dative in the near-synonym *vājāya*, which has doubtless caused SV's alteration to the dative *rāye*. But we shall see (§558) many cases where no such assimilatory influence is found.

§64. With the ablative of source or cause *°yās te viśas tapasah* (TB. *°sā*) *sambabhūvuh* AV TB, 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy

tapas.'—*bhuvos tvam indra brahmanā* (MS °no) *mahān* RV TS MS KS AŚ, 'become thou great, O Indra, by (thru, as a result of) our holy words' (§§569, 571)

§65. With the genitive the instr. of means exchanges in various ways. After expressions of gratification an objective genitive varies with it in *juṣṭam devebhīr* (AV *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhīh* (AV. *mānuṣāṇām*) RV AV, 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579). The subjective genitive may be its equivalent with nominal (participial or quasi-participial) forms, as in *āpo devīh prathamajā rtena* (AV *ṛtasya*) RV AV., 'the divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta' (§580). And with verbs of offering, the partitive gen. (as well as the acc., §466) may vary with the instr., as in *tasmā indrāya havṣā juhota* MS, *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV, 'to Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)' (§582)

§66. And finally the locative, as expressing the occasion or sphere of activity, may vary with an instr. which seems often, tho not always, to be felt as expressing the means, as in *maruṭām prasave* (VS. ŚB. °vena) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB MŚ, 'in (upon, by) the impulse of the Maruts conquer' (§§593, 601).

§67. The instrumental lends itself easily to use in adverbial formations of many sorts. No sharp distinction can be made between such forms which contain temporal or local force (instr. of time and place), and others which are more vaguely adverbial, denoting manner or attendant circumstance of various kinds. We saw in §44 that the instr. and acc. interchange in this latter way. Some variants of instr. and dative come pretty close to this, as *kāmena* (TS MS *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS om *prati*) *grhnāmi* AV TS MS KS PB TB TA AŚ ApŚ, 'I receive thee with (unto) affection', i.e. 'affectionately', which is about all that is meant by both forms (§558). Worth mentioning is the following, in which instr., dat., and loc. all are used, with little difference of real meaning: *apām uta praśastiṣu* (RV. †*praśastaye*, AV VSK °*libhīh*) RV AV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB (§§558, 601, 690), 'unto (by, in) praising of the waters [O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong]' An instance of instr. and loc. would be *sa rāye sa puramdhyām* (SV. °*dhyā*) RV SV. AV JB, preceded by *so ghā no yoga ā bhuwat*. 'may he stand by us in our work, unto riches, in (with) liberality' (§603). The last word means virtually *liberaliter*; note the parallel dative *rāye*.

§68. In adverbial or quasi-adverbial forms denoting time the instr. varies with abl., gen., and loc. Thus, *yad ahnā* (and *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU, *yad ahnāt* (and *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA.

(on the latter forms see §575);—*madhu naktam uṣasah* (KS. °sā, TS TA °sī) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TA BrhU MahānU. Kauś Here it seems fairly certain (see §584) that all three forms mean 'at dawn'; the only question is whether *uṣasah*, which varies with both instr. and loc., is gen. sg. (as we think probable) or acc. pl.

§69. In similar forms with local meaning the instr. varies with abl. and loc.: *ayam paścād* (MS *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS (§575).—*adhi kṣami viṣurūpam yad asti* (MS † *āsta*) RV AV. MS TB, *adhi kṣamā viṣvarūpam yad asya* ArS; both *kṣamā* and *kṣami* 'on the earth' (§598).

Dative and other cases

§70. The dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to, or desired for, some other entity in the context, and may vary with a form which has the construction natural for that entity. Thus the variant form may be nominative, in apposition with the subject, as in *pade-pade pāśinah santi setavah* (AV °ve) RV AV. KS. ApŚ., 'on every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond)' (§420). Quite similarly the accusative, as in *mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe kam* AV. 'to me the sun brought (it) in order to light,' *mahyam jyotiṣ abharat sūryas tat* KS, 'to me the sun brought that (as) light' (§486). Of almost the same nature is the following variant in which, after a verb of ruling, the 'object' required is genitive instead of accusative, so that we find gen. and dat. varying: *kṣayantam rādhaso* (TS. °se, KS. *śavase*) *mahah* (TS. KS *mahe*) RV. SV VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB, 'ruling over (unto) great bounty (strength)' (§628). Elsewhere the genitive form of the variant is dependent on another dative of purpose, with which the dative form is parallel: *rāye* (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā [dānāya samudhīmahi]* SV. ApŚ, 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches)' (§629). With the instrumental, also, the dative of purpose often varies, but here the psychology is rather different; the same thing (regularly a boon or desired quality) is felt alternately as means or as desired result: *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* (LŚ °yena) VS MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ŚŚ Vait. LŚ, 'Sarasvatī pressed (the soma) for (by) strength' (§558).

§71. The loose use of the dative of indirect object or of the interested party, the 'to' or 'for' case, makes it possible to use it in variation with almost any other oblique case after various verbs and verbal nouns. Thus after verbs of motion acc. and dat. are used to express the goal (cf. §§478 ff.): *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan (āgāt)* AV. TA, 'by love love has come to me'. The loc. is also used in the same sense and

frequently interchanges with the acc (§§523 ff); with the dative it is not in common interchange in this meaning; perhaps the clearest case is the following with a verbal noun: *devebhyo* (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV ApŚ, 'bearing the oblation to the gods' (§646)

§72. With verbs of giving and placing, especially *dā* and *dhā*, the loc and dat are in specially close relations, on which see §§639 ff. and VV 2 §101 The simple *dā* is not used with the loc of the person; otherwise the constructions of *dā* and *dhā* are or may be identical. Even this exception disappears with some compounds of *dā*, as in *tam devebhyah paridādāmi* ApŚ, *tam deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ. MŚ, 'I give him over to the gods' Moreover the acc comes into contact with both dat and loc in connexion with such roots as *dhā*, which may govern either acc of person and loc of thing ('set in') or dat (loc ?) of person and acc of thing ('establish for, give to'), as in *svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi* Vait, *suvarge loke yajamānān hi dhehi* (and *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ. (§482) And with noun compounds containing *dā* or *dhā*, an adnominal genitive may vary with a dative dependent on the verbal force still felt in the root *devebhyo* (VS. *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS °dhā) *asat* VS TS MS KS †, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (§619).

§73. Verbs of saying, offering, and various others are construed interchangeably with dat and loc: *devebhyo* (*deveṣu*) *mā sukr̥tam* (*nah sukr̥to*) *brūlāt* (etc.), 'declare me (us) virtuous to the gods' (§647).—*prthivyām* (KŚ °vyā) *amṛtam juhomi*. AŚ KŚ ApŚ, 'I offer nectar to the earth' (§650).

§74. Verbs of joining show especially the instrumental (§59) in variation with other cases But as we saw that both dat and loc vary with instr, it is not surprising to find them varying with each other, as in *apriye prati muñica tat* (*muñicatam*) AV. Kauś, *dviṣadbhyah prati muñicāmi pāśam* (*pāpam*) SMB BG ApMB, '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy' (§645). And as the gen was seen to vary with the instr after nouns of joining (§59), so also with the dative *sanveśanas* ('ne) *tanuvar* (*tanve, tanvaś, tanvā*) *cārur edhi*, 'in joining of (with) thy body (uniting to thy body)' (§578). Here all three cases, instr, dat, and gen, interchange

§75. With the ablative the relations of the dative are more specialized, indeed practically restricted to verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free' With them the dative of the interested party easily interchanges with the ablative of separation, as in *sa sūtrāmā svavān indro asme* (*asmat*), followed by *ārāc cid dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (°ta), 'may Indra, well-

saving, . . keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612). The original form of this (RV) has the dative, only the secondary AV. (and MS) the very natural ablative.

§76. Even the gen. is found in exchange with the dative after verbs in a couple of cases, which to be sure strike us as rather anomalous; see §§632-4 below.

§77. With the genitive, however, the dative varies chiefly after nouns and adjectives rather than verbs. Among these one prominent group consists of adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like, with which the loc. is also almost equally frequent: *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam* 'may I be pleasing to Speech' (§616); [*prīyam mā kṛnu*] *uta śūdra utārye (śūdrāya cāryāya ca)*, 'make me dear to both Śūdra and Aryan' (§654).

Ablative and other cases

§78. The ablative as the 'whence' case expresses source, cause, or place from which, and in various ways may interchange with any other oblique case. Thus in expressions of origin it may vary with the instrumental of means or the locative of position, since the source of anything may be regarded either as the instrument which produces it, or as its original and typical location. So, *yās te viśas tapasaḥ* (TB °sā) *śambabhūnuh* AV. TB, 'what clans have sprung up from (by) thy tapas' (§569).—*karkandhu jajñe madhu sārāgham mukhāt* (MS *mukhe*) VS MS KS TB, 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Also an adnominal genitive may replace the ablative in similar phrases: *tato mā yaṣṇasyāśīr āgachatu* MS KS ApŚ, 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me'; *lasya māśīr avatu vardhatām* AŚ, 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (§656).

§79. Similar ablatives vary with instrumentals and locatives where no idea of origination is expressed, at least clearly: *bhūvas tvam indra brahmanā* (MS °no) *mahān* RV TS. MS KS AŚ, 'become thou great, O Indra, by (from, as a result of) our holy word' (§571)—*tāh* (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prṣṭhāl* (TS KS. *prṣṭhe*) VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB, '(the ships proceed) from (upon) the back of the mountain bull' (§661)—*apām yo madhyato* (KS *madhye*) *rasas*. KS. TB, 'the sap that comes from (is in) the middle of the waters' (§664).

§80. With expressions of separation, the ablative seems to us the natural case, but it may interchange with the instrumental (by analogy with the antonymic verbs of joining, §60), with the dative of the interested party, and with an adnominal genitive. So, *tebhīr no adya* (ApŚ. *tebhyo na indrah*) *santola viṣṇuḥ* KS ApŚ, *tebhyo asmān varunaḥ*

soma indrah Kauś., 'may free (*vi muñcantu* is the verb) us (today) from these (fetters)' (§573) — *sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (asmat)*, followed by *ārāc cād dveṣaḥ sanutar yuyotu* (°*ta*), 'may Indra keep very far away from (for) us all hatred' (§612) — *mā parā seci mat payaḥ* (no *dhanam*, *naḥ svam*, *me dhanam*), 'let not the sap from me (our, or my, wealth) be poured away' (§656) — Furthermore the accusative may vary with the ablative after such verbs, according as the entity in question is treated as the thing removed or that from which something else is removed. *iyam duruktāt* (PG °*ta*m) *paribādhamānā* ŚG SMB PG -ApMB MG, 'this (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer)' (§493)

§81. Unusually lively are the relations of the ablative with other cases after prepositions and prepositional adverbs. Thus *ā* in the sense of 'until' governs either acc or abl (while in the sense of 'from' it governs only the abl, but may vary with an acc in the other sense): *ūrjo* (intending *ūrdhvo*) *mā pāhy odṛcam* MŚ, *ūrdhvo mā pāhy odṛcaḥ* TS (and others, *ā + udṛcam* or *udṛcaḥ* 'until the end of the sacrifice'), §494. And, with different meanings, *pari* with acc interchanges with *pari* with abl (l c.).

§82. The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either instr or abl. without difference of meaning (§574). The preposition *pari* in the sense of 'from' regularly governs only the abl, but one variant shows abl varying with gen dual (§657). In somewhat different senses, the prepositions *adhi* and *antar* govern either abl or loc (§665).

§83. Adverbial forms with abl. endings vary with instrumental and locative adverbs, sometimes we can still feel the force of the 'from' case in the abl form, but sometimes not, the form having faded out to an indifferent adverb: *āre* (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnam* (TS °*na*) *uta pūruṣaḥnam* (TS °*ne*) RV. TS. (§667). Here *ārāt*, like *āre*, can only mean 'far away', not 'from afar'. — *ayam paścād* (MS. *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS KS (§575)

Genitive and other cases

§84. The partitive genitive may be used as the virtual equivalent of an appositional noun, which may then replace it in another form of the same passage, taking the case of the word on which the genitive depends. In theory, such partitive genitives might therefore vary with any other case. Actually we find them varying with vocative, nominative, accusative, and instrumental. So, *tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe* RV VS, *uttamō asy oṣadhīnām* AV, 'thou art most excellent, O plant (most

excellent of plants)' (§367).—*subhūr* (*svayambhūr*) *asi* (*nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho raśmīr* (*raśmīnām*) , 'the best ray (best of rays)' (§439).—*imam mā hunsīr ekaśapham* (also, *dvipādām*) *paśum* (TS. KS *paśūnām*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB., 'this whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)' (§515)—*vasantena* (*grīṣmaṇa*, etc) *īvarlunā* (KSA.—*ṇām*) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmi* TS KSA, 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc) season (of the seasons), with oblation' (§581)

§85. In a somewhat similar way, a descriptive or possessive genitive may vary with an appositional or adjectival form which agrees in case with the word on which the genitive depends in the other variant. When, as often happens, there seems to be reason for supposing that the genitive is more original, we may suppose that case-attraction has been at work. Indeed, this may sometimes be assumed even when the reverse is the case, that is when the assimilated form is historically older in the variant passage; for case assimilation is certainly a very old phenomenon, and may easily have been replaced in individual instances by a phrase containing a descriptive or possessive genitive. Such variants occur especially between genitive and nominative, accusative, and locative. So, *vr̥ṣāsy ūrmīh* TS. TB., *vr̥ṣormīr asi* MS KS MŚ., *vr̥ṣna ūrmīr asi rāṣṭradāh* VS. ŚB., 'thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave) . .' (§440)—*avyo* (SV PB *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvoti* RV. SV. PB, 'he (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (the woolen sacve)' (§509).—*asyā* (MG *ṣasyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG *ṇyām*) AV MG, *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB, 'in this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' or 'in this woman, in her canal' (§672)

§86. With the dative of purpose, especially in infinitives, such assimilation may fairly be called regular; but here also dependent genitives may vary with the assimilated dative form. And we find the same variation with ablative infinitives. See Delbruck, *AIS* §§54, 103, 232b, and our §§629, 659 below: *rāye* (ApŚ *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samudhīmahi)* SV ApŚ, 'we kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches, note that this is the secondary reading)'—*taṁ tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad atoh* (*ā mamatoh*), 'until my return' Here also the assimilated ablative *mad* is the original reading (TS, while the secondary AŚ MŚ have *mama*, gen.).

§87. The genitive is acutely described by Speyer (*VSS* §62) as 'hauptsächlich der adnominale Casus'. A large number of its variations with other oblique cases (not nom or voc) have this trait in common, that the gen. is broadly adnominal, the other case (acc, instr, dat, abl, loc.) broadly adverbial. That is, the gen. is definitely dependent

on a noun (whether we classify it as objective, subjective, descriptive, possessive, or partitive makes little difference) The variant case is usually also dependent on the same noun, but is differently felt, it is governed by a verbal notion felt in the noun. So perhaps most clearly with the acc, as in *mām anuvratā bhava* 'be faithful to me', cf. *agner (patyur) anuvratā bhūtvā* 'being faithful to Agni (to her husband)' (§506). Or again in the acc and gen after nouns of agent in *tar*, as *dātā vasūnām (vasūni)*, §507

§88. With the instrumental, an adnominal gen describable as objective varies with the associative instr after nominal expressions of joining, and with an instr of means after nominal (and apparently even verbal) expressions of gratification, while a subjective adnominal gen may also vary with an instr. of means depending on a passive participle or its equivalent So, *samvasānam* (SV °no) *vivasvatah* (SV °tā) RV. SV, 'fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat' (§578).—*juṣṭam devebhīr uta mānuṣebhīh* (AV *devānām uta mānuṣānām*) RV. AV, 'accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men' (§579)—*yan me (mayā) manasā vācā* [*kṛtam*], 'what (has been done) by me (on my part; as if 'my deed') with thought or speech' (§580)

§89. Rather varied also are such instances of adnominal gens varying with *dat*s, we quote an example or two at random: *devebhyo* (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS °dhā) *asat* VS TS MS KS †, 'be he a giver of portions to the gods' (objective gen), §619 —(*eṣa sya te madhūmān indra soma*h,) *vṛṣā vṛṣne* (SV °nah) *pari pavitre akṣāh* RV SV, 'this honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve)' (possessive gen), §621

§90. With the ablative *tato mā yajñasyāśir āgachatu* MS KS ApŚ. *lasya māśir avatu vardhatām* AŚ, 'from it may blessing of sacrifice come to me' or 'may its blessing aid and increase me' (possessive gen), §656 — *agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah* SMB., *agnir atu prathamo devatānām* AG etc, 'let Agni go (come) first from among the gods (first of the gods)' (partitive gen), §656

§91. With the locative: *asmākam* (TS *asmāsu*) *santv āśīṣah* VS TS MS KS ŚB ŚŚ, 'let blessings be ours (be in us)' (possessive gen), §671 —*ahik śayata upaprkṣ prthivyāh* (TB °vyām) RV MS TB N, 'the dragon lies clinging to the earth' (objective gen), §676

§92. Special mention may be made of the gen after adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like, which varies especially with the *dat* (§77), but also with the *instr* (§65); the *loc* is likewise used (§77) but we have noted no case of its variation with the gen

§93. In addition to its adnominal use, however, the gen. is also used with not a few verbs, and often varies with other cases, particularly the acc. Thus after verbs of eating and drinking the acc. and the (partitive) gen. (occasionally also the loc.) are found: *papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh* (MS. °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tim nadīm*) Vait. KŚ ApŚ. MS, 'they drank (of, or in) the Sarasvatī river' (§§501, 680). So after verbs of offering, the (partitive) gen. varies with the acc. and instr. (§§51, 65). Verbs of ruling and of intellectual activity also govern either gen. or acc. (§§503-4), and verbs of robbing either two accs. or acc. of the person and gen. of the thing (§505).

§94. With verbs of gratifying the gen. interchanges with the instr.: *tena tīrpyatam anahau* TB ApŚ, *tasya tīrmpatam ahāhāhuhū svāhā* ŚŚ (§579).

§95. The dat. and gen. vary after verbs only rarely, and probably as a result of the general tendency to confusion between these two cases (§614, and for examples after verbs §§632-4). On the variations of loc. and gen. after verbs, also sporadic, see §§680-2.

§96. In adverbs of time there is one variant, *madhu naklam utosasaḥ* (°*sā*, °*sī*), which appears to involve the gen. in relations with both instr. and loc. (§§68, 584), and in adverbs of place we find a gen. varying with the (apparent) loc. *dve-dive*, §678.

§97. As to the gen. after prepositions, we find it once replacing the regular abl. after *pari* (§657), and once varying with the loc. after *antar* (§677).

Locative and other cases

§98. The locative is commonly thought of as the 'where' case. Somewhat more scientifically it may perhaps be defined as denoting fundamentally the sphere within which, or that in relation to which, something exists or takes place. Its meaning is, in any event, broad enough to permit it to exchange on occasion, with little difference of meaning, with all the oblique cases, from accusative to genitive. To begin with the ablative, which expresses the source of anything, this may also be conceived as its original or typical location, and so be put in the locative: *karkandhu jajñe madhu sārāgham mūkhāt* (MS *mukhe*) VS. MS KŚ TB., 'jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth' (§660). Or, *śvaṁ prajābhyo 'hṛtsantam (ahins°) prthvyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS. MS KŚ °*sthe*) *agnim ('gnim) kṣanāmah (°ma)* VS. TS MS KŚ ŚB, 'we (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni . . .' (§664).

§99. More familiarly the locative tends in the opposite direction; it

inclines to denote the final rather than the original location, and so varies with the accusative (or dative) of goal, often as we think (cf §523), tho by no means always, with no difference of meaning, as in *yasya vratam* (*vrate*) *paśavo yanti sarve*, 'into (not in!) whose control go all cattle' (§526) Or with dat., *mahyam vātaḥ pavatām* (*'te*) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV AV TS KS, 'the wind shall blow (blows) for me unto this desire' (§646)

§100. With neither 'final' nor 'original' tinge, but simply as denoting the general sphere, that in (any sort of) relation to which something exists or takes place, the locative varies with instrumental, dative, or genitive. The instr. may be one of means, manner, or accompaniment. So, *śam u yāḥ kumbha ābhṛtāḥ* and *śam yāḥ kumbhebhīr ābhṛtāḥ*, 'brought in a pot (with pots)' (§600) — *apām uta praśastiṣu* (*'taye*, *'tibhāḥ*), 'in (by, unto) praising of the waters [become ye strong, O gods (horses)]' (§601) — *rāyas poṣena* (*poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema*, 'may we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food' (§603) — *sve dakṣe* (*svair dakṣair*) *dakṣaputeha śīda*, 'be seated in (with, or by) thine own power(s)' (§603).

§101. With the dative, the locative in this sense interchanges in dependence on both noun and verb forms. Thus quite standardly with adjectives meaning 'pleasing' and the like (for other cases used with them, gen and instr., cf §88, 65). *supṛito manuṣo viśi* (SV *vīṣe*) RV SV, or *priyam mā brahmanī* (*'ne*) *kuru* 'make me beloved to (with, among) the brahman caste' (§654). And with various verbs, such as *hu* 'pour (in, upon)' or 'offer (to)', *prthivyām* (KŚ *'vyā*) *amṛtam juhomī* AŚ KŚ ApŚ, 'I pour nectar on (offer to) the earth' (§650). Or *ci* 'pile, build' *sahasrākṣa* (*'kṣo*) *medhāya* (*medha ā*) *cīyamānah*, 'piled up at (for) the sacrifice' (§651).

§102. So with the genitive. The person or place at or near which something is located (loc.) may also be conceived as its possessor, or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen.). Thus, *mayy āśīr astu mayi* (*mamāśīr astu mama*) *devahūtāḥ*, 'may prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)' (§671) — *nanāndarī samrājñī bhava*, and *nanānduh samrājñy edhī*, 'be queen over (of, in relation to) thy sister-in-law' (§676).

§103. Rather more specifically we find the locative interchanging with most of the other oblique cases after various verbs. Special attention should be directed to the rather complicated interchanges after verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, where acc., dat., and loc. all appear. The relations of the dat. and loc. have been summarized above, §72. The regular constructions are acc. of person and loc. of thing ('set,

person (his person with his limbs)' (§536).

§105. The use of the loc. after verbs in variation with other cases has perhaps been sufficiently illustrated under the other cases. Summarily we may recall its interchange with the gen. (and acc.) after verbs of eating and drinking (§93) and some others (§680-2); and with the dat. (§73) after various verbs. With the acc. it varies after a verb of beating, *āghnānāh pāṇinorasi* and *urah paśaurār āghnānāh*, 'beating upon their breasts with their hands' or 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)', §545. The person or thing spoken about (not to) is put in acc. or loc. with a verb of speaking, *pratipraśītātah paśau* (MŚ *paśum*) *samvadasva* ApŚ. MŚ, 'speak about the victim with (the slaughterer)' (§543), this contrasts with the classical usage in which the person addressed may be put in acc. or loc. (as well as dat.) after verbs of speaking, doubtless an extension of the goal construction. This classical usage, however, is found with dat. and loc.: *derebhyo* (*dereṣu*) *mā sukr̥tam* (*nah sukr̥to*) *brūāt* (etc.), 'declare that I am (that we are) righteous to the gods' (§647). —After a verb of fighting an 'inner' acc. varies with a loc.: (*tvayā*) *vajam samghātani-samghātani* (*samghātē-samghāte*, *samghātani*, omitting the 2d form) *jec̥ma* (*jayema*, *sanjayema*), 'may we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight' (§546).

§106. In adverbial expressions of time, place, and manner the loc. seems to be used in interchange with practically all other oblique cases. So, with acc.: *tena devā devatām agra* (*agram*) *āyan*, *tapasū* (*tapā*) *devā devatām agra āyan*, 'by this (by tapas) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning' (§530).

§107. With instr. especially in place and time expressions, in our

opinion (cf. §594) without any essential difference of meaning: *maghāsu* (*aghāsu*, *maghābhur*) *hanyante gāvah* (*gāvo grhyante*), 'in the (asterism) Maghās (Aghās) cows are slain (taken),' §596 — *madhu naktam utośasah* (°sā, °st), see §584 (also gen). — *adhī kṣami viśurūpani* (*kṣamā viśvarūpam*) *yad asti* (*asya, āsta*), 'on the earth', §598

§108. With abl., *āre* (*ārāt*) *te goghnam*. (§667); both 'far off'.

§109. With gen., see §96 — Dative variants have not been noted.

§110. After prepositions: with acc., after *adhī*, *acha*, *antarā* (§§539-42); with abl., after *adhī* and *antar* (but with difference of meaning, §665), with gen., after *antar* (§677).

§111. Finally, we have noted a very few cases where the loc seems to be used in a way approaching the absolute construction, and varies with a regularly governed accusative. We might expect to find any other case varying with the quasi-absolute loc just as well, but have not noted any others: *nābhā prthivyāh samadhāne agnau* (TS. °dhānam agnim, MS KS. °dhāno agnim) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB (followed by *rāyaspoṣāya brhate havāmahe*), 'when Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him) . . . ' or 'we call upon Agni enkindled' (§548)

Number

§112. A large majority of the variations in number concern cases of what we call generalizing singular and plural. We have included under this head all cases in which singular and plural interchange without any clearly intended difference in meaning, as well as cases in which the singular is generic, while the plural seems to refer more particularly to various specific instances. No line can be drawn between the two classes. Thus in such a variant as *asmān rāya uta yajñāh* (KS † *yajñāh*) *sacantām* TS KS ApS, *yuṣmān rāya uta yajñā asācātā* MS, 'let wealth and sacrifice(s) attend us (wealth and sacrifices have attended you)', no one can say that the plural *yajñāh* really means anything different from the generic singular *yajñāh*, 'sacrifice' in general (as an institution), and on the other hand one could not deny that the plural may have concentrated the attention more on the various specific acts of sacrifice. Such instances are very numerous: §§685 ff. Of essentially the same sort are the (also very common) variations between singular and plural pronouns, particularly of the first person (§§722 ff.), many of which refer either to the speaker alone or vaguely to him and his associates; but the use of a plural rather than a singular pronoun certainly does not prove that he is really including other persons than himself, as in *agne dakṣaṁ punīhi nah* (TB *mā*) RV TB., 'O Agni,

protect us (me) with powers.' Here the chances are that RV. means 'me' as well as TB., but there is no way of proving it. Such variants belong psychologically with the variations in number of verb forms treated in VV 1 §§344 ff., and like them show in not a few cases more or less inconsistency with the context in one or both forms (§723). Thus *śraddhe śrad dhāpaycha nah* (TB. *mā*) RV. TB ; here the context in both forms contains a 1st plural verb, so that *mā* of TB is mildly inconsistent with its context.

§113. In our chapter on gender (cf. §807) we shall see that the neuter singular is not infrequently used in forms which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, and varies with more definite plural epithets of the same or different gender (§727). A good example is *kṛṣṭapacyāś* (TS KS. °yam) *ca me* 'kṛṣṭapacyāś' (TS KS. °yam) *ca me* VS. TS. MS. KS. (preceded by *oṣadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me*), '(plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation' or 'that which ripens' etc. To the same general category belongs the use of substantive pronouns in the neuter singular in variation with pronouns agreeing in number and gender with the predicate (§730), as in *tad* (VS. *tā*) *āpah sa* (VSK. *ta*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS. VSK TA MahānU., 'that is the waters, that Prajāpati.' Neuter singular adverbs also belong originally to the class of indefinite neuters, and vary either with adjectives or with plural adverbs which presumably must originally have been more definite in meaning (with some noun understood), as in *nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau* Ppp. TS. KS, *nīcāir uccāih svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV. Here *nīcād* and *nīcāir*, *uccā* and *uccāih*, are synonymous (§734.)

§114. When two or more nouns are used in correlation, we occasionally find adjectives variously put in the singular, then agreeing formally with only one (as a rule the nearest) of the series, or in the dual or plural, agreeing with the whole group. There is little real difference in the meaning, cf. §§735, 757; and the same kind of variation has been noted in verb forms, VV 1 §§353 ff. Thus, *candreṇa jyotir amṛtam dadhātāh* (°nā), *śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* (°nāh); here *dadhānā* agrees with *Sarasvatī*, the nearest subject, while *dadhātāh* includes her and the *Aśvins*. Or, *yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī* AV, *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca drdhā* (TS *drdhe*) RV. VS. VSK TS MS KS, here the final adjective is singular, agreeing with *prthivī* alone, in all but TS., which makes it dual, including *dyaur*.

§115. An elliptic dual or plural may vary with a singular referring only to the first of the group. Both may be followed by a complementary singular referring to another member of the group, as in *mītrah*

(SV *mitrās*) *pānty adruha* RV. SV (preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*) Here *mitrās* means Mṛta, Varuna, and Aryaman, and *aryamā* is a complementary singular (§733) So also *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryaś ca* VS. ŚB, where *indrā* can only be elliptic (= Indra and Sūrya), §747. In other cases an elliptic dual plus complementary singular may vary with a double dual, as in *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (°vīm), §746, or such a double dual may vary with two singulars, whether the two form a *devatā-dvandva* compound as in *indrāsūrā janayan vīsvakarmā* TB but *indrah sūrah prathamō vīsvakarmā* AŚ (§749), or whether the two duals are separated by other words as in *viṣnum agan varuṇam pūrvahūti* AV, *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tīm) VS MS etc (§748). The normal Sanskrit *dvandva* compounds, of both types (dual and neuter singular), are likewise found, the former varies with equivalent double singulars, as in *mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh*, *mayi dakṣakratū* (§750), and the two types vary with each other, *kṣutpīpāsābhyām* (and °pāsāya) *svāhā* (§751).

§116. In the case of certain parts of the body, and also some other entities (§§752-3), it is possible to think of them either as dualities, with regard to their two component parts, or as singular units. So the nose is either singular or dual (referring to the two nostrils): *apūcena nāsike* (MS °kām) VS MS. With certain other parts of the body, as well as other entities, either dual or plural is possible, as in the case of the constellation Phalgunī, which is made up of two pairs of stars, and so may be either dual (referring to the two pairs) or plural (referring to the total of four stars): *phalgunīr* (TS. °nī) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS (§754-5).

§117. There remain many number variants which show more real and definite change of meaning in the different forms. By simple multiplication or division, a singular entity may be made dual or plural, or vice versa, as in *tasya te dattām yasya* (and *yayoh*) *prāno* 'sī *svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu yeṣām prāno* 'sī *svāhā*, *tasya te dadātu yasya prāno* 'sī *svāhā*, all modulations in a single passage of TS (§§740, 767-70). Such modulations may occur in repetitions of the same context, or in adaptations of old material to a new context, in which case they constitute what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§739, 764-6). They include many ritualistic ūhas and vikāras. There are also not a few instances of 'transfer of epithet' from one entity to another (§§737-8, 762-3), as in variations of case, and some instances in which, without proper 'transfer of epithet', we seem to note external assimilation of form which consists in change of number (§§741, 773-7). These are of the same sort as the corresponding variations in case, and call for no comment.

Gender

§118. Real change of gender in nouns is a well known phenomenon in Sanskrit, and is sufficiently illustrated by the variants. It may appear in different forms of the noun itself, that is in shift between endings characteristic of different genders, or in change of the gender of modifying adjectives or pronouns. Some of the variations in gender revealed by the variants have not been recorded previously. We shall not anticipate them here (see §§783-802), but may call attention to a fact which has not been clearly brought out before, that some of these shifts appear to be mere nonce-phenomena, and due to assimilation to words in the context. Thus in the mantra *vyomā* (TS. *vyoma*) *saptadaśah* (sc. *stomah*) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. KŚ MŚ, §794, the stem *vyoman*, regularly neuter, appears to have masculine gender in all texts except TS. We have no doubt that the original form of this variant presented the word as if masculine; but it seems to us equally clear that this is due to assimilation to the gender of the predicate *saptadaśah* (*stomah*). It hardly justifies us, therefore, in attributing real variation in gender to the stem *vyoman*. And this is by no means an isolated instance, as the sections mentioned will show.

§119. Of a different sort are variations between names of male and female animals and persons, where the change merely indicates that some texts have in mind a male animal or person, others the corresponding female (§§779-82).

§120. A small but interesting group of cases shows variation between distinctively feminine forms and others which are, at least in appearance, masculine, tho referring to feminine entities. Thus it has long been recognized that the anomalous *yusmās*, acc. pl. of the 2d personal pronoun, is a feminization of the regular *yusmān*, which has common gender tho its ending presents a masculine aspect (§803). Contrariwise, agent nouns in *tar* have regularly a corresponding feminine stem in *trī* when applying to feminine entities, but at least one variant presents the masculine (really 'common') stem in *tar* under such circumstances (§805).

§121. We have seen above (§113) that the neuter gender, especially in the singular number, often has a sort of indefinite force. Even when a masculine or feminine entity is referred to it may be used in such a sense, as in *indrasya* (and *uṣṇor*) *dhruvo* 'sī (*dhruvam asi*), 'thou (O knot, *granthi*, masc.) art Indra's (Viṣṇu's) firm one (firm thing),' §808. Such usage is particularly common with pronouns, demonstrative or relative, as in substantive pronouns (§§113, 812); *saṁ tam* (KS ApŚ. *ta*)

siñcatu rādhasē (°sā) RV. KS. Vait ApŚ, 'let him besprinkle that unto (with) bounty'. Here the pronoun refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *anśu*, masc) and hence has masculine gender in RV, but once, in repeating the mantra in the same context, KS uses the neuter *tat*, 'that (thing)', tho still having the same reference (§809) —But an indefinite masculine may also vary with such an indefinite neuter, when the unspecified entity is conceived personally instead of impersonally (§§810-1). This is particularly common with negative expressions, such as *ahīr jaghāna* (*dadarśa*) *kam* (*kim*) *cana*, 'the serpent has slain (seen) no one (nothing).'

§122. We regard the common use of neuter forms in adverbs as belonging to the indefinite neuter. Such adverbs are often found in variation with adjectives of any gender, and also—more rarely—with adverbs of other genders (usually feminine); in the latter we assume that originally some definite noun must have been understood with the adjectival adverb (see §§813-24).

§123. The agreement of pronouns shows some interesting variations as to gender. Thus when a pronoun refers to a series of nouns of different genders, it may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the greater number of the nouns, or else it may be masculine (really 'common') gender if the series includes both masculines and feminines (§825). Also, when the antecedent and the predicate of an anaphoric pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (§826),—aside from the possibility of the use of the indefinite neuter in a substantive pronoun, to which we have alluded above.

§124. Gender variations are related to the peculiarities of compound nouns: first, in the case of dvandvas, which may appear either as neuter singular or as dual (or plural) with the gender of the final member (§751), and further, in the case of karmadhārayas varying with bahuvrīhis based upon them. The karmadhāraya, naturally, keeps the gender of its final member, while the bahuvrīhi takes the gender of the noun it agrees with (§829).

§125. There remain a considerable number of cases in which variation in gender is due to the application of the variant word to different nouns. Either one noun may be substituted for another of different gender, resulting in change of the gender of its epithets (§§831-3), or without such change in actual language, epithets may be understood to apply to different entities which are not expressed, with the same result (§§834-9). In some such cases the mantra is taken from its original context and adapted to a new one, resulting in what we call 'phrase inflection' (see §§846-51). Or again, without change of con-

text, an epithet may be 'transferred' from one entity to another; these 'transfers of epithet' are of exactly the same sort as the numerous similar ones involving change of case, and call for no special comment (§§840-5).

Dedicatory expressions

§126. Expressions of dedication of some offering or homage to some deity or power are, of course, very common in the ritual language of the Veda, and the great variety of their syntax deserves special mention. The deity addressed may be expressed by a nominative, subject of a verb meaning 'be gratified' or the like, which verb may be expressed or understood, or by the nominative of a secondary adjective meaning 'belonging to' such and such a deity; by the accusative, object or goal of a verb expressed or understood; or by a dative or genitive. The thing offered may be expressed by the nom, acc, instr., or (after verbs of offering) gen. A few examples may be quoted here:

(om) *agnim tarpayāmī*: *agnis tṛpyati*, §373.

himavate ('*vato*) *hastī* (*hastinam*), §§376, 618.

svāhā devā ājyapāh (*devān ājyapān*): *agnim svāhā*: *svāhāgnim*: *agnaye svāhā*, etc., §§377, 485.

pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhunā: *pūṣno vaniṣṭhuh*, §§414, 508.

kapota ulūkah śaśas te nīrtīyā (*nairṛtāh*), §424.

digbhyah śrotam (sc. *ālabhate*): *diśah śrotam* (sc. *anvavasṛjatāt*), §485

tasmā indrāya sulam ā (*haviṣā*, *haviṣā*, *indrāyāndhaso*) *juhota* (*juhomi*)

§§466, 502, 582

aryamno ('*ne*) *lopāśah*, §618

FIRST PART: FORMAL VARIANTS

CHAPTERS II-X

CHAPTER II

DUALS IN AU AND Ā, OF ALL DECLENSIONS

§127. We do not include here, of course, variations in which *āv* varies with *ā* followed by hiatus before a vowel, since these are variant sandhi forms, both standing for *au*, on them see VV 2 §§885 ff. We treat here as *ā* forms before vowels only those in which *ā* is fused with the following vowel.

§128. In the RV. in general, and especially in its oldest parts, *ā* is found before consonants and in pause, *au* before vowels. Contrast §221 below; in the locative of *i* stems *au*, not *ā*, is regular in pause. Before *u* vowels this *au* is represented in the RV. by *ā*, before other vowels by *āv* (for the usage of other schools see VV 2 l. c.). We divide our materials into the two classes of (1) *au* : *ā* before consonants and in pause, (2) before vowels. See most recently Wackernagel 3 p. 45 ff., and for the primary materials Lanman *NI.* 340 ff., 574 ff.; also Sommer, *Festschrift Streiberg*, 253 ff., where ingenious attempts are made to explain the cases of 'irregular' *ā* before vowels.

§129. In a couple of cases the following word varies, so that *ā* is followed by a consonant, *au* (*āv*) by a vowel, in accordance with the original distinction:

tasyām suparnāv adhi yau niviṣṭau TB. ApŚ.: *tasyām suparnā vṛṣaṇā ni śedatuh* RV.

abhayam mātṛavarunāv ihāstu nah (AG. °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV. AG.

§130. Flagrantly at variance with the rule is the double case in the next variant, which also changes the word after *āsvinā* (°*nau*); but this time *āsvinau* occurs before a consonant, and that in RV. itself (to be sure in a late hymn, 10. 184. 2c); while AV. has the *ā* form before a vowel—both contrary to the rule. Furthermore RV. ends the pāda with *devau*, instead of regular *devā*, and is followed by all later texts (two substituting *ubhau*) except AV., which introduces the regular *ubhā* (Hence, possibly, the assimilatory change in the ending of the preceding word in AV., whose meter suggests a pronunciation with hiatus, *āsvinā ubhā*.)

garbham te āsvinau devau (AV. *āsvinobhā*, PG. HG. *āsvināv ubhau*) RV.

AV. ŚB. BrhU SMB. ApMB. HG MG. PG.: *garbham yonyām āsvināsyām* AVPpp 13. 2. 4c (Barret, *JAOS.* 48. 38).

§131. The remaining cases require little individual comment. Almost all show the ending before consonants or in pause. Final position in the pāda is always treated as 'pause', *ā* is here regular even when the next pāda begins with a vowel with which the final *ā* is fused in the saṁhitā writing. The *ā* form characterizes the RV and its school texts, KS also shows it in most of the variants, but there are exceptions. The cases before consonants and in pause which concern RV, besides those above mentioned, are:

caturakṣau patharakṣi (AV *pathakṣadi*) *ṛṇakṣasau* (AV TA °sā) RV AV TA. This is the only exception, except that noted in §130, to the rule among the RV variants. It is noted by Lanman 576. The hymn (10.14) containing it is Atharvānic (rather than 'late'), yet, curiously, the AV. itself (supported by TA) has the 'regular' form. Note that all three texts are irregular in the preceding *caturakṣau*. Dissimilation or assimilation of ending as between these two words? Even tho the hymn belongs by its subject matter to AV, rather than to RV, the RV. form is, a priori, more apt to be original, Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, 124.

ubhohhayāvinn upa dhehi danṣtrā (AV °rau) RV. AV.

yo akṣeneva cakriyā (SV °yau) śacibhik RV SV TB.

dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā (AV °nau) RV AV TS MS. KS. ŚŚ.

somam pibātam madyam dhṛtavaratā (AV. GB °lau) RV AV GB.

uto te vṛṣanā (ArS *haritau*) *harī* RV ArS.

yajñasya hi stha rtvijā (TS ApŚ *rtvijau*) RV SV KS PB TB AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ.

ubhā rājānā (AV °nau) *svadhayā madantā* (AV °tau) RV. AV. MS.

prātaryujā vi bodhaya RV TB AŚ N. *prātaryujau vi mucyethām* TS.

ā dhātām (RVKh Scheft. °tam) *puṣkarasrajau* (RV RVKh Scheft.

AV ApMB MG °jā) RV RVKh AV ŚB TA MahānU BṛhU.

AG SMB PG ApMB HG MG.: *kṛnutam puṣkarasrajā* AVPPP.

3.18.5 (Barret, *JAOS* 32.364). Add to VV 1 §332.

dyauś ca nah (KS TB *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV KS TB: *dyauś ca*

ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau AV.

māduṣkṛtau vyenasā (AV °sau) RV AV. AVPPP. Note preceding °kṛtau in all!

aśvinā (ApMB °nau) *tvā pra vahatām rathena* RV AV ApMB.

yam nrmanikato aśvinā RV ApMB HG MG: *nābhyaṁ nrmanthātām*

aśvinau devau ŚB BṛhU.

§132. Next some cases before consonants or in pause which concern AV. In the first group AV, either alone or with others, has the *au*

form, we just saw that in several cases where RV. has *ā*, AV. has *au*.
tā na muñcatam āgasah TS MS : *tau na muñcatam anhasah* (TS KS
āgasah) AV TS. KS

ubhā hi hastā vasunā pr̥ṇasva VS TS ŚB.: *hastau pr̥ṇasra bahubhīr*
vasavyarh AV. TS MS KS

vīlho ghṛtasya gṛhyā juṣānā (AV °ṇau) AV. TS. MS KS AŚ ŚŚ.

dame-dame suṣutur (AV KS *suṣutulyā*, TS *suṣutūr*, MS °tī) *vām iyānā*
 (TS MS KS *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV. *vāvr̥dhānau*) AV. TS MS. KS AŚ.

ŚŚ. On *vām iyānā* see VV 2 §236

yā (AV. *yau*) *patyetc apratītā* (AV °tau) *sahabhīh* AV. VS MS. SB
 ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ.

§133. Yet, contrariwise, AV. occasionally shows *ā*:
chandasaṭi (AV. *chandaḥpakṣe*) *uṣasā* (MS KS. °sau) *pepiśāne* AV. TS.
 MS KS ApMB

And, in the same verse:

ketumatī (TS ApMB *ketum kṛṇvāuc*) *ojar̥c bhūrv̥ctasā* (MS °sau) AV
 TS MS. KS ApMB.

ya indrāgnē asanam sakḥāyau KS : *yo agniṣomāv ajuṣe sakḥāyā* AV

§134. In the rest neither RV. nor AV figures KS. and the RV
 school texts seem to favor *ā*.

ukḥyasya ketum prathamam juṣānau (KS † KapS °nā) VS MS. KS
 KapS 25 1, ŚB Oertel 83

imān me (ApŚ *no*) *mitrāvaruṇau* (ApŚ °nā) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG
nirastā śandāmarkau saha tena yam dviṣmaḥ KS.: *nirastau śandāmarkau*
sahāmunā ApŚ

apanullau (KS °llā) *śandāmarkau* (MS *śand°*) *saha* MS KS : *apa-*
nullau śandāmarkau sahāmunā TS. TB ApŚ

devā (VS *devau*) *devam avardhatām* VS TB

śubham gamiṣṭhau (KS °ḥā) *suṣamebhīr aśvaih* (KS † *āśubhīh*) TS MS
 KS TB.

añlau nyañ (PB LŚ. *añkā nyañkū*, MŚ MG. *añkū nyañkāv*) *abhīta*
rathau yau (MG *ye*) TS TB PB MŚ HG. PG MG ApMB
 LŚ ApŚ

sanjagmānau (KS. °nā) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*) *pr̥thivyā* MS KS. TB
 ApŚ MŚ

yathāyatham nau tanvau (AŚ *tanvā*, MŚ. *tan nau*) *jātavedaḥ* MS AŚ MŚ

In MŚ phonetic corruption, see VV 2 §410

svadughe mātārā (TB °rau) *mātī* VS TB

indravantā (TB. °tau) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ

sam vasāthām (MS *vasethām*) *svārvindā* (TS *svar°*, KS °vidan) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB

hotā yakṣad āsvinā (VS KŚ °*nan*) *chāgasya haṁṣa* VS KŚ KS

hotā yakṣad āsvināu (KS °*nā*) *chāgasya vapāyā* VS KS

hotā yakṣad āsvināu (TB °*nā*) *sarasvatīm* VS MS TB.

hotā yakṣad āsvinā (MS °*nau*) *sarasvatīm* MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

§135. The following do not properly belong here:

[*gomad ū ṣu nāsatyā* (VS. *nāsatyā*, followed without fusion by *āsvāvad*)

RV VS AŚ The VS comm understands *nāsatyā*, not °*yau*, if *au* were intended, *āv* should stand by the VS rule, see VV 2 §885

There is no real variant here, VS writes more accurately what RV also intends, namely final *ā*]

[*imā* (ApŚ *imau*) *prānāpānau* TB ApŚ But Poona ed of TB *imau*, which is proved correct by ApŚ which quotes TB]

[*urvaśi ca pūrvacūṭhī cāpsarasau* (VSK MS KS °*sā*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

Followed by a vowel; all texts *āv* or *ā* intending *au* Add to VV 2 §888]

[*lavī devau pracetasau* (VSK °*sā*) VS VSK TB - As preceding, add to l c]

§136. We come now to the few sporadic cases in which *āv* (for *ā*) before a vowel, which is the rule in RV, varies with *ā* which fuses with the following vowel. They add nothing to our knowledge and permit no general conclusions:

śunāsīrcha sma me juṣeḥām AV (pratīka Vart). *śunāsīrāv imām vācam juṣeḥām* (TA om *ju*°) RV TA AŚ ŚŚ N The AV seems to

be 'hifalutin', misapplying the hieratic *ā* where it does not belong *uṣūsānaktāgnā* (KS AŚ °*gna*, ŚŚ °*naktā agna*) *āgyasya vīlām* MS KS

AŚ ŚŚ And in the same passage, *davyā hotārāgnā* (°*gna*, °*hotārā agna*), etc. The ŚŚ form (RV school) should be *āv*, not *ā* (VV 2 §885) No v. l is quoted. If the text is correct, possibly ŚŚ

quoted from a different school (note that the mantra is found neither in RV nor in its Brāhmanas). The other alternative would be to hold that ŚŚ intends the ending *ā*, not *au*, and shows anomalous lack of sandhi

davyā hotārāv ūrdhvam (VS *hotārā ūrdhvam*, KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *hotārā ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* VS TS MS KS : *davā hotāra ūrdhvam* (Ppp. *hotārā imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV Ppp The AV form is plural Ppp ms (9 1 8) reads *hotāra* but intends °*rā* since a dual verb follows. All texts but KS have sandhi forms of °*rau*

asvinaḍhvaryū MS TA : *āsvināv adhvaryū* ŚŚ (Also quoted in Conc under *agnir hotāśvinā*°.)

[*añkāñkam* (KS. *añkañkam*, MS *añkārañkam*) *chandaḥ* TS. VS. MS KS ŚB Only MS seems to understand a dual *añ/au* here; if *añ/āñ/am* is also intended to contain a dual in the first part, the form *añkā* must be understood. Even MS has only one accent, *añkāñāñ/ām*; the one ms has *āñkāñv āñkam*, and p p analyzes *añ/au*, *añkām*. These forms are however probably mere corruptions; the presumption is that the unknown (and perhaps artificial) name of a meter here found is meant for a single word. The variant therefore hardly belongs here.]

find it hard to avoid assuming the reverse substitution, *ās* with dative function. These are listed §152, we believe that they have not been specifically noted before. In connection with them particularly, however, the possibility of syntactic rather than formal confusion must be borne in mind; quite similar instances of other gen. forms with dat. functions will be found below in the section on variations between dative and genitive. Inevitably there are some borderline cases which are especially doubtful; in the last analysis all the variants found here and in the syntactic section on dative varying with genitive must be considered together.

§140. We include here pronominal as well as nominal forms, since they are obviously identical in nature and cannot be separated.

§141. The substitution occurs in no RV, SV, or AV. passage. It shows a varying frequency in the YV. texts. VS. shows it in about 20 variants, more than any other texts; very often VSK. disagrees with VS. TS has about 15 cases; KS. only one, and MS. perhaps no entirely certain case. The school texts of VS. and TS. follow their *saṃhitās*. In general, then, it is the Vāj. and Tait. schools where the change is common. They also show the reverse change (*ās* in dative function), which is rare, almost unknown, in MS. and KS. Our results confirm the approximate correctness of Caland's view, *AO.* 5 49-51, notably his statement that MS. KS. do not use *ai* for *ās*; but KSA. has at least one case, *adityai pājasyam*, §143. That VSK. regularly prefers *ās* accords with Caland's findings for ŚBK. It is perhaps noteworthy that it is the relatively late and secondary YV. schools which show this interchange in both directions, whereas the more conservative MS. and KS. do not favor it.

§142. We begin with forms used in genitive function. The following are noun forms from *ā* stems, and seem reasonably certain:

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā (KŚ. *°yai*) *medaso 'nubrūhi* KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Assign to Indra and Agni (part) of the goat's omentum and fat.' Also, *agnīṣomābhyām chāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubrūhi* ŚB. *ukhāyāh* (TS. *°yai*, MS. KS. *°yām*) *sadane sve* VS. TS. MS. KS. Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*. 'Within the firepan, in thine own seat.' The parallels point to a genitive with *antar*, not a genitive of 'equivalence' as Keith takes it. There is no sound evidence for a gen. of 'equivalence' in Sanskrit, while the use of a gen. with *antar* is proved by BR. s. v.; a very clear case is VS. 40 5 *agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyai varitanyāgrāyanasya vīryena* (KS. *jagatyā varitanyā*) *devas tvā savitotsrjatu* (etc.) .TS. KS.: *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jagatya varitanyā devas tvā savitonnayatu* .MS.

krūrām viveda, TA *lr° calāra*) *martyah* (KS. *martah*). 'No mortal has attained (comprehended; TA. accomplished) the savagery of thy self, O Agni' So Caland on ApŚ Whitney (note on AV.) suggests that it may mean 'succeeded in inflicting a wound on thee,' which would make it possible to interpret *tanurāi* as a true dative (of interest); but this seems less likely to be the sense

§145. Genitives of pronouns:

na hy asyā (ApMB *asyai*) *nāma grbhāmi* AV. ApMB. 'I do not mention her name'

imam amum āmuṣyāyanam amuṣyāh putram KS : *imam amuṣya* (VSK *imam amum amuṣya*) *putram amuṣyai* (VSK. °yāh) *putram* . VS. VSK. ŚB In one of the two occurrences in ŚB. *amuṣyai* is printed for *amuṣya*, doubtless by a misprint

iasyai (MS. KS *iasyā*) *vān mātyū* (TS *māti*) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. 'Its, the mind's, daughter, speech'

§146. Less certain are the following cases of genitives First, from nominal *ā* stems:

asyā janatāyāh śraīṣṭhyāya svāhā MS : *asyai janatāyai śraiṣṭhyāya* ApŚ. 'For preeminence over this folk' But this may be the 'assimilated' dative with following dative of purpose, cf Speyer, *Skt. Synt.* 66 supra, Delbrück, *AIS* 149 (Quoted in Cone also under *agne balada* . .)

§147. From *i* and *ī* stems, in the following the alternative to genitive construction would be a dative of possession or interest; see next section: *adityā* (VS. TB ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo 'sī* VS. VSK TS MS. KS ŚB. MŚ.

adityai (MS. KS. MŚ *adityā*) *†rāsnāsi* VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB. TA ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ.

indrānyai (MS. MŚ. MG. °yāh, KS. °yās) *sannahanam* VSK. TS. MS. KS TB. ApŚ. MŚ MG.

prthivyai (MS. °yā) *varmāsi* VSK. KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

adityāh (VS. ŚB KŚ °yai) *sada āsida* VS TS. MS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ. KŚ : *adityās sadane sīda* KS.

§148. From pronouns These, like the preceding group, might perhaps be construed as datives of possession or interest The dative of possession is however not common in the oldest language and seems to disappear later. For this and other reasons, particularly in view of the established use of *ai* forms as genitives, we consider these also very probable cases of genitive forms It must be confessed that at times the decision is delicate:

yasyai (VSK *yasyās*) *te yajñīyo garbhah* VS VSK ŚB KŚ. PG

yasyai (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayā* VS VSK ŚB.

yasyai bahvīs (MS *yasyā bahvīyas*) *tanuwo* (MS *tanvo*) *vitapṛṣṭhāh* MS.

TB And others, §671. Comm on TB : *yasyai yasyā devyās tanuvah*.

yāsyā apaśavyā tanūs tām asyā apajahi ŚG SMB (also with *yāsyā apulryā, yāsyāh patighnī*): *yāsyāh pāpī laṣmīr yā patighnī .tū asyā apahata* SMB : *yāsyāh pāpī laṣmīs tām asyā apajahi* SMB.: *yāsyai grhaghñī tanūs tām asyai nāsaya svāhā* PG (also with *patighnī, paśughnī, prajāghñī, yaśoghñī*). *yāsyai ghorā tanūs tām uto nāsaya svāhā* HG. (also with *ninditā, patighnī*). The first *asyai* is clearly gen On the second see §612

§149. We now come to variants used in ablative, rather than genitive, function. First, from pronominal *ā* stems:

yo maitasyā diśo abhidāsād agniṁ sā rchatu MS (also with *indram, marutah, mātṛavarunau, somam*). *agniṁ sa rchatu yo maitasyai* (KS † *syā*) *diśo 'bhidāsati* KS. ApŚ (also with *indram, aditīm* etc.): *agniṁ sa diśām devam devalānām rchatu yo maitasyai diśo 'bhidāsati* TB (also with *indram* etc.): *iyam diḡ yo maitasyai* (KS *syā*) etc KS. TB. ApŚ

§150. From *i* and *ī* stem nouns:

gāyatriyai (MS KS *yā*) *gāyatṛm* VS TS MS KS. ŚB

sūryas tvā (MS. *tvā rāsmibhūh*) *purastāt pātu kasyās cid abhiśastyai* (TS MS KS *śastyāh*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Striking because the modifying pronoun *kasyās(cid)* has *ās* even in VS ŚB Cf next *āsanyān mā mantrāt pāhi* (MŚ *pāhi purā*) *kasyās cid abhiśastyāh* (AŚ *tyai svāhā*) TS AŚ. ApŚ MŚ Cf prec.

prthivyai (MS KS *yā*) *mā pāhi* TS MS KS.

pañktyai (MS KS *yā*) *udhanavat* VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

apahato 'raruh prthivyai TS ApŚ : *apahato 'raruh prthivyai devayajanyai* TS ApŚ. *apahato 'raruh prthivyā adevayajanah* TS ApŚ (p.p of TS *prthivyāh*). *apārarum adevayajanam prthivyā devayajanāḥ* (ApŚ † *adevayajano*) *jahi* KS ApŚ (the latter ambiguous): *apārarum prthivyā* (p.p *vyāh*) *adevayajanam* MS MŚ : *apārarum adevayajanam prthivyā* [ih, ambiguous] ApŚ. *apārarum prthivyai devayajanā. badhyāsam* VS ŚB

pāpāt (KŚ *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ *nād*) *abhūtyāh* (KŚ *yai*) AV KŚ *agne 'dabdhāyo pāhi prasityai pāhi durīṣṭyai pāhi duradmanyai* (TS. TB add *pāhi duścaritāt*) TS VS ŚB TB † (ii. VS text has *duradmanyā ih*). *agne 'dabdhāyo pāhi prasityāh pāhi durīṣṭyāh pāhi*

duradmanyāh KS. (text °manyā itī).—Also listed in Conc. under *pāhi* . .
adbhyah sambhūtah prthivyaḥ rasāc ca TA ApŚ.; *adbhyah sambhūtah prthivyaḥ* (MS. KS. † °yā) *rasāc ca* (KS *rasah*) VS. MS. KS
kṣetriyāt tvā nirṛtyā jāmiśansāt AV.: *kṣetriyaḥ tvā nirṛtyai tvā* TB. ApMB
 HG. (*kṣetrī* = *kṣetriya* occurs only in this passage)
 [amoci (AV *amukthā*) *yaḥśmād duritād avartyai* (AV. *avadyāt*) AV. TB
 ApMB No *ās* form here]

§151. Genitives in *ās* as datives We have referred above to the few but interesting cases in which fem *ai* : *ās* forms vary in dative construction. These, to be sure, might be taken merely as cases of the growing tendency for the gen to absorb the functions of the dative, to be signalized below (§§614 ff) Yet the parallel cases just discussed make it obviously likely that the identity of the two endings in sandhi before vowels and their consequent confusion in abl-gen. function has something to do with these cases At least they deserve separate grouping, apart from other dative-genitive variants. They are either dependent syntactically upon *namah*, *svāhā*, or the root *vidh*, none of which seem to be regularly construable with the genitive; or else are used as datives of purpose It is particularly to be noted that the *ās* forms are found chiefly in Vājasaneyin and Taittirīya school texts, which are also those in which *ai* in genitive function is favored. Evidently this confusion of endings, in both its aspects, is characteristic of these schools But one or two cases, textually doubtful, occur in MS.' too.

§152. The variants are:

yā te agne rudrīyā tanūs tayā nah pāhi tasyās (MS KS. *tasyai*) *te svāhā*
 TS MS KS

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*) *tasyās* (MS *tasyai*)
te namas TS MS.

tasyai (TS *tasyās*) *te devī haviṣā vidhema* TS MS. KS AŚ. ŚŚ N.

Kerth's note takes *tasyās* with *haviṣā*, rendering 'oblation for you' But *tasyās* can mean 'you' only by virtue of going with *te*, from which this interpretation most implausibly separates it Kerth ought to render: 'To thee, goddess, let us offer with her oblation', a monstrosity which his translation avoids by simply omitting *tasyās*. It is better frankly to recognize that *tasyās* is used as dative, or else to consider that the gen here replaces a more usual dat (cf. §634).

tasyās (MS *tasyai*, KS † *tasmai*, read *tasyai*) *te devīṣṭake vidhema haviṣā vayam* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA Kerth makes the same suggestion as in prec, q. v.

īśāya (MS. °yā, but p p. °yay) *manṣum rājānam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *barhiṣā dadhūr indriyam* 'They have bestowed (upon thee) King Wrath and power along with (or, by) the barhis, unto authority.' It seems impossible to construe *īśāyā(h)* as gen ; note the p p of MS.

kṣātrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS ŚB : *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. °pāya, p p °pāyāh) *kṣātrasya tanvas pāhi* MS TA . *pratīkas, brahmanas tvā paraspāyā [iti]* ApŚ. MŚ. (could stand for °pāyay or °pāyāh). In the same passage the next two:

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS. °pāya, not repeated in p p.), *antarīkṣasya* MS TA (and ApŚ *pratīka*, with °pāyā [iti]): and

prāṇasya tvā paraspāyay (MS °pāya, v. l. °pāyās, p p. °pāyāh) *cakṣuṣas* . MS. TA (and ApŚ *pratīka* as before). In these three adjoining formulas only a dative of purpose can be intended: 'for the protection of ' Note that TA has °pāyāh twice and °pāyay once—all in the same passage. VS. has only one of the formulas, in which it uses the dat of a neuter stem °pa- (§801), equivalent to °pā-. This same neuter form is read thrice in MS. s p, but once the v. l °pāyāh occurs (curiously, in the one case in which TA. has the regular dative form °pāyay!), and its p.p. reads °pāyāh in the two cases which it repeats at all

CHAPTER IV

STEMS IN A

I Nominative and vocative plural in *ās* : *āsas*

§153. Among the variants occur only forms of *a* stems, to which *āsas* was originally restricted. In general *āsas* is more ancient, or hieratic and archaizing; *ās* is younger or more popular. Since the variation involves a difference of a syllable in the length of the word, the meter is often concerned in it. But other changes may result in making both forms metrical, and it may be difficult to say in such cases whether these other changes were responsible for the change between *ās* and *āsas*, or vice versa. At times the familiar *ās* is allowed to replace *āsas* in defiance of the meter, without compensatory change. But conversely a later text, in its passion for 'hifalutin' language, sometimes puts in an unmetrical *āsas* for original *ās*.

§154. We begin with variants both forms of which are metrically more or less defensible, and first with those in which we take *āsas* to be the original reading, secondarily altered to *ās*:

yena devāso amṛatvam ānaśuh RV.: *yena devā amṛtam anv avindan* AV. *dhruvāsah* (TB ApŚ *dhruvā ha*) *parvatā ime* RV. AV. KA. TB. ApŚ.

SMB. MG Here TB. ApŚ compensate for the lost syllable by the patch-word *ha*.

devāso (and, *devās tvā*) *dadhire purah* RV. (both). The RV. itself uses a patch-word; the older form was certainly *āsas*.

viśve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV. TS : *viśve devā abhi rakṣantu* (Ppp **ti*, KS *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV.* also *tveha*, and *pakvam*; Ppp *mām iha*; SMB ApMB.HG *paścāt*) AV (ter) Ppp. KS † SMB. ApMB HG. Add to VV 1 §116.

ā yāta pītarah somyāsah (HG. *somyāh*) AV. HG.: *eta pītarah somyāsah* SMB. GG. ViDh : *parā yāta pītarah somyāsah* (HG. *somyāh*) AV. HG. *paretana* (TS KS ApŚ. *pareta*) *pītarah somyāsah* (TS. ApŚ. *somyāh*) TS. MS. KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ. Cf. VV 1 §256

ye devānām ṛtvjo yajñyāsah (and *ṛtvjo ye ca yajñiyāh*) AV. (both). As between these two, it seems clear that *yajñyāsah* is older, the other showing evidences of patch-work. But even it is certainly

secondary to: *ye devānām yajñīyā yajñīyānām* RV. The AV. introduces *ṛtvijo*, exalting the priests at the expense of the gods.

§155. Next a group in which the *ās* forms seem older, *āsas* being as a rule due to conscious archaizing:

tubhyam sulāsah somāh SV.: *tubhyam somāh sūtā ime* RV. The SV. in its eagerness for archaism has crowded out *ime*, and left a *pāda* which is metrically bad.

asmān (MS. KS TS † *asmān*) *u dcrā avalā hareṣu* (MS. KS. *bhareṣu ā*) RV. SV. TS. MS KS : *asmān devāso 'ata hareṣu* AV. †

mā tvā dabhan yātudhānā durevāh (Ppp. *durevā yātudhānāh*) RV. AV. Ppp : *mā tvā dabhan durevāsah kaśolāh* AV.

punar agnayo dhiṣṇyā (ŚŚ °*yāso*) [*yathāsthānam kalpantām* (AV *yathāsthāma kalpayantām ihaiva*, ŚŚ. *yathāsthānam dhārayantām ihaiva*)] AV. ŚB. BṛhU. ŚŚ.: *athāste dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpantām ihaiva svāhā* HG.: *atho yathame dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam kalpayantām ihaiva* MG : *ime ye dhiṣṇyāso agnayo yathāsthānam iha kalpatām* (read °*ntām*) AG. The ŚŚ reading is archaizing and metrically harsh, tho possible. HG. MG. AG. all treat the formula as prose, but all have the archaizing ending

ete pūtā vipāścitaḥ RV.: *te pūtāso vip°* SV.

ye antarikṣa uta ye (Kauś °*kṣe ye ca*) *divi śrūtāḥ* (Kauś °*tāsah*) Kauś. MG. In different contexts. Pronouncing the *a* of *antarikṣe*, MG. makes a good *jaḡati*; eliding it, Kauś makes a good *triṣṭubh*. Kauś wins a hieratic ending only by allowing a rather unhieratic elision (cf. VV 2 p. 420 ff), and is forced to make a further change of *uta* to *ca*.

§156. In the following variant two adjoining adjectives vary in both readings, the longer and shorter endings interchanging in the two forms: *harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (TB. *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutvaḥ* RV TB. N.: *harṣamānā hr̥ṣītāso marutvan* AV. The ms. of Ppp has *ṛṣamānāso ṛṣadā marutvan*, emended by Barret, JAOS. 35. 60, to *hr̥ṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā* (for which *dhṛṣṭā* or *hr̥ṣṭā* would seem at least equally possible) *marutvan*

§157. We now come to cases in which one or the other reading makes distinctly bad meter. In most of them *āsas* is metrically better, and as a rule certainly original:

yatra devāso (KS *devā*) *ajuṣanta viṣve* VS. KS. ŚB MŚ.: *viṣve devā yad ajuṣanta pūrve* TS The latter patches the meter while using the shorter ending If KS. were original (tho metrically poor), the hieratic *devāso* of VS etc would also be an attempt to patch the meter; but on the whole this seems unlikely.

trayo gharimāso anu jyotiṣāguh (MS KS *relasāguh*) TS MS KS ApMB.:
trayo gharimā anu rcta āguh AV.

viśve devāso (AV. *devā*) *aditih sajoṣasāh* AV. Ppp. TS MS ApMB. Cf. also
viśve devāh sajoṣasāh AV. MS. TA.

ye devā (RV VS. AB AŚ ŚB *derāso*) *divy ekādaśa stha* RV. AV. VS.
 TS MS KS AB ŚB MŚ AŚ Sāyana nt AV 19. 27. 11 appar-
 ently read *ye devā divyā divy ekādaśa stha*

yena derāso (AV *devā*) *asahanta dasyūn* RV. AV

vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa (KS *avasṛṣṭā*) *āhutāh* RV VS. MS KS TB ApŚ.
devāso barhūr āsadan RV : *devā barhūr āsata* PB

te devāso (TS *devā*) *yajñam imam* (Ppp *harir idam*) *juṣadhvam* (AV.
juṣantām) RV AV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB.: *te devāso harir idam*
juṣadhvam AV.

viśve devā iha mādayantām (KS. *vīrayadhvam*) TS KS. TB.: *viśve devāso*
iha vīrayadhvam (AV *mādayadhvam*, VS. ŚB Vait. LŚ *mādayan-*
tām) RV AV. VS TS ŚB Vait LŚ ApMB.

§158. Much more rarely the original form has *ās*, and the archaizing change to *āsas* spoils the meter:

ye stha traya ekādaśāh (ŚŚ *ekādaśāsāh*) KS ŚŚ This is really prose and so should not strictly be counted here; but its cadence simulates an anuṣṭubh pāda in KS, the presumably original form

śuddhā bhavata yajñīyāh AV · *śuddhā bhavantah śucayah* (N. *bhavanto yajñīyāsah*) *pāvakāh* AV. N Cf. also *abhūma yajñīyāh śuddhāh* AV Since *pāvakāh* must be read metrically *pavākāh*, the line is triṣṭubh and the AV reading is correct Very likely N. intended it as jagatī, reading *pāvakāh*, and altered the preceding case ending to fit its conception of metrical requirements

§159. The following variant is prose, as is also the first quoted in the preceding paragraph:

āmanasya devā (MS *deva*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāso*) MS KS

2 Neuter plural in *ā* or *āni*

§160. The ending *āni* is, of course, originally borrowed from *n* stems (Wackernagel 3 p 105), where both *ā* and *āni* are prehistoric (Indo-Iranian, *ibid* p 277), and are equally familiar in the Veda It is a curious fact that, nevertheless, the variants reveal practically no shift between *ā* and *āni* in *n* stems; the only possible instance noted is *janimā(m)*, in *viśvā devānām* etc., §164; and cf §269.

§161. Of our variants nearly all are metrical, and in general the meter is reasonably good in both forms, despite the difference in number of

syllables in the two variant forms; the shorter ending is generally accompanied by a patch-word or other difference of reading. Altho *ā* is certainly older and more hieratic than *ānī* (half again as common as *ānī* in RV.), the variants show no clear preponderance of originality in either. The alteration may be in either direction; indeed not infrequently both endings are found in both forms of the variant, but in different words, as in:

brahmajyotiṣā sambhṛtā vīryānī AV.: *bra° vīryā sambhṛtānī* TB
samyopayanto duritānī viśvā RV. MG : *samlabhayanto duritā padānī* AV
at'itāmanto duritā padānī (N. *duritānī viśvā*) AV. N.

§162. Sometimes the different ending goes with a different meter; and there is no clear reason for attributing greater originality to either: *indrasya vocam pra kṛtānī vīryā* RV.: *indrasya nu vīryānī pra vocam*

RV. Ppp ArS. MS. AB KB. TB AA. N.: *indrasya nu prā* (so read, see Whitney) *vocam vīryānī* AV. Jagati and triṣṭubh
naśir aya pra minantī vṛatānī RV. AV.: *nakiṣṭa etā vṛatā minantī* RV.

Triṣṭubh and dvipadā virāj.

sa no nedīṣṭhā havanānī joṣate (MS. *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS. Jagati and triṣṭubh. Cf also: *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (aud, *havanānī joṣat*) KS. (both).

duritānī yānī kṛnī ca cakrma MS : *duritā yānī cakrma* TS. TB TA.

abhi yo viśvā (and, *abhi viśvāni*) *bhuvanāni caṣṭe* RV. (both). See RVRep 117.

lato vi tiṣṭhe bhuvanānu (AV °nāni) *viśvā* RV. AV.

nśvā rūpābhi (MS. *rūpāny abhi*) *caṣṭe śacibhiḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB
The MS. tries to improve the meter, which in the original is read with hiatus, *rūpā abhi*.

aṅgā parūṇṣi tava vardhayanti Vait and AVPpp, JAOS 30 221: *priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ* TB (probably secondary).

tatrāhatās trīṇi śatāni śaṅkavaḥ AV : *tasmīn sākāni trīṇāni na śaṅkavaḥ* RV. N.

apa cakrā avṛtsata KB ŚŚ : *mā cakrā avṛtsata* MS †: *apa cakrāni vartaya* TB. ApŚ. The last clearly secondary.

viśvā devānām (TS. *viśvāni devo*) *janimā vivaṅti* AV. TS. KS Cf *sarvā devānām janimāni vidvān* Kauś, which, if a true variant of the other, would show the only *āni* : *ā* variation noted for an *n* stem, cf §§160, 269. Of the others, AV. KS. are more apt to be original than TS

ata iṃṣi karvarā purūṇi RV. AV. Ppp : *ata invata karvarāni bhūri* AV *sugā vo devāḥ sadanā* (N. °nam) *akarma* (Ppp. MS *kṛnomi*; KŚ. Kauś. *sadanāni santu*) AV. Ppp. VS MS ŚB. KŚ Kauś N : *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS. ApŚ. *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS.

vratā nu (AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ŚG. *vratāni*) *bibhṛad vratapā adābhyah* (MS AB AŚ *adabdhah*) MS AB. TB AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ ŚG. Only RV school texts have *vratāni*, two other schools *vratā nu* But this is, of course, not conclusive evidence of priority

yatremā viśvā bhuvanādha tasthuh RV AV. N. *yenemā viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuh* TA.

yas tā vijānāt sa pītus (TA. *savituh*) *pītāsai* RV AV. TA. N.. *yas tāni veda sa pītus* (VS. *pītuh*) *pītāsai* AV VS

[*achidra usijah padānu takṣuh* TS.: *achidroṣijah kavayah padānutakṣiṣuh*, em from ms *padāni takṣiṣvat*, KS]

§166. The converse of the preceding is shown in a group where *āni* seems to be the older reading Presumably *ā* is here due to conscious archaizing in a secondary text With *ā* often goes a patchword which preserves the meter:

kṣāmad devo 'ti durtāny (TA MahānU *devo atidurtāty*) *agnih* AV. TA MahānU.

priyāny aṅgāni svadhātā parūṇṣi (Vait *aṅgā suḥṛtā purūṇi*) TB Vait *punantu viśvā bhūtāni* (MS *bhūtā mā*, TB *visva āyavaḥ*) AV VS MS KS TB

śalam pavitrā vītātā hy (MS *vītātāny*) *āsu* MS ApŚ ApMB.

ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan (TS MS *bhuvanā vipaśyan*) RV. VS TS MS

ya imā vīśvā bhuvanāni cākṛpe AV ŚirasU *yo rudro vīśvā bhuvanānuveśa*

TS KS ApŚ MŚ. Probably not a real variant

prajāpate na tvad etāny anyah (MS **nr hi tvat tāny anyah*, KS *nah*

tvad anya teta) RV. AV VS TS MS (bis) KS. SB ŚB TB TAA

BrhU AŚ Vait AG. Kauś SMP ApMB N.

§166. We come now to variants in which one form is metrically poor. It happens, a little surprisingly, that the metrically superior form seems always to be historically older, there is no apparent case of secondary correction of the meter. We begin with a few cases in which the original has *ā*, and *āni* is metrically bad:

hinva (Vait *hinvā*) *me gātrā* (KŚ *gātrāni*) *harivah* TS KŚ. ApŚ MŚ Vait

aślau śatā yan mitam tad vadanti ŚB. *aślau ca śatāni* [samvatsarasya, inserted in Gaastra with all but two mss] *muhūrtān yān vadanti* GB

§167. In the rest the *āni* ending is original and metrically superior. The form in *ā* is in several instances clearly due to haplology, these (the first two) are treated in VV 2 §808

vīśvāny anyo (AV *vīśvānyo*) *bhuvanābhicaṣṭe* (AV. MS. *bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*) RV AV MS TB

trīni padāni (TA MahānU. *padā*) *nihitā guhāsya* (TA MahānU. *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU.--Ppp ms *padānihatā* which Barret, JAOS 30 195, emends to the AV reading, but it may equally well go with TA MahānU

yasmin vīśvāni bhuvanāni (MS *vīśvā bhuvanādhi*) *tasthuh* RV VS MS Cf prec but one, the unmetrical *vīśvā* may have been influenced by *bhuvanā*, the first alteration (?)

tirāś cūttāni (KS ms *cūttā*) *vasavo yighānsati* RV AV MS. KS: *tirah satyāni maruto yighānsāt* TS Von Schroeder emends KS to *cūttāni*, which seems rather arbitrary

sa cūttāni (Ppp ms *cūttām*) *mohayatu pareṣām* AV. Ppp Barret, JAOS 32 351, reads Ppp as *cūttā*. It may, however, have intended *cūttāni*

agnir vṛtrāni jañghanat RV. SV etc In Svidh. occurs the *pratika-agnir vṛtreṭi*, i.e. apparently, *vṛtrā-iti*. Perhaps a corruption.

§168. Finally, a few variants in which one or both versions are prose. The first is particularly interesting, in it TS and PB are prose, and

substitute the prosaic *āni* for the *ā* of the other texts. Or else, was the prose version older, and to make it metrical was *ā* substituted for *āni*? *elā* (TS PB *elāni*) *te aghnye* (TS *aghnye*, PB *'ghnye*) *nāmāni* VS TS PB. ŚB MŚ

abhi savanāni (TS *savanā*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS KS ŚB Prose in both *ariṣṭāni me sarvātmanibhṛṣṭah* AV. *ariṣṭāni me sarvāṅgāni santu* (PG. *me 'ṅgāni*) Vait PG. *ariṣṭā viśvāny aṅgāni* TS TAA MŚ Prose in both

3 Instrumental plural in *ais* : *ebhis*

§169. The variants are not very numerous nor particularly interesting. In most of them *ais* is substituted for an original *ebhis*. Thus most clearly in the following group, where *ais* is unmetrical:

sam vājebhih (MS *vājaih*) *puruścandrar abhidyubhih* RV AV MS † 2 2 6b: 20 4, KS

samjñānam nah (KS *nas*, TB. *na*, Poona ed *nah*) *svebhyah* (AV. *svebhih*, TB *svaih*) RVKh AV. MS. KS. TB Followed by.

samjñānam araṇebhyah (AV *aranebhih*, TB. *araṇaiḥ*), same texts. The AV forms in both these variants are not good metrically, but TB. is much worse

tvaṣṭar devebhih sahasāma indra ApMB.: *tvaṣṭā devaiḥ sahamāna indrah* MG

somo rudrar (TS *rudrebhar*) *abhi rakṣatu tmanā* TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ

It is strange that only TS (usually secondary in relation to MS. KS) has the metrically correct form (against three different schools!). Is it possible, after all, that the others have the original reading (tho poor metrically), and that TS has corrected the meter secondarily?

gambhīrebhih pathubhih pūrvinebhih (MS. *pūrvēbhih*) MS KS AŚ SMB. *gambhīraḥ pathubhih pūrvyāḥ* (AV *pūrvyānaiḥ*) AV TS HG. The meter requires *gambhīrebhih* thruout. Whitney on AV 18 4 63 suggests emendation of MS to *pūrvyebhih*, which was evidently the original on which TS HG *pūrvyāḥ* is based.

§170. In another little group AV. seems secondary in substituting *ais* for *ebhis*, tho it preserves the meter by patch-words or other changes. *aṅgrobhar ā gah yajñyebhih* RV TS MS : *aṅgrobhar yajñiyar ā gāḥi* AV.

preṭu-preṭu pathubhih pūrvyebhih (AV. *pūrvyānaiḥ*) RV. AV. MS AŚ AG

vīryebhar (MS *vīrebhar*, AV. *yau vīryar*) *vīratamā śaviṣṭhā* (TB *śaci*°, Poona ed. *śav*°) AV. VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ.

§171. In other cases, on the contrary, it seems a fair guess that the older version is that with *ais*, the archaizing *ebhis* being secondary, tho the meter is not necessarily decisive

jambhyais (KS. °*bhyebhis*) *taskarān* (KS. † °*rān*) *ula* VS. TS. KS. In

KS the suffixed *y* is metrically inferior, being consonantal in pronunciation; perhaps KS archaizes secondarily

saṃśā devair (VS ŠB *saṃśā devebhīr*) *avarāṣ paraiś ca* VS TS MS KS ŠB

tebhiṣ tvam putram janaya ŚG *taiś tvam putram* (ApMB *putrān*) *vindasva* AV ApMB . *taiś tvam garbhini bhava* HG Note that ŚG. is forced to read *tvam* as a monosyllable

satyam pūrvair (KS *pūrvēbhīr*) *ṛṣibhiḥ samvidānah* (KS † °*bhiṣ cākṣpānah*, ApŚ °*bhiṣ cākṣpānah*) MS KS ApŚ Here KS spoils the meter

§172 In the following neither metrical nor other considerations clearly decide the original form

mitrāvarunau dhiṣnyaiḥ (KS °*yebhīr agnibhiḥ*) MS KS *aṅirasō dhiṣnyair agnibhiḥ* TA (prose in the latter)

mṛdam barsvaiḥ (TS *barsvebhīḥ*) VS. TS MS KSA Prose The majority are more apt to be original

mandūkān jambhyebhiḥ (KSA *jambhaiḥ*) TS KSA TB ApŚ Prose

4 Ablative singular in *āt* and *tas*

§173. The few variants under this head all concern pronouns or pronominal adjectives, and hence belong, perhaps, more properly in our chapter on Pronouns. The forms are, moreover, adverbial or quasi-adverbial in function. Two concern *uttarāt* or *uttaratas*, one *tasmāt* and *tatas*. The last variant, whose right to be placed here is highly questionable, presents three rare forms in *tāt* from *añc* stems, dubious in character and solely R̥gvedic, for which AV substitutes more usual forms in *tas*

visvakarmā tvādyair uttarataḥ (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS KS ŠB. °*visvakarmā va ādyair uttarata upadadhatām* TA

jāgrvīś ca mārundhatī collarād (MG *collarato*) *gopāyatām* KS † MG † *tasmād* (ArŚ VS VSK *tato*) *virād ajāyata* RV ArŚ VS. VSK TA *prāktād apāktād* (AV *prākto apākto*) *adharād udaktāt* (AV *udaktah*) RV AV

5 Instrumental singular of *ā* stems in *ā* and *ayā*

§174. Only one or two dubious cases

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām*, *abhi*, AV KS *jihvayābhi*)

†grñitam (AV qñnata) AV. VS TS MS KS. Cf VV 2 §309. The AV KS parallel suggests taking MS as an instr., in spite of p p ayā pavā pavasvainā vasūni RV SV. PB · ula na enā parayā parasta RV SV. The accent of parayā is on the ultima, which gives pause Oldenberg (Noten on 9 97 53) suggests, among other solutions, that we have either mistaken accentuation caused by that of ayā' in the preceding (the first variant just quoted), or adverbial shift of accent

svāveśayā (VS ŚB °veśā) tanvā samvasasra VS MS KS ŚB Wackernagel 3 p 118 supra takes svāveśā as instr., as the parallel suggests But below, §415, we have suggested taking it as nom

[āśīrdāyā dampatī vāmam aśnūtām TS . yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnūtah VS yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnūtah TS : yanyāśīṣā dampatī vāmam aśnūtah AV Keith takes āśīrdāyā' as dual adj with dampatī, we prefer to take it for āśīrdāyāyā with Wackernagel 3 p 116 infra In any case there is no variation between case-forms ā and ayā, rather -dāyā and -dā are from the different stems -dāyā and -dā]

CHAPTER V

SHORT AND LONG *i* STEMS

§175. Out of a mass of miscellaneous variants concerning *i* and *ī* declensions, there stands forth with overwhelming force a large group showing confusion between forms proper to the four declensions which are primarily and regularly feminine, viz. the short *i* feminines (type *gati*), the monosyllabic 'radical' *ī* stems (type *śrī*), and the two derivative *ī* declensions (types *devī* and *vrkī*). We shall begin with these, in §§176-213. Their treatment in Wackernagel 3 pp. 134 ff., 163 ff., which see for the extensive earlier bibliography, is in general excellent. While our materials do not perhaps reveal much that is new in principle, they nevertheless supplement Wackernagel on many points, and they emphasize rather more than his treatment the interchanges in various directions. Occasionally they suggest that forms in which Wackernagel sees other influences may well be due to simple confusion between the declensions (cf. notably §189).

§175a. No very distinct school tendencies seem to us to be shown by the variants. Yet we would call attention to the behavior of the Tattiriya school, which in certain groups of variants seems to show a sort of perverse desire to differ from the regular usage. Thus, the endings *ībhī*, *ībhīyas*, and *ībhīām* from short *i* stems (similarly *ūbhīām* from short *u* stems, §230) seem to be characteristic of this school (§§188-9), while conversely it shows some tendency to prefer short *i* forms from *ī* stems (see notably §§198-9). Nor are these sections the only ones which contain examples of such perverseness in the Tart. school. We have noticed like conditions in this school on other points; cf. VV 2 *passim*, notably §§767, 946.

1. *ī* forms from *i* stems

§176. We shall begin with variations between short and long *i* forms and first those in which apparently original *i* stems present *ī* (*devī* or *vrkī*) forms. From the phonetic standpoint these cases have been treated in VV 2 §§526 ff.

§177. Nom. sg. in *īs* from *i* stems. Here a striking group of cases concerns lengthening of the *i* in the nom. sg. of *i* stems, resulting in forms like *vrkīs*. While some of them are more or less dubious, they

are too numerous and on the whole too well attested to permit doubt of the reality of the phenomenon, which so far as we can see happens not to be recorded by Wackernagel (cf. *lus p* 135). In every variant the *ī* is secondary historically:

ayās cāgne 'sy *anabhiśastiś* (AŚ ApMB HG °*tīś*) ca MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ
KS ApŚ Kauś ApMB HG

abhiśṭir (HG °*ṣṭir*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG. ca no *grhe*) RVKh HG.

plāṣir (TB °*ṣir*) *vyaktah śatadhāra utsah* VS MS KS. TB.

viśvā abhiśṭih pṛtanā jayati MS. *viśvā hi bhūyāh pṛtanā abhiśṭih* TS.

'In all conflicts he shall become a protector,' Kerth, who would read *abhiśṭih*. The accent, on the ultima (so also MS), supports this interpretation, the fcm. 'protection' is *abhiśṭi*. But we see no reason to refuse to admit, even in a masculine, confusion with the *vrkī* declension, we should not emend TS. Add to VV 2 §529.

saṃ arīr (MS KS *arīr*) *vidām* (KS *vidah*) VS MS KS ŚB. The meaning is obscure, and the interpretation of *arīr* doubly so. Eggeling on ŚB 3.9.4.21 takes it as acc pl; BR as nom sg.; the author of ŚB understood it as nom. pl, see Eggeling's note, Wackernagel 3 §§70, 78 considers the passage corrupt and would emend to *vidrām*, implying *arīr* as nom pl; a nom sg. *arīr* is to him 'unglaublich'. Had he known the other forms in this section he might have been less emphatic. We think that they prove *arīr* as nom sg. not at all impossible in itself.

[*vañkrīr aśvasya svadhītih saṃ elī* RV. VS. TS. KSA. Cone quotes *vañkrīr* for all texts but KSA, actually *vañkrīr* is found in all, and is an acc pl.]

§178. Nom sg. in *ī* from *i* stems. The forms in which *ī* of the *devī* type is substituted for *i* are on the whole more dubious than the preceding group, but the first, at least, seems to be a clear and a well attested case.

ātīr (TA KSA *āli*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS. TS MS KSA. Stem *āti* is Rigvedic.

saṃ te melhī bhavatu saṃ yugasya tṛdma ApMB: *saṃ melhīr bhavatu saṃ yugasya tārāma* AV. There is much variation in the form of this word (see BR), but *i* forms are older and at all periods more usual.

kārṣīr (MS KS MŚ *kārṣy*) *asi* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ. BrhPDh. Boehtlingk in pw assumes a stem *kārṣin* for the form *kārṣy*, but in so doing falsifies the accent, which in MS is written *kā'rṣy*. MS. pp reads *kārṣih, asi*. Knauer (on MŚ. 2.3.17)

suggests irregular sandhi for *kārṣis*. On the whole, the variant seems to differ in no wise from the preceding two, except that the original form (*i* or *ī* stem?) is uncertain.

ranīr asī TS.: *ranī ramatīh sūnuh sūnārī* ApŚ : *vasvī ranīh sumanāh* MS . *sumanmā vasvī ranī sūnārī* SV JB. But the SV. is very uncertain, it may be taken with the comm as a dual, see Benfey, Glossar, s v. *ram*. The form *ranī* of ApŚ is for *ranīs* by the usual sandhi.

atha jivirī (RV. *adhā jivirī*, ApMB *athā jivirī*) *vdatham ā vadāsi* (RV. *vadāthah*) RV. AV. ApMB See VV 2 §529 In RV. dual, in ApMB sing but possibly influenced by recollection of the RV form *śiraḥ-śiraḥ prati sūri vi caṣṭe* TS ApŚ : *śiro devī prati sūrur vi caṣṭe* KS A peculiar case; *sūri* is a fem nonce-formation to the usual *sūri*, which is used without change in KS as a fem. It reminds us of the tendency noted below (§225) towards a repartition of short *u* stems and *ū* stems as masc and fem. respectively, but this is the only case noted of such a tendency among *i* stems

§179. Acc sg in *īm* from *i* stems. Only a couple of cases, each involving, perhaps, extraneous considerations:

ākūlīm devīm subhagām (TB. *manasah*) *puro dadhe* AV. TB.: *ākūlīm devīm manasā prapadye* SMB. Perhaps *ī* in SMB. by form-attraction to *devīm*.

kratvā varṣṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV. AV.: *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV. Here the meter favors *ī*, and is perhaps responsible for the SV. form

§180. Voc. sg. in *i* from *i* stems. We find a number of cases in which the regular voc. *e* in *i* stems is replaced by *i*, from the *i* declension:

pūrṇā darvī (AV. MS. *darve*) *parā pata* AV VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ ApŚ. In RV. only stem *darvī*

yās ca bhūmy adharāg yās ca paścā MS . *yās te bhūme adharād yās ca paścāt* AV. The stem *bhūmi* has *devī* forms even in RV, probably influenced by its synonym *prthivī* (cf. Wackernagel 3 p 136)

abhy enaṁ bhūma ūrṇuḥī (TA *bhūmi vṛnu*) RV. AV. TA. Cf. prec *ide rante 'dite sarasvatī priye preyasī mahi vīsrutī* TS . *ide rante* (MŚ *rante juṣṭe*) *sarasvatī mahi vīsrutē* PB MŚ The form *vīsrutī* may be formally assimilated to *mahī* (and *sarasvatī*?)

§181. Dat sg in *yai* from *i* stems. The extension of *devī* forms to the *i* declension in the dat., abl., gen., and loc. sg. was so common and persistent that it is familiar even in classical Sanskrit, where it also applies to the monosyllabic *ī* stems (type *śrī*); cf. §209 for Vedic variants

of this declension We shall also find, in §209, a case of a *vr̥kī* noun showing a dative of the *devī* type It is worth noting that no *devī* nouns occur among the variants with dative forms borrowed from the rival *ī* and *i* declensions, but there is one isolated instance of an abl. sg. of *vr̥kī* type from a *devī* stem, §210

§182. Among the dative forms here collected, there is little clear indication of relative age, but if anything the older texts seem unexpectedly to prefer the *yai* ending. (To be included here is also the variant *yatra bhūmer* [*bhūmyai*]. . §143 above, where *bhūmyai* has gen. function) Most of the variants are prose; once *yai* (monosyllabic) seems intended to make meter out of what is a prose formula in the other texts:

devavīlaye (MS °*vītyai*) *tvā* (KS *vo*) *gr̥hṇāmi* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB.

ApŚ. *devatābhīyas tvā devavīlaye gr̥hṇāmi* KS Only MS is intended to be metrical

rlaye (TB *ṛtyai*) *ślenahṛdayam* VS TB.

amuṣṭup (TB °*luk*) *pañktyai* (MŚ *pañklaye*) TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

bhūtyai (AŚ *bhūlaye*) *namah* MS. ApŚ MŚ AŚ.

adītyai (ŚG. °*laye*) *svāhā* VS TS. MS. KSA ŚB TB. ŚG

sarveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (etc.) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ omit) 'bhūbhū-
laye (TS ApŚ *abhūbhūtyai*, ŚŚ 'bhūbhṛtyai, KS. 'bhūbhūtyai) *svāhā*
TS PB. ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ.

vasyaṣṭaye (misprinted *vaspa*°) *tvā* LŚ.: *vasyaṣṭyai tvā* Vart

cūṭṭaye svāhā HG.: *cūṭṭyai svāhā* ApŚ.

gopīthāya v. nārālaye MS : *bhūtāya tvā nārālaye* VS. ŚB.: *rakṣāyai tvā nārātyai* KS : *sphātīyai tvā nārātyai* TS. TB ApŚ.

anumatāye (TB. °*tyai*) *svāhā* ŚB TB. BṛhU. AG. ŚG. Kauś : *asūyantīyai cānumatīyai ca svāhā* AŚ.

suvargeyāya (VSK *sva*°) *śaktyai* (VSK. ŚvetU. *śaktyā*) VSK TS. ŚvetU : *svargyāya śaktyā* (MS. *śaklaye*) VS MS KS ŚB. Metrical, *śaktyai* three syllables

§183. A couple of infinitive variants in *e* : *ai* may be added here, altho they are probably not really comparable The origin of the *ai* of certain infinitive forms is really unexplained, that *-dhyai* is formed by affixing the dative ending (IE **ai* or **ei* =) Skt *e* to a stem final **dhya* or **dhyā*, as commonly assumed, is hardly more than a placebo, and still less likely is it that the frequent ending *-lavai* (with double accent, on stem and ending both) is from a stem **lava* or **lavā*, since the parallel and similar *-lave* obviously belongs to stem *tu* (see below, §238) But whatever be the history of these forms, the important

point for our purposes is that from RV. on the infinitive of this type is always *dhyai*, never *dhye* except in the isolated TS occurrence of our first variant; and this is likely to be a mere phonetic simplification of *ai* to *e* (VV 2 §705). The other variant which follows is even more dubious:

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS : *tā* (VS. ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhyai* RV. VS MS. KS. ŚB. N. Two mss of KS also have *gamadhye*.

parīdhāsyai yaśodhāsyai PG : *parīdhāsyē yaśo dhāsyē* MG The MG. forms, at least, are best taken as verbs (fut ind). Stenzler (questioningly) and Oldenberg follow the comm in taking *-dhāsyai* as an infinitive form and *yaśodhāsyai* as a cpd Cf. VV 1 §177, 2 §705

§184. Abl.-gen. sg in *yās* from *i* stems What has been said on the datives in *yai* applies equally here. It only needs to be noted, further, that in the first group of variants the form for which *yās* is secondarily substituted in SV. is not the usual *es*, but the older *yas*, which is the only form known in RV. from the stem *av*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 138: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre* (SV. **vāraiḥ*) *pari priyah* RV. SV. (ter): *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyam* RV SV.: *avyo* (SV. *ṛavyā*) *vārebhīḥ pavate madīntamah* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vārebhīr arṣati* (SV. *avyata*) RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāre mahīyate* RV. SV.: *avyo vāreṣu* (SV. *avyā vārebhīr*) *asmayuh* RV. SV.: *avyo* (SV. *avyā*) *vāraiḥ paripūtaḥ* RV. SV.

yonyā (TA *yoner*) *iva pracyuto garbhah* AV. TA.

eṣā tvā pātu nīrtīr upasthāt (TA. *nīrtīyā upasthe*, AV. *prapathe purastāt*) RV. AV. TA.

sūryāyā ūdhe 'dityā (VSK.† KŚ.† *adityā*, MŚ *ūdhar aditer*, KS. *ūdho adīter*) *upasthe* VSK. TS KS ŚŚ. KŚ MŚ.

adityā (VS. TS ŚB *adityai*, VSK *aditer*) *bhāgo 'sī* VS VSK TS. MS KS. ŚB. MŚ.

§185. Nom.-acc. dual in *yau* from *i* stems A single variant shows this form in three YV. texts of different schools, while only one (VS.) has the 'proper' ending *ī*, clearly as a secondary substitution (note that the meter requires *śronyau*, as three syllables). The ending *yau* belongs originally to the *ṛkī* declension, whence it was taken over first into the *devī* nouns (§212, below), and then sporadically into *i* stems:

aṁsau grīvāś ca śronyau (VS *śronī*) VS. MS. KS TB.

§186. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual: see §189 below.

§187. Nom. pl *īs* from *i* stems In one variant TS has *vahnīs*, an

isolated form of *vahni*, which seems never to have been noticed previously, for the regular *vahnayas* of other texts, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and parallel *daivī*

upa (TS MS *upo*) *devān daivīr viśah prāgur vahnaya* (TS *vahnīr*) *uśījah* (VS. ŚB. *prāgur uśījo vahnītamān*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB.

§188. Instr, dat-abl. pl *ī-bhīs*, *-bhyas*, from *i* stems Regarding *ī* in these forms, it is to be noted that the *p p* of TS. reads short *i* where the *s p* has *ī*, suggesting that *ī* was interpreted as (originally rhythmic) lengthening of quasi-final *i* (this lengthening is regularly abolished in the pada-pāthas, VV 2 §428) This lengthening seems specially common before labial consonants (VV 2 §§464 ff, 515 f, etc) It may be noted, however, that the other conditions favorable to such lengthening, which include the vowel's being followed by a single consonant, exist only in the instr plur (*-bhīs*). The general influence of the *ī* stems, so common in other case forms, seems to us an amply sufficient explanation of these forms also; other pada-pāthas do not seem to support that of TS; and we are not inclined to see influence of the law of rhythmic lengthening here —The variants in this and the next section seem to suggest a preference for *ī* in the Tait. school; so also with *ū* for *u*, §230; cf. §175a

ṛtūn prṣṭībhih (KSA *prṣṭibhih*, ms *bhr*°) TS KSA. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* 2 359, take *prṣṭi* for an *ī* stem, but the usual theory (e.g. Wackernagel 3 p 136) that makes it an *i* stem is more plausible.

prṣṭibhyah (KSA. *prṣṭi*°) *svāhā* TS KSA See prec

svāhākṛtibhyah (TS ApŚ °*tibhyah*) *preṣya* TS ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ.

Most MŚ mss °*tibhyah*

hrādunibhyah (KSA °*ni*°) *svāhā* VS. TS KSA. Originally *i* stem; Wackernagel 3 p. 138

§189. Instr-dat-abl dual in *ibhyām* from *i* stems. The forms *akṣibhyām* and *śronibhyām* are in our opinion in no wise different from the plural forms of the preceding section. We cannot agree with Wackernagel 3 pp 54 f, 303, who regards them as directly based upon the nom dual *akṣī*, *śronī* If other *ī* forms from short *i* stems were unknown, or even rare, this suggestion might be considered. But since just the opposite is the case, we see no reason to look for any more specific motivation of these dual forms. Note that the stem *śroni* even has a nom dual *śronyau*, following the (*vrkī*, or later) *devī* declension (§185).

sucakṣā aham akṣibhyām (MG. *akṣi*°) *bhūyāsam* AG PG. MG. N. In the older language the form with *ī* is commoner than that with *i*

mutrāvarunau śronibhyām (KSA °nī°) TS KSA

śronibhyām (TS °nī°) *svāhā* TS KSA.

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB °nī°, v 1 °nī°) *bhāsadāt* RV AV ApMB
ya° bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV.

2 i stems of uncertain quantity

§190. So far we have dealt only with what we believe to have been originally short i stems, attracted towards ī declensions. The reverse process is at least equally common, especially with *devī* nouns, but also with *vr̥kī* and monosyllabic (*śrī*) types. The confusion is in a few cases so old and profound that we really do not know which is original. Thus the question of *takarī* or °rī is left doubtful by Wackernagel (3 p 186), and we can add nothing to his statement except that in the following variant AVPpp, according to Roth, has *tagarim*

vi te bhīnadmi takarīm (KS °rim, AV. *mchanam*, Ppp *tagarim* [Roth])
 AV. TS KS ApŚ.

§191. The most familiar case of this sort is the notorious *oṣadhī* or °dhī. Lanman (NI 371) classified it doubtfully as a *devī* noun. Wackernagel (3 p 186) contents himself with stating the broad facts, as follows. the *śug* (lacking in RV. family books) has only i forms in the Veda (to W's single exception from AV. we can add another from ApMB, §192). In the plural RV and AV. have ī forms except in the nom. (voc), where *ayas* and *īs* interchange. Both types are found later, but i forms predominate in classical Sanskrit.

§192. Our variants from this stem are few except for the nom. pl. We have noted only one acc. sg. and one dat. pl.:

imām khaṇāmy oṣadhīm (ApMB °dhīm) RV. AV. ApMB

oṣadhibhyah (ŚG °dhī°, sc *namah*) MG. ŚG

§193. As to the nom. pl., the forms *ayas* and *īs* are not metrically equivalent and in metrical variants (which include all but one of those here noted) this needs to be borne in mind. In nearly all of them *īs* is the older form, historically, and in most it is also favored by the meter. As a rule later texts substitute *ayas*, often without any attempt to patch the meter.

yā oṣadhīh (AV TS TB Kauś PrānāgU °dhayah) *somarājñīh* RV AV
 VS TS AB TB PrānāgU Kauś SMB GG KhG

yatrauṣadhīh samagmata RV. VS : *yad oṣadhayah śumgachante* (KS *samagmata*) TS MS KS

yā oṣadhīh pūrvā jātāh RV VS KS ŚB ŚŚ KŚ N *yā oṣadhayah prathamajāh* MS KS MŚ MG. *yā jātā oṣadhayah* TS TB ApŚ

Note that MS etc. by a further change make passable meter.

kalpantām āpa oṣadhayah (TS TB. °dhāh) VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB. TB.

Here probably *ayas* is original, tho poor metrically, and the secondary *īs* is introduced to improve the meter

śam no bhavantu āpa oṣadhayah (AV.* °dhāh) śivāh AV (bīṣ). (Read *āpa* at 2 3 6; see Whitney's note) The meter is certainly better with *īs*.

oṣadhīh prati modadhvam RV. VS : *oṣadhayah prati modadhvam enam* (KS om *enam*, VS ŚB. °dhvam agnīm etam) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.: *oṣadhayah prati grbhñīta* VS VSK ŚB : *oṣadhayah prati grbhñītāgnum* (MS *grbhñī*°) etam TS MS. KS The RV. is clearly old and sound with *oṣadhīh*. Most other texts, if really based on it, substitute *oṣadhayah*, which spoils the meter, some try to patch it with generally poor success

śam oṣadhayo rasena VS TS MS. KS ŚB TB ŚŚ : *śam oṣadhībhir oṣadhīh* VS ŚB Probably not real variants, both metrically passable

oṣadhayah (RV VS °dhāh) *prācucyavuh* RV VS TS. MS KS. The RV. original is here rather poor metrically (Oldenberg suggests *pra acu*°), and the change to *-ayah* was doubtless meant to improve it
indrāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī āpa oṣadhīh (KS °dhayah) TS KS : *sūryāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī uro antarikṣāpa oṣadhayah* MS Vocatives. This is the only prose variant, the isolated TS is apt to be secondary.

3 *i* forms from *ī* stems

§194. The stem *rātrī* There is no doubt that *rātrī* 'night' (Wackernagel 3 p 185) was originally a *devī* noun, as it still is exclusively in RV. According to Wackernagel, KS also has only *ī* forms except *rātrayah* which it uses exclusively for *rātrih* in the nom pl, and a single case of nom sg *rātrih* In the variants, as we should expect, older texts in general show *ī* forms, later ones *i* forms We find:

§195. Nom sg in *is*:

tato rātry (TA *rātrir*) *ajāyata* RV TA ManānU. Two mss of MahānU. *rātrir*

rātri (TB *rātrī*, KS v l *rātrih*) *ślomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °ṣī) RV KS. TB Voc. in RV.

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK TA *rātrih*) *prati dhāyatām* AV. VS. VSK MS TA On VS see §206.

§196. Acc sg in *im* (note preference of KS for *īm*, cf Wackernagel l c):

rātrīm-rātrīm (MS KS ŚB KŚ MG *rātrīm-rātrīm*) *aprayāvam bharaṇtaḥ* AV TS MS KS ŚB KŚ MG

anuvāsi (etc, see VV 2 §255) *rātrīm* (VS MS KS † *rātrīm*) *jinvā*
VS TS. MS KS GB Vait

rātrīm (KSA *rātrīm*) *pīvasā* TS KSA

rātrīm dhenum wāyātīm (AV *upāyātīm*) AV HG. ApMB : *rātrīm dhe°*
wā° SMB PG MG

rātrīm (KS *rātrīm*) *jinvā* TS KS PB Vait

ye rātrīm (KS *rātrīm*) *anutaṣṭhanti* (KS † °ṣṭhatha) AV KS

§197. Nom pl in *ayas*

yās te rātrīh (MS KS *rātrayah*) *savitar devayānīh* TS MS KS Here
rātrīh certainly makes better meter, but is found only in TS,
while MS KS (generally older than TS) agree on *rātrayah*. The
latter is the usual Vedic form (but no nom pl occurs in RV. or
AV), and is prescribed for the Veda by Pān 4 1 31

§198. The stem *varūtrī* (or *varu°*, VV 2 §562) Like *rātrī* this is
originally a *devī* noun but shows 2 forms (Wackernagel 3 p 184), tho
only in texts of the Tait school among the variants (cf §175a).

Acc sg. in *im*.

varūtrīm (KS † *varutrim*) *tvaṣṭur varunasya nābhīm* TS KS · *varūtrīm*
tvaṣṭur varunasya nābhīm VS ŚB *tvaṣṭur varutrim varuṇasya*
nābhīm MS

Nom pl in *ayas*.

varūtrayo janayas tvā devīr TS · *varūtrīṣ tvā* (KS °trīs *tvā*) *devīr visva-*
devyāvatīh VS KS. ŚB Wackernagel 1 c. suggests that *varū-*
trayas is influenced by the adjoining *janayas*. But this will not
explain the other variants here

varutrir avayan KS : *varūtrayas †tvāvayan* ApŚ

§199. Root *ī* stems, type *śrī*. Cf. Wackernagel 3 p 187. Here
forms of the 2 type are rare. We find two involving the nom sg (one
of them, however, doubtful), and two the dative plural. Again, as in
the prec, Tait texts seem to favor short 2

veṣaśrīr (TS. °śrīr) *asi* TS KS GB PB. Vait LŚ Wackernagel 1 c
suggests influence of the neighboring *vasyaṣṭir asi* in TS

asrīvayaś (TS ApŚ. °viś, MS. °viś) *chandah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ
The word is obscure and probably artificial VS. comm takes
°*vayaś* as a cpd containing stem *vayas*. It must certainly be felt
as nom sg, and so the other forms of the variant. If they are
felt as containing the stem *vi* (in *pada-vī* etc), the variation between
MS and TS would belong here

namah senābhayah senānībhyaś (VS TS °nībhyaś) *ca vo namah* VS TS
MS. KS Sec VV 2 §527 and (for the same shortening of the stem
in composition) §523

namah śvanībhyo (MS. *śvanī°*) VS MS. KS.: *namo mṛgayubhyah śvanībhyas ca ro namah* TS. See VV 2 §525. Bochtlingk's postulation of a stem *śvanin* 'having dogs' is most implausible, particularly in view of *senūnībhyas* above

§200. Other *i* stems (mostly of the *devi* type) show only sporadically variant forms of the *i* declension among the variants. We shall classify them by case forms; first, nom. sg. in *ih* for *i*:

prati tvā parvatī (TS. TB. °hr, MS. KS. MŚ. *pārīatī*) *rrlhu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. MŚ. One ms. of KS. *parvatī*.

nārīr asi VS. TS. MS. ŚB. TA. MŚ.: *nāry asi* VS. KS. ŚB. The stem *abhrir* or *babhrir* almost always found in the context may have caused form assimilation (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

ambā ca bulā ca nīlatnī ca MS.: *ambā dūlā nīlatnīr*. TS. In AV. 6.136.1 *nīlatnī* is the epithet of a plant, here of a brick. The chances are that the *i* stem is original.

§201. The original type of the stem *skambhani* (°nī) is variously given. Macdonell, VGr. §375A3, implausibly thinks that it is a cpd. of *skambha* and the root-noun *nī*. We prefer to hold (with BR. and Wackernagel 3 p. 183) that it is fem. to RV. *skāmbhana*. If the accent of VS. VSK. (*skambhani*°, TS. °nī) is correct, the rule would require *vr̥kī* declension, so that in our variant VS. would be regular, VSK. irregular. KS. has no accents in this mantra but in 27 accents *skāmbhani*, which would suggest that the fem. stem is a *devi* form. In either case Tait. texts have a shortening of the *i*, as seems to be their tendency:

diva (*divas*, *divah*) *skambhanīr* (VS. ŚB. °nīr, VSK.† KS.† °ny) *asi* VS. VSK. KS. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. In KS. 1.6 read *skambhany asi* *dhānyam asi*, acc. to note on KS. 31.5

§202. Nom. pl. in *ayas* for *īs* or *yas* (On the endings *īs* and *yas* in the *devi* declension see §213)

aṅgulayah śakvarayo diśas ca me yajñena kalpantām VS.: *śakvarīr aṅgulayo diśas* TS. MS. KS. The form *śakvarayo* is likely to have been influenced by the neighboring *aṅgulayah* (Wackernagel 3 p. 184).

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśah* (MS. KSA.† *viśah*) VS. TS. MS. KSA. The meter requires three syllables, *patnayah* is otherwise familiar (Wackernagel 3 p. 183 f.)

nārīs (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS. TS. KSA. *mahānāmni revatayah* TS. MS. KSA.: *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS. See Wackernagel 3 p. 184.

§203. Instr pl in *ibhis* for *ibhis*

śamābhūh śamyantu tvā VS.: *śimābhūh* (KSA † *śimī*°) *śimyanu tvā* TS
KSA

§204. Voc sg. in *e* for *i*, among the variants only by apparent assimilation to neighboring forms in *e*, as suggested for our first variant by Boehtlingk *ZDMG* 52 81, Wackernagel 3 p 185 top:

sarasvate 'nu (GG *sarasvaty anu*) *manyasva* GG. KhG ApG HG In preceding *pāda* occur *adite* and *anumate*, to which *sarasvate* seems assimilated

sū tubhyam adite mahi (TS *mahe*) VS TS MS KS ŚB Again doubtless assimilation of *mahe* to *adite*

4 Interchanges between different *i* declensions

§205. So much for variants between long and short *i* declensions We now come to variations between forms proper to different *i* declensions, that is to the three types *devī*, *vrkī*, and *śrī* We begin with

§206. Nom sg in *ī* (of *devī* type) from *vrkī* nouns. In most of these variants the *īs* form is older, as we should expect. *Vrkī* nouns begin to appear with noms. of *devī* type, lacking *s*, as early as RV itself (Wackernagel 3 p 172)

adurmanāḡalīh (AV °*lī*, Ppp °*līṣ*) *patilokam ā viśa* (AV *viśemam*) RV.
AV Ppp. SMB ApMB

gaurīr (AV *gaur in*, TB. TA *gaurī*) *mumūya sahlāni takṣatī* RV. AV.
TB AA TA. N

viśvarūpā śabalīr (KS *śavalī*) *agniketuh* TS KS PG

sinhīr asī TS MS. ApŚ MŚ *sinhy asī* VS KS. ŚB KŚ. *sinhīr* (KS *sinhy*) *asī rāyaspoṣavanīh* TS MS. KS *sinhīr* (VS KS ŚB KŚ *sinhy*) *asī sapatnasāhī* VS TS MS KS ŚB MŚ KŚ. *sinhīr* (KS. *sinhy*) *asī suprajāvanīh svāhā* TS MS KS. *sinhy asī suprajāvanīh rāyaspoṣavanīh svāhā* VS ŚB : *sinhīr* (VS KS ŚB *sinhy*) *asī ādityavanīh* (MS adds *saṣṭāvanīh*) *svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB

mahiṣīr (KS °*ṣy*) *asī* TS MS KS MŚ On this see Lanman, *NI* 368 In RV the word is *māhiṣī*, with accent and inflection of *devī* type, in TS MS *mahiṣī'r*, of *vrkī* type KS accents *mahiṣy asī*, as if of *vrkī* type, but yet has the *devī* ending Wackernagel 3 p 179 distinguishes two words, *mahiṣī* 'Buffelkuh', and *māhiṣī* 'Furstin', the latter he separates entirely from *mahiṣā* and regards as fem to compy *māhiṣyas* This however seems forced In RV. 5 25 7d (repeated elsewhere) *māhiṣī* is commonly taken to mean 'she-buffalo'.

saṃhātāsi nīśvarūpī (TS ApŚ °pīh) VS TS ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. As in the KS form of the preceding, VS accents the word on the ending, as if it were a *vrkī* form.

phalgūr (KSA °gur) *lohitorṇī balakṣī* (VS. *pal°*, KSA. ms *valakṣis*) *tāh* *śārasvatyah* VS TS. MS KSA. Von Schroeder emends KSA to °kṣī; but since MS. VS TS. make the word oxytone (KSA has no accents here), while the masc is paroxytone, it should belong to the *vrkī* declension KSA therefore has the correct form, which should be kept

śam rātrī (VS *rātrih*, VSK. TA *rātrih*) *prati dhīyatām* AV. VS VSK. MS TA Mahidhara and Griffith take *rātrih* as plural, blithely undisturbed by the singular verb with which it goes It is indeed true that the preceding parallel *pāda* has *ahāni* 'days' as subject (but with properly plural verb). The *vrkī* nom sg of *rātrī* is heretofore unrecorded (even in Wackernagel 3 p. 185). On *rātrih* see §195.

§207. Nom sg in *i* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns Such forms are much rarer, and generally dubious The first is the clearest variant, and in it Whitney calls *sarasvatīh* in AV. a 'blunder' Thus however seems too drastic, especially since TB. has the same form. But it may be partly due to form assimilation to *tisro devīr* preceding (subject of *sadantām*, *sarasvatīh* is included in the subject):

sarasvatī (AV. TB † °tīh) *svapasah sadantu* (AV °tām) RV. AV. VS. MS KS. TB. N. Both edd. of TB °tīh.

sapatnīr abhūbhūvarī (ApMB. °rīh) RV † ApMB. † The ending may be influenced by the preceding (acc pl. *i*) *sapatnīr*, so Winternitz, p xxi

vāmī (KapS *vāmyā*) *te samdṛśi viśvam reto dheṣṭiya* (KS KapS. *dhuṣṭiya*) *tava vāmīr* (KS. KapS *vāmy*) *anu samdṛśi* MS KS. KapS.: *vīśvasya te vīśvāvalō vṛṣṇīyāvatah tavāgne vāmīr anu samdṛśi vīśvā retānsi dhuṣṭiya* TS. † Kerth's translation of TS is scarcely possible We must apparently take *vāmī* : *vāmīr* as nom. sg fem, and *anu* as adverbial; *dhā* middle with *retas*, as commonly with *garbham* 'Lovely in thy sight, may I receive all seed, lovely furthermore (or, again) in thy sight', MS KS : 'lovely in the sight of thee, O Agni, that art all, possessest all, hast virile power, furthermore may I receive all seeds', TS.

bajābhojopakāśinī HG.: *khaḍāpo 'jopakāśinīh* ApMB. In VV 2 §381 it is suggested that ApMB may have a *vrkī* form. But two good mss read °nī, which may well be intended A plural would also be conceivable.

§208. The nouns *śrī* and *lakṣmī*, nom. sg. Two variants in the same passage concern these two words, the one a monosyllabic *ī* stem, the other originally a *vr̥kī* noun, so that both should have noms in *s*, and do so in Classical Sanskrit, where *lakṣmī* is the only *vr̥kī* noun which regularly retains the old *s* ending. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the synonym *śrī* (Wackernagel 3 p. 171 f.). Nevertheless the *devī* form, without *s*, of *lakṣmī* is known in the Veda (ibid. p. 175). In the MahānU form of the following variant not only is *alakṣmī* read without *s*, but it has even caused the neighboring *śrī(s)* to lose its *s*, producing a *devī* nom. sg. from a monosyllabic stem, which is nowhere recognized in our grammars (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 172). All mss of MahānU seem to agree, and the comm. supports the form:

śrīr me bhajatu TA : *śrī me bhajata* MahānU. Followed by. *ṭalakṣmīr me naṣyatu* TA : *alakṣmī me naṣyata* MahānU.

§209. Dat. sg. in *ai* (of *devī* type) from *vr̥kī* and *śrī* nouns. The *devī* ending in this and other oblique cases is well known as an alternative form in Classical Sanskrit with monosyllabic *ī* stems. So in the Vedic *vr̥kī* nouns, *ai* may replace *e*, cf. Wackernagel 3 §88c. The shift has its phonetic aspect, on which see VV 2 §705. We find one or two variants of each class:

sukham meṣāya meṣyāi VS ŚB : *sugam meṣāya meṣyāi* (RV. *meṣye*) RV. VSK TS MS KS LŚ. On the ms of KS *meṣye*. It may be noted that TS MS KS read *meṣyāi*, retaining the accent of *meṣye*, while VS. VSK ŚB. accent *meṣyāi*, as is proper for a *devī* form.

veśāśrīyāi (LŚ °*ye*) *tvā Vait* LŚ. Add to VV 2 §705

śrīyāi (MG *śrīye*) *putrāya vellavai* (MG *vedhavai*) MG ApMB.

§210. Abl. sg. in *as* (of *vr̥kī* type) from *devī* noun. Contrariwise, a *devī* stem shows a *vr̥kī* form in the abl. sg. in the following. Strange to say, the irregularity occurs only in late sūtra texts (to be sure, of the RV school; perhaps a hyper-archaism?):

āyusmatyā (AŚ ŚŚ °*tya*) *ṛco mā gāla* (Vait *māpagāyā*, Kauś *mā satsi*) *tanūpāt* (ŚŚ °*pāh*) *sāmnah* (AŚ *sāmna om*) TS AŚ ŚŚ Vait Kauś : *āyusmatyā ṛco mā chaitsi* etc. JB.

§211. Loc. sg. in *yām* and *ī*. We find one stray variant in which AV. shows *ī* against RV. *yām*. Wackernagel 3 pp. 168, 170, admits only *yām* for *devī* nouns and only *ī* for *vr̥kī* nouns. He does not allude to this variant case; the stem occurs only here, so that there is no evidence for its original declension. On it cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda* p. 49.

āṣṭryām (AV āṣṭrī) *padam kṛṇute agnidhāne* RV. AV MG. The accent is on the final in both RV. AV.

§212. Nom -acc dual in *yau* (of *vrkī*-type) from *devī* nouns In this case the original *vrkī* ending began to displace the old *i* of *devī* stems as early as AV, and became universal in classical Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 175). As we saw above (§185), it even affected sporadically short *i* stems

ghrtācī stho dhuryau pātam VS ŚB : *ghrtācyau stho yajamānasya dhuryau pātam* MŚ.

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB. ApŚ °vī) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KḷG : *oṣadhyā* (!) *vaiṣṇave* [from *ā* stem] *sthaḥ* MŚ

yadārāghaṭi (read *yadā rā°*) *varadah* Vait : *yadā rākhālyau vadataḥ* ApŚ
An obscure n. pr.

§213. Nom (voc) pl. *yas* (of *vrkī* type) from *devī* nouns This ending is exactly analogous to the dual ending just mentioned, originally peculiar to the *vrkī* type, *yas* appears in *devī* nouns in AV and becomes regular later Wackernagel 3 p 177 has noted many of our variants After two consonants *yas* is often spelled *vyas*, cf VV 2 §791. *tās tvā devīr* (SMB. MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB. BG °sā) *saṃ vyayantu* (PG. *vyayasva*) SMB. PG. HG. ApMB MG. (In PG. *devīr* is to be taken as acc : VV 1 §70)

tisro rohinīr (KSA *rohinyo*, ms. *rau°*) *vaśā maitriyah* (KSA. °tryah) TS. KSA. To be added to VV 2 §§728, 791.

tisro rohinīs (KSA. °nyas) *tryavyas lā vasūnām* TS. KSA

rohinīs (VS °nyas) *tryavayo vāce* VS. MS.

pañcāvīs (KSA. °vyas) *tisra ādityānām* TS. KSA.

anyataenyo maitriyah (MS °nīr *maitriḥ*) VS. MS.

pāvamānīh (RVKh TB YDh °nyah) *punantu nah* (tvā, mā, te) SV RVKh. TB MG. YDh

nārīs (VS. *nāryas*) *te patnayo* (VS. *patnyo*) *loma* VS TS KSA

devīr vamrīr asya bhūvanasya (TS † *bhūtasya*) *prathamajā ṛtāvarīh* MS

TA.: *devyo vamryo* (VSK *vamryo*) *bhūtasya prathamajā malhasya* vo 'dya śiro rādhyāsam. VS VSK ŚB Vocs.

īśrah ślṣpā vaśā vaiśvadevyah TS KSA. *ślṣpā vaiśvadevīh* (VS °devyah) VS. MS †

mahānāmni revatayah TS. MS KSA : *mahānāmnyo revatyah* VS.

tāh prācyā (Vait. °yah, MŚ. *prācīr*) *ujjigāhure* (KŚ † °hīre, Vait *saṃjigāre*) Vait. KŚ. MŚ : *prācīś cōjjagāhure* ApŚ.

phalavatyo (MS. KSA. °vatīr) *na oṣadhayah pacyantām* VS MS KSA. ŚB : *phalīnyo na...* TS. TB.

yasyā (RVKh. VS. *yasyām imā*) *bahvyaś tanvo vīlaprṣṭhāḥ* RVKh. VS.

MS.: *yasyai bahvīś tanvo vīlaprṣṭhāḥ* TB.

devānām patnīr (VS. *patnyo*, MS. *patnayo*) *diśaḥ* (MS. KSA.† *viśaḥ*)
VS. TS. MS. KSA.

yā devīr antān abhilo 'dadanta AV.: *yās ca gnā devyo 'ntān abhilo* . . MG.:

yās ca devīr antān . . . ApMB. HG.: *yās ca devīś tantūn* (SMB. *devyo antān*) . . . PG. SMB. See VV 2 §63.

5. Other variants concerning *i* and *ī* stems

§214. Stems in *i* and *in*. Leaving now the interchanges between the feminine *i* and *ī* declensions, we take up next a few cases of apparent confusion between *i* and *in* stems. In the first two cases clear *in* stems are provided in secondary texts with nominatives in *is*, as if from *i* stems (cf. Wackernagel 3 p. 279 *infra*). In the other two cases here quoted, contrariwise, the SV. substitutes nominatives in *ī* for RV. *is*; the SV. forms are taken by Benfey as from *in* stems:

dūrehetīḥ patatrī vājināvān MŚ. MG.: *dūrehetīr indriyāvān* (PB.† **yavān*)
patatrī (PG. **trīḥ*) TS. PB. TB. PG. ApMB.

tan no dantī (TA. *dantiḥ*) *pracodayāt* MS. TA. MahānU. Stem *danti* otherwise unrecorded.

vyānatīḥ (SV. **ēi*) *pavase soma dharmabhiḥ* (SV. *dharmāṇā*) RV. SV.
suparṇo aryathir (SV. **thā*) *bharat* RV. SV. Pāṇ. 3. 2. 157 records
aryathīn.

§215. Highly anomalous is the following gen. pl. *mahinām* of VSK. If textually sound it must apparently be due to the influence of *in* stems; even a short *i* stem of any gender should have *ī* in this case. But since it seems necessary to take it as a feminine, its anomaly is increased; for *mahinām* could not pass for a gen. pl. fem. even from an *in* stem:

mahinām (VSK. *mahinām*) *payo 'si* VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ.
MŚ. ŚG.

6. Alternative case endings within the same declension

§216. Instr. sg *ī* and *yā*. We come now to variants which show different case endings within one and the same declensional type, that is, cases in which no 'foreign' influence from a different *i* or *ī* declension is to be assumed. And first interchange between the old instr. ending *ī* and the later *yā*. The first concerns a *devī* noun, the rest short *i* stems:
atīrībhyaṁ dūgḍham bhīṣajā sarasvatyā (MS. **vati*) VS. MS. KS. TB.
acitī yat (AV. *acitīyā cet*) *tava dharmā gṛyopima* RV. AV. TS. MS. KS.

yah samidhā ya āhuti (KS. °*tyā*) RV. KS. AŚ. AG.

dvābhyām iṣṭaye viṣatyā (VS. ŚB. ŚŚ. °*lati*) ca AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA. AŚ ŚŚ.

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV. KS. °*tyā*, TS. °*tir*, MS. °*ti*) *vām iyānā* (TS. MS. KS. *vāvṛdhānā*, AV. *vāvṛdhānau*) AV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ.

The AŚ ŚŚ. reading is corrupt. TS. *suṣṭutir* is acc. pl.; MS. *suṣṭuti* may be a dual adj., but may equally well be taken as instr. sg.

§217. Instr. sg. *i* and *yā*. See Lanman NI 380 for the conditions under which *i* normally appears, namely at or near the end of a *pāda*. We find variants only of *svasti* with °*tyā*. The former is original in the first, and probably in the second; in the latter, however, it is adverbial and need not be felt as instr. Cf. Wackernagel II. 1 p. 123, III p. 146 supra.

saṁ sūribhir maghavan (RV. MS. KS. *harivah*, AV.† *harivan*) *saṁ svastyā* (RV. *svasti*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

tena yantu yajamānāḥ svasti MS.: *tenaitu yajamānāḥ svasti* (KS.* ApŚ °*tyā*) TS. KS. (both) ApŚ.

§218. Instr. sg. *inā* from fem. nouns, and *yā* from masc. nouns. Here we find two cases (the first in the list) in which nouns which are regularly fem. have the masc. ending *inā*, and conversely two nouns usually masc. have the fem. ending *yā*. To be sure *yā* was not originally restricted to the fem., and Wackernagel 3 p. 147 regards MS. *kikidivya* in our third variant as older than the RV. °*vinā*. To us this seems most unlikely; it is rather a late and secondary confusion, either of form or of gender (on change of gender see §§783-802):

pretinā dharmāṇā (MS. *pretyā dharmāṇe*) *dharmāṇ jinva* VS. MS. ŚB. *vrkṣam ivāśanyā* (HG. °*ninā*) *jahi* AV. HG.

cāṣeṇa kikidivina (MS. °*divyā*) RV. VS. MS. KS.

maṇinā (KS. *manyā*) *rūpāṇi* TS. KS. KSA.

§219. The stem *pati* shows *patinā*, *pateh*, and *patyā*, *patyuh*, the latter two under the influence of nouns of relationship, cf. Whitney Gr. §343d; Wackernagel 3 p. 142.

upa preta marutaḥ sudānava (KS. *svatavasa*) *enā viṣpatinābhy amuṁ rājānam* TS. KS.: *preta marutaḥ svatavasa enā viṣpatyāmum rājānam abhi* MS. MS.

agne grhapate sugrhapatir aham tvayā (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK °*patyā*) *bhūyāsam* VS. VSK TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś.

sugrhapatir mayā tvam (with varr.) *grhapatinā* (VSK. °*tyā*) *bhūyāh*, same texts

jus̥to vācaspataye (MS. °*patih*, KB ŠŠ. °*pateh*, TB. °*patyuh*) TS. MS.

KB GB JB AŚ. ŠŠ Vait KŚ

ito mukṣīya mā pateh ApŚ : *mṛtyor mukṣīya mā patyuh* MŚ : *preto muñcatu mā pateh* PG.†

§220. Loc sg in *ī* : *ī*. Despite Wackernagel's scepticism (3 p 155), which admittedly has much justification, we are inclined to hold that *upaśruti* in the following is a loc ; and probably *upaśruti* also, tho we have suggested the possibility of taking it as an adverbial (quasi-neuter) accus (VV 2 §525):

agne tvam sūktavāg asy upaśruti (MS °*ti*, TB. *upaśruto*) *divas* (TB *divah*) *prthivyoh* MS ŠB. TB AŚ ŠŚ.

§221. Loc sg in *ā* : *au* On the original distinction see Wackernagel 3 p 152 f ; *au* belongs to the position before a pause (contrary to the usage in the nom-acc dual, §128), and internally before a vowel (being then represented by *ā* before *u* vowels, *āv* before others, in RV SV VS ; for other schools see VV 2 p 414), while *ā* occurred before a following consonant Among the variants we find the shift only internally before a consonant Generally speaking late and secondary texts substitute *au* for original *ā*

ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata RV. : *ṛtasya yonau mahiṣā agrbhnan* (TS KS ApMB *ahinvan*) TS MS KS. ApMB.

aya(h)sthūnam (TS. °*nāv*) *udītau* (RV. °*tā*) *sūryasya* RV. TS MS KS *sīdan yonā* (SV *yonau*) *vaneṣṭ ā* RV. SV.

utoditā (AV. °*tau*) *maghavan sūryasya* RV. AV. VS. TB ApMB.

sattā ni yonā (SV *yonau*) *kalaṣeṣu sīdati* RV. SV.

devo narāśanśo 'gnau (ŠŚ † °*gnā*) *vasuvane* .AŚ ŠŚ

sātā (SV VS *sātāu*) *vājasya kāravah* RV AV SV VS TS MS. KS ApŚ MŚ.

[*mā tvā ni bran pūrvacito* (AV. °*cittā*, MS °*cittāu*) *nīkārīnah* AV VS TS MS KS The accent of AV *pūrvacittā* corresponds neither with *pūrvacito* nor with *pūrvācittāu* Following p p it is usually taken as nom pl , for °*cittāh*, a poor substitute for °*cito* But the MS reading suggests that the p p may be wrong and a loc intended]

§222 Nom-acc sg neut in *m* No grammar recognizes the neuter ending *m* from *ī* stems except for the pronoun *kim* (see e g Lanman NI 377, Wackernagel 3 §72). But TS TA agree on *sānasim* in the following, which can be nothing else. It is of course due to the analogy of *a* stems, and perhaps to the direct suggestion in the following and parallel adjectives *dyumnam* (TS KS *satyam*) *citraśravastamam*

avo (TS MS. KS. TA *śraro*) *dērasya sūnasi* (TS. TA. °*śim*) RV. VS
TS. MS. KS. TA.

[*mā me hārdi* (MŚ *hārdim*) *tvīṣā* (MŚ. *dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* TS MŚ. But here
the different, masculine stem *hārdī* would be meant, if MŚ really
intended *hārdim* (three mss *hārdi*).]

§223. Alternative writing of *iy* and *y* in stem final of *ī* and *i* stems
This purely phonetic matter has been treated in VV 2 §§788–792 and
need not be discussed here, as it does not really concern inflection.

CHAPTER VI

LONG AND SHORT *U* STEMS

§224. The conditions here are different from those of the *i* and *ī* stems in several respects. In the first place, there seems to have been no *ū* declension originally corresponding to the *devī* type. Stems in *ū* were either declined like *vrkī* (polysyllabic stems, type *tanū*) or like *śrī* (monosyllabic stems, type *bhū*). Forms analogous to *devī* begin to occur quite early, to be sure; in the case of *tanū* nouns, as early as the RV itself. But these are rare in RV. and are to be regarded as secondary. This analogical influence, incidentally, never extended to the nom sg, which in *ū* stems always ends in *s*, even in later Sanskrit. In oblique cases of the sing it is extended also to *ū* feminines, as in the *i* declension.

§225. As in the case of *i* and *ī* stems, there is considerable inter-influence between long and short *u* stems. But here the matter is complicated by a tendency which manifests itself quite early (already in RV) to develop a parallelism between masc. and neut. stems in short *u* and corresponding fems in *ū*. (See Wackernagel 3 §§66b, 68b, 101.) This appears both with *u* and *ū* stems. The former are originally of common gender, and remain optionally so thruout the history of the language; the fem. stem may be like the masc. But *ū* nouns are mostly fem. to begin with. Hence at an early time adjectives in *u* (a very common type) tend to develop fems in *ū*, by the side of those in *u*, or also in *ī* (following the *devī* type; see below, §297). Conversely root stems in *ū* when used in composition, and even derivative (fem.) nouns of the *tanū* type when so used, begin very early to develop masc. and neut. forms in short *u*. We have noted above (§178, end) a single variant which seems to show a like tendency in *i* stems, which has heretofore not been noticed. But adjectives in *i* were always relatively rare, and probably for this reason such a tendency never acquired much scope; whereas the very frequent *u*-stem adjectives afforded a wide field for its development. Hence, in distinction from the interchange between *i* and *ī* stems, that between *u* and *ū* stems is usually found to be connected with this distinction of gender. More concretely, it most commonly means that an original *u* stem shows fem. forms alternatively

with *ū* for *u*, or an original *ū* stem shows masc. or neut. forms alternatively with *u* for *ū*. To be sure, there are cases which go beyond these limitations. For instance, even uncompounded *ū* fems. show forms of the *u* declension (Wackernagel 3 §101n, and §232 below). And root-nouns, and even other nouns, in short *u* sometimes follow the *ū* declension even in the masc., or otherwise avoid the short *u* inflection (§227 ff.), these *ū* forms are however regularly secondary in the variants containing them.

1. *ū* forms (normally fem.) from original *u* stems

§226. We shall begin with interchanges between long and short *u* forms, and first with stems which (at least as masculines or neuters) are originally short *u* stems. The *ū* forms which occur are normally fem.; but occasionally secondary texts show them in masc. forms.

§227. Nom. sg. in *ūs* from *u* stems. The first variant concerns a fem. adjective, so that *ū* is as normal as short *u*. The others, however, are masc.; the *ū* is here clearly secondary, the older form being *u*.
phalgūr (KSA. °*gur*) *lohtorṇi balakṣi* (with varr, §206) *lāh ṣārasratyah*
 VS TS MS. KSA.

śundhyur (VS. TS. °*yūr*) *asi mārjūliyah* VS TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ.
avasyur (VS. ŚB. °*yūr*) *asi duvasvān* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS.
 v. l. °*yūr*.

§228. Nom. sg. in *ūs* varying with *ut*. As stated by Whitney, Gr. §345, roots in *u* when used as root-nouns generally take a root-determinative *t*. Forms declined as simple *u* stems occur, indeed, in the oldest language (Wackernagel 3 §66b), but are rare. However, instead of adding *t*, sometimes root-nouns of this type show forms of the *ū* declension. Given the rarity of root-nouns in *u*, without added *t*, it is not unnatural that the very familiar root-nouns in *ū* should affect forms from *u* roots. We thus have a few variants in which a nom. in *ut* varies with one in *ūs*. In every case it seems that the variant originally had *ut*, and that *ūs* is secondary. All are masculine. The first two variants should be added to VV 2 §554:

devāśrud imān pravape MS. MŚ.: *devāśrūr elāni pravape* TS. HG.
devāśrut tvam deva gharma devo devān pāhi (MS. *gharma devān pāhi*
tapojān) VS MS. ŚB.: *devāśrūs tvam deva gharma devān pāhi* TA.
 ApŚ.

havanāśrun (TB *hāvanāśrūr*) *no rudreha bodhi* RV. TB

§229. Nom. pl. in (u)vas from *u* stems. (The ending is doubtless always to be pronounced *uvas*; on the writing *vas* : *uvas* cf. VV 2

§§788-93) The first three variants concern feminine adjectives, where the *ū* form causes no difficulty. In the others the proper masc form *vipanyavas* of RV is changed to *°yuvās* in SV. The latter form occurs in RV. but only as a fem. This change has a phonetic aspect, cf VV 2 §§601-4, and below §231. It is shown in VV 21 e that SV prefers *u* for *a* before *v*.

vīrudhah pāranyānvah (TS. MS. KS. °*navah*) RV VS TS. MS. KS. N
tasya prajā apsaraso bhīruvāh (MS *bhīravō nāma*) TS MS
sumnāyuvah (KS °*yavas*) *sumnyāya sumnam* (KS °*nyam*) *dhātā* MS KS
tad viprāso vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV SV VS NṛpU. VāsuU.
 SkandaU ĀrunU MuktiU

tū vām gīrbhīr vipanyavah (SV °*yuvah*) RV. SV.

§229a. Once, in a fem. voc. pl. of a cpd. of *kratu*, the RV. has *-kratvas* (Wackernagel III §78), for which KS has the more regular *-kratavas*, while MS KapS substitute a sing. *-krato* (still fem., not masc., cf Oertel 74).

adhā (TS. MS. *athā*) *śatakratvo* (KS † °*kratavo*, MS † KapS °*krato*)
yūyam RV. VS TS MS KS KapS. ŚB

§230. Instr.-dat.-abl. dual in *ūbhyām* from *u* stem. The variants concern the stem *hanu*. Wackernagel 3 p. 54 f. explains the *ū* as derived from the nom. dual *hanū*, but cf §189 above, where similar forms from *i* stems are mentioned. We prefer to regard these cases as of the same sort as other long-vowel forms in short-vowel declensions. Only TS has *ū*, cf §175a:

hanūbhyām (KSA *hanu°*) *svāhā* TS KSA TB ApŚ
hanubhyām (TS *hanū°*) *stenān bhagavah* VS TS. MS. KS

2 *u* forms (normally masc.-neut.) from original *ū* stems

§231. Among the variants occur chiefly compounds of monosyllabic ('radical') nouns in original *ū*, in addition there is one case of *tanuh* varying with *tanūh*, in which the former is clearly secondary (cf Wackernagel 3 p. 194), and one of a compound of this stem, a masc. adjective in which *uh* (two texts) varies with *ūh* (one text; cf *ibid.*). Nearly all the forms are of masculine or neuter gender, as is to be expected. Only three cases are represented: nom. sg., dat. sg., and nom. pl. In the two latter the phonetic moment of *a : u* before *v* plays a rôle; see VV 2 §§601, 604, and above §229.

§232. Nom. sg. in *us* from *ū* stems. Besides the two cases of *tanū* just mentioned, the variants chiefly concern compounds of *bhū*, and are of masc. gender:

iyam te yajñīyā tanūh (VSK. *tanuh*) VS. VSK ŚB ApŚ.: *iyam* (VS. ŚB. eṣā) *te śukra tanūr* . . . VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

agne sadakṣah salanur (KS.† °nūr) *hi bhūtrā* TS. KS : *agnih rudakṣah salanur ha bhūtrā* MŚ Masc. adjectives

ābhur (MS. KS. ābhūr) *asya niṣaṅgathih* (VS °dhīh) VS. TS. MS. KS Masc.

śambhūr (KS. °bhur) *mayobhūr abhi mā vāhi sūhā* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. Masc ; note retention of ū in *mayobhūr* in KS.

vībhūr (PB. vībhur) *asī pravāhaṇah* VS. TS. MS. KS. PB. ŚŚ. MŚ † HG. Masc.

vībhūr (KSA. vībhur) *mātrā prabhūh* (KSA. *prabhuh*) *pitrā* VS. TS. MS KSA ŚB. TB. ApŚ MŚ. Masc.

sumnahūr (KS *† °hur) *yajña* (TS. *yajño devānt*) ū *ca rakṣat* VS. TS MS. KS. KapŚ ŚB. MŚ Oertel 139. Add to VV 2 §554.

śūhpāc chutyosṭhah śitibhrus (KSA.† °bhrūs) TS KSA. Masc Add to VV 2 §554.

§233. Dat sg in *ave* from ū stems. Only in masc. and neut compounds of *bhū* The writing *we* for *ve* concerns phonetics; see VV 2 §789

abhibhuve (MS. *abhibhve*, KS. *abhibhave*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ *vibhuve* (KS.† *vibhave*, MS *vībhve*) *svāhā* VS. MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

samveśāyopaveśāya 'bhibhuve (MŚ 'bhibhave .) *svāhā* KS. MŚ.: *ariṣṭīyā avyathyan* 'bhibhuve *svāhā* KS. Add to VV 2 §604

§234. Nom. pl in *avas* from ū stems In compounds of monosyllabic stems:

śitibhrawe (MS °bhrūwo) *vasūnām* VS. MS Cf. last variant in prec. § but one

samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayah RV.: *samudram na suhavam* (AV. *subhuvas*, TB. Poona ed. *suhavam*) *tasthivānsam* AV. TB. ApŚ.: *mahīṣaṇ nah subhvam tasthivānsam* MS Ppp reads as MS except *subhavas*, for which Barret emends *subhuvas*, suggesting also *subhavam* (JAOS 35. 46), *subhavas* would do perhaps as well as *subhuvas*, altho the AV. comm. understands the word as fem (if the nom is to be retained it is not clear what it refers to, so that the gender is uncertain; in RV, perhaps not a real variant of this passage, *subhvaḥ* is fem, the acc. form must be masc.).

3 Influence of devī declension on u and ū stems

§235. This has been discussed above in §225 The variants are mostly ū stems of the *tanū* type, to which are added one or two short u stems. (On fem adjectives in *vī* see §297.)

§236. Acc. sg. *tanūm* : *tanvam*. Only this stem varies in the acc sg.; *tanūm* is not Rigvedic

savitrā prasūtā daivā āpa undantu te tanūm (VSK *tanvam*; the jaṭā-pāṭha has *tanūm*) *dirghāyutvāya varcase* VSK. KŚ PG.

svayā tanvā tanvam airayat AV. *svām yat tanūm tanvām airayata* MS.

AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS KSA : *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS. *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.

na te tanūm tanvā sam papṛcyām AV.: *na vā u te tanvā tanvaṁ* (AV. *te tanūm tanvā*) *sam papṛcyām* RV. AV.

§237. Dat. sg. in *vai* from *ū* stems (*tanū* type); cf. VV 2 §705. To these cases are to be added those in which the form in *vai* is used in the sense of a genitive and varies with *vas*. They are grouped in §144.

śam v astu tanvai tava VS : *śam u te tanve* (TS. *tanuve*) *bhuvai* TS. KSA.:

śam astu tanve mama AV. In VS the svarita accent is retained in *tanvai*

śam tokāya tanuve (SMB *tanvai*) *syonah* TS. TB. ApŚ SMB. PG.

samveśanas tanuvai (SV. KS. MŚ. *tanve*) *cārur edhi* SV KS TB. TA

ApŚ. MŚ. In the accented texts (TB. TA.) the svarita accent of *tanve* is retained in *tanuvai*

kuhvai (KSA. *kuhve*) *trayo 'ruṇaitāh* TS KSA. Von Schroeder emends

KSA. to *kuhva*. TS. accents *kuhvai*, i e with the svarita of *kuhvē*.

§238. Dat. sg. in *vai* from short *u* stems. One variant from the fem. noun *jīvātu*. The others are infinitives in *tavai* : *tave*. See above, §183. We do not think it likely that the infinitive ending *tavai* is really due to the direct influence of the *devī* declension; it is hardly likely to be a feminine form at all. But as it is externally similar to these forms, it seems that such variants must be included here. (NB By an incomprehensible and most deplorable slip, VV 2 §705 records the variant *sunavai* : °*ve* in *śakrāya su*° *tvā* RV. JB. as a dative form. [Also *indrāya su*° *tvā* in the same passage should have been quoted] The form is of course a 1st sg. subj., and might have been noticed in VV 1 §26; but *sunave* is doubtless a bad reading, if not a phonetic simplification; Oertel JAOS. 18 28 reads as RV.)

agneṣ tvā mātrayā.. jīvātave TS. KS : *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jīvātvai* . MS.

daśamāsyāya sūtave (HG. °*vai*) ApMB. HG Also *daśame māsi sūtave* RV. etc.

havyāyāsmāi vodhave (KS. °*vai*) *jātavedah* TS. MS KS. Kauś

punse putrāya vellavai (ŚB BṛhU. *villave*, KS.† *kartave*, MG. *kartavai*, v. 1. °*ve*) KS ŚB. TB. BṛhU. ApŚ. ApMB. HG MG.

§239. Abl. sg. in *vās* from *ū* stem (*tanū*).

agne yan me tanvā (TS. *tanuvā*) *ūnam* (ŚŚ. *yan ma ūnam tanvas*) *tan...*
VS. TS. ŚB. ŚŚ. PG.: *yan me agna ūnam tanvas tan*. MS. KS.
The accented texts (VS. TS. ŚB.) retain the svarita accent of the older *tanvās* (TS. *tanūvā*).

§240. Loc. sg. in *vām* from *ū* stem (*tanū*)

svām yat tanūm tanvām airayala MS AA. AŚ. ŚŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanām airayat* AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayala* KS. KSA : *svāyām yat tanvām* (TS. *tanuvām*) *tanūm airayala* TS. KŚ As above, the svarita accent is retained in accented texts (TS. *tanūvām*).

[*svāyām* *tanūm* (RV. *tanū*) RV. ApMB. MG. Knauer mistakenly regards *tanūm* as a 'shortening' of *tanvām*; but see VV 2 §308]

§241. Nom. pl. in *ūs* from (fem. of an) *u* stem.

māndā vāsāḥ śundhyūr (KS. *śundhyūvo*) *ajirāḥ* TS. KS. Nom pl fem. adjective, the ending *ūs* is anomalous in either *u* or *ū* stems, and is clearly due to the analogy of *devī* forms; more specifically, to the parallel *īs* (and *ās*?) forms in the context

4 Alternative case endings within the same declension

§242. We come now to forms which can hardly be said to be due to any known 'foreign' influence, at least within historic times; that is, variant forms both of which may be called proper to one declension, so far as the usage of our texts goes. Cf. the similar *i* and *ī* forms, §§216 ff.

§243. Instr. sg. *unā* and *vā*. One variant of *madhu*; see Lanman NI. 409, Wackernagel 3 p. 146, and next section

kratum rihanti madhunābhy (SV. *madhvābhy*) *añjate* RV AV. SV.

§244. Abl. sg. *os* and *vas* The variants concern *madhu* and *vasu*, for both of which the regular forms in RV are *madhvah*, *vasvah* (Wackernagel 3 §75a note, cf. §69a) In all the variants RV. shows these forms, while later texts substitute *madhoḥ*, *vasoḥ*, which are rare in RV. but regular later.

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavanta ūrmayah* RV. SV.

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pavasva dhārayā* RV SV.

madhvah (SV. *madhoḥ*) *pibanti gauryah* RV. SV. AV. MS.

madhvah (VS.* MS. ŚB. TA. LŚ *madhoḥ*) *pibatam āsrinā* RV. VS (both) MS ŚB. TA. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ.

madhvaś (AV. SV. *madhoś*) *cakānaś cārur madāya* AV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ

madhvo (SV. *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde* RV SV.

ed u madhvo (SV. PB. *madhor*) *madāntaram* RV. AV. SV. PB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

vasvah (TB TA MahānU *vasoh*) *kuvid vanāti nah* RV. KS. TB TA MahānU.

vasor vaso puruṣpṛhah SV : *vaso vasvah puruṣpṛhah* RV

§245. Loc sg in *ū* : *vī* (*wi*), and in *vi* : *vī*

srucīva ghṛtam camvīva (TB ApŚ *camū va*) *somah* RV VS MS KS TB ApŚ The loc of this word is otherwise *camū* in RV. The isolated *camvīva* is parallel to and perhaps influenced by *srucīva*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p 188 Yet the similar *tanvī* is regular
na dhvasmānas tanvī (TS *tanuvī*) *repa ā dhuh* RV. TS

§246. Loc sg in *ā* : *au* . Wackernagel 3 p 153 says that *ā* for *au* in *u* stems is not proved, despite the frequent occurrence of it in the parallel form of *z* stems, he denies various cases which have been suggested He says nothing about the form *sumnayā*, which seems to us a more likely instance than any other. This isolated form is commonly considered an instrumental, from an otherwise unknown stem *sumnayā* It occurs only once in RV. (in the variant here quoted, 10 101 4), and the AV. variant has *sumnayau* AV 7 55 1 has *sumnayā* (the only occurrence in AV and apparently the only other one anywhere), and Whitney notes that there a locative seems required. To us it seems almost certain that *sumnayā* is loc to the familiar stem *sumnayū* Render: 'the wise (*kavis* span the yokes etc) before the gods, before (presumably = for the benefit of) the pious man'

dhīrā deveṣu (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV * *yau*, VS. *sūmnayā*) RV AV. VS VSK TS MS. KS (bis) ŚB

§247. Nom acc sg. neuter in *u* : *ū*. This is regarded by Wackernagel 3 §72 as a matter of rhythmic lengthening, the *padapāṭhas* have in fact *u* for *ū* Only one variant has been found (cf VV 2 §555)
sa hi purū (SV *puru*) *cīd ojasā vrukmatā* RV. SV.

§248. Nom acc pl neuter in *u* : *ūni* (· *ū*)

uśvā vasu (TS ApMB *vasūni*) *dadhire vāryāni* RV VS TS KS ApMB. (KS v 1 *vasū*) The meter is better in the original form, *vasūni*, the later and secondary reading, makes the cadence difficult

[*sam grbhāya purū* (TB *puru*, Poona ed. *purū*) *śatā* RV AV MS KS TB]

§249. Loc sg. in *vam* (?) : *vām* One variant contains a form which can only be intended as a locative of *tanū*, and which appears according to well-established tradition as *tanvam* in two sūtra texts, while a third has the regular *tanvām*. Caland in his translation of ApŚ adopts *tanvām* from MŚ ; we should probably follow him but for the fact that AŚ. certainly read *tanvam*, as well as ApŚ (the AŚ. comm repeats the form);

this seems to us to make it certain that the form *tanvam* is no mere scribal error. The preceding adjective *viśvabhṛt*, which can only modify *tanvam*, makes it equally certain that the form is meant as a locative. No such form, with short *a* before *m*, is recognized in any grammatical authority. We know of only one other place at which it might with some plausibility be assumed, this is AV 19. 37. 2, *varca ā dheḥi me tanvām*, here SPP reads *tanvām* with the comm and one ms; cf Lanman, *NI* fl 412. Another way out in this case would be to take *tanvam* as acc (cf §380, and on two accusatives with verbs of placing §535) (Lanman 1 e mentions also AV. 19. 55. 3 *tanvām*, suggesting that *tanvām* be read, but here the acc. is quite possible as object of *puṣema*.) While we have no explanation for the form, we find it impossible to deny that at least in the ApŚ AŚ form of the following variant, and perhaps also in AV 19. 37. 2, *tanvam* is used as loc sg. of *tanū*:

prajāpater viśvabhṛti tanvam (MŚ °vām) *hutam asi svāhā* (AŚ omits *svāhā*) AŚ 3. 11. 11 (omitted in Cone) ApŚ MŚ. 'Thou art offered in the all-sustaining body of Prajāpati'

§249a. On *tanūn*, loc sg., for *tanū*, see VV 2 §308

§250. Voc sg. neuter *u* : *o*. In one variant this shift occurs; cf Wackernagel 3 §77, Whitney §336h, where VSK *uru* should be added to the small stock of voc. neut. forms of the *u* declension. We may note that AV TS have this pāda in nominative form (*urv antarikṣam*), and VSK may possibly have been influenced thereby (a sort of blend of the two readings). But VV 2 §912 is wrong in calling VSK. 'illogical'.

dyāvāpṛthivī uro (VSK † *urv*) *antarikṣa* VS VSK MS KS. TB.

§251. Alternative writing of *uv* and *v* in stem final of *u* and *ū* declensions. As in the similar case of *iy* : *y* (§223), we refer to VV 2 §§788–93 for this phonetic or orthographic question.

CHAPTER VII

R STEMS AND CONSONANT STEMS

1. Stems in *r*

§252. Most of the few variants concerning this declension are cases of genitive plurals. In this case form TS. has only short *r* (Keith, *HOS.* 18, cxli, cxlviii); the variants show the same form sporadically in TA. and MS. It should be noted that ApŚ. according to Garbe's text (which reports no variants) fails to follow TS. in this respect in its two variants Is this due to editorial carelessness?

svāveśo 'sy agreṇā netṛṇām (TS. *netṛ°*) TS. MS. KS : *agrenīr asi svāveśa unnetṛṇām* VS ŚB Three mss of MS. also *netṛ°*.

ākṣuh kaśo...te pitṛṇām VS. VSK. MS : *pāṅktrah* (but see VV 2 §418) *kaśo...te pitṛṇām* (KSA † *pitṛ°*) TS KSA

pitṛṇām (TS.† MS *pitṛ°*) *ca manmabhuh* RS. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. LŚ Kauś. N.

pitṛṇām (TS. *pitṛ°*) *sadanam asi* TS. ApŚ.

devānām tvā pitṛṇām (ApŚ *pitṛ°*) *anumato bhartum śakeyam* TA ApŚ. *yā no dadāti śravaṇam pitṛṇām* KS.: *sā no dadātu śravaṇam pitṛṇām* (TS *pitṛ°*) TS. MS AŚ ŚŚ N.

dhātā dhātṛṇām (TS.† *dhātṛ°*) *bhuvanasya yas patiḥ* RV. TS KS *prajananam vai pratiṣṭhā . pitṛṇām* (TA. Poona ed *pitṛ°*, v l. *pitṛ°*) TA. MahānU

astāvya agnir narām (MS. *nṛṇām*) *suśevah* RV. VS. MS Both these genitives of *nṛ* are Rigvedic.

§253. In strong case forms of nouns of relationship, Tart texts twice present the vṛiddhi instead of the guṇa grade in compounds (cf Wackernagel 2 1 §43a):

sudakṣā dakṣapitarā (TB °*pitārā*) RV. TB.

ye devā manoṣātā (MS KS. MŚ -*manu°*)...*sudakṣā dakṣapitaras* (TS † °*itāras*). TS. MS KS BDh ViDh.

§254. The gen-loc dual ending *ros* is regularly pronounced dissyllabically (as *uros* or *ros*? Wackernagel 3 §113). The TB reading of the

following seems to be an attempt to do justice to this pronunciation; see VV 2 §368:

asamṛṣṭo jāyase mātroh (TB. *mātrvoh*) *śucih* RV. TB.

2. Consonant stems: variant ablaut forms

§255. We find first a group of cases concerning real or apparent variation in ablaut grade of consonantal stems. Most often the vowel *a*, of normal (*guṇa*) grade, varies with *ā* which on its face is *vriḍḍhi* grade, tho it may be actually due to secondary analogy of one sort or another. The same *guṇa* form in *a* may also vary in weak cases with zero grade. We begin with a case of nom. sg. masc. of a stem in *-sad*, lengthened to *-sād* in two texts. It has been noted in VV 2 §499 that the grammars do not recognize ablaut in this stem:

viśvā āsā dakṣinasat (AB AŚ °*sāt*, ŚŚ *dakṣinatah*, LŚ *dakṣinadhak*) VS
MS. AB ŚB TA AŚ. ŚŚ LŚ. ApŚ.

§256. And once we find what appears to be lengthening of the *a* in the nom. of a participial stem in *ant*. If correct, this would doubtless be caused by the analogy of *mant* and *vant* stems. But it occurs in an unpublished part of MŚ and is suspicious (VV 2 §503):

anadvāns tapyate vahan (MŚ. *talpate vahān*) ApŚ. MŚ. Note *anadvāns* in the same *pāda*

§257. Nom.-acc. neuter forms are normally made from the weak stem, but occasionally strong forms are found by analogy with the masc. The variants contain two compounds of *pad* appearing in RV. regularly as *pad*, but in later texts as *pād*, and one case of an *s* stem. See Wackernagel 3 pp. 235, 238.

dvipac catuṣpad (AV Ppp VS Kauś. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *asmāham* RV AV.
Ppp VS VSK TS. Kauś.

dvipac catuṣpad (SV. *dvipāc catuṣpād*) *arjuna* RV SV

yachā nah śarma saprathah (VS KS TA ApŚ ApMB HG °*thāh*) RV.

VS. MS. KS TA ApŚ SMB HG. ApMB. N : *yachāsmāi śarma saprathāh* AV TS. That *s* stems occasionally show nom. acc. neut. forms in *ās* is certain (Lanman 560; Wackernagel 1 c., 228, and cf. next variant). Since *saprathas* is a standard epithet of *śarman*, it seems best to take it so here in all texts, tho it would be possible to understand *saprathās* as a fem., agreeing with the subject of *yachā*, the earth (so apparently Kerth on TS). Cf. VV 2 §502

[*śarmā* (TA. °*ma*) *saprathā āvr̥ne* KS TA.: *śarma yachātha saprathah* AV. But all mss. of AV °*thāh*, which should be read; VV 2 §502]

§258. The acc. sg. of masc. *s* stems normally has short *a*. But in

one variant the KS ms reading shows *ā*. Wackernagel 3 p 182 denies this lengthening to other *s* stems than *uśas*, and von Schroeder emends the KS to short *a*, but cf Whitney §415b, 2, 3 We see no reason for refusing to recognize the KS form with *ā*, tho we do not doubt that it is analogical and secondary; it may be metri gratia, see VV 2 §502, *viśām agnim alithim suprayasam* (KS **yāsam*) RV KS.

§259. The stem *ayās* normally shows no ablaut, the *ā* being always long. In some secondary texts, however, weak case forms are made with short *a*, on the analogy of *as* stems So Neisser, *ZWbch d RV* s v, convincingly Geldner, *VSt* 3, 122, n 5, and Wackernagel 3 p 282, derive the form *ayasā* from the different stem *ayas*, 'iron', which in some occurrences seems to us clearly impossible:

ayasā manasā dhṛtah ApŚ ApMB. HG : *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ *vayasā*) *kṛtah* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś Cf also *ayasā havyam ūhiṣe*, with variants, below §416, and VV 2 §502

§260. The stem *vr̥ṣan* regularly has no vr̥ddhi in its strong cases But occasionally, by analogy with other *n* stems, such forms as *vr̥ṣānas* occur (Wackernagel 3 p. 267).

vr̥ṣanah (TB *vr̥ṣāṇah*) *samīdhīmahi* RV AV SV TB ŚB Both nom pl

§261. The stem *ap*, *āp*, 'water', regularly has *āpas* in the nom and *apas* in the acc, but the two are occasionally interchanged. The variants show one such interchange in the acc, the only recorded variant for the nom is due to an editorial error:

apo (RV AŚ *āpo*) *adyānu acāriṣam* RV VS MS KS ŚB AŚ LŚ MŚ MG ApMB Note that RV itself has *āpo* as acc

[*śam no bhavanu āpa oṣadhayah* (*apa oṣadhīh*) *śwāh* AV (both) So RWh, but *āpa* is an emendation, withdrawn by Whitney in his translation The word is *apa* both times, tho nom, VV 2 §498 suggests metrical shortening]

§262. In compounds of *han*, we find the strong stem *-han* instead of the weak *-ghn* in the acc pl cf Wackernagel 3 p 328

rakṣoghno (MŚ MŚ add *vo*) *valagaghnaḥ prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* MS KS ApŚ MŚ. *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ *† *vaiṣṇavam*) VS VSK TS ŚB ApŚ (bis) *rakṣoghno valagaghno* 'vasīñcāmi (and, 'vasīñcāmi) *vaiṣṇavān* KS (bis) *rakṣohano* (VS ŚB add *vo*) *valagahano* 'vasīñcāmi *vaiṣṇavān* VS VSK TS. ŚB

§263. In a single variant ApMB may possibly show a nom pl masc form of a participle with weak instead of strong stem, a kind of con-

fusion which is more extensively found in Prakrit. That a nom is intended seems to us virtually certain (cf. the following *uṣamānāh* which is perfectly parallel). To be sure the state of the text of ApMB. is such that almost anything is conceivable; cf. Winternitz xvii. And, as W. suggests, the true reading might be *vahato uṣamānāns*, with both epithets acc, going with *grhān* in the first pāda

irām vahanto (ApMB. *vahato*, MG *vahanti*) *ghṛtām uṣamānāh* AŚ. ApŚ.

AG ŚG ApMB. MG.. *irām vahantah sumanasyamānāh* HG.

§264. Finally, from *manī* and *vantī* stems are occasionally formed nom-acc. pl neuter forms with lengthened *ā*. Among the variants they occur only in RV, and are replaced in SV by the 'regular' forms with short *a*. Cf Whitney §454c (the statistics are incomplete), and Wackernagel 3 p. 258 f :

ava dronānī ghṛtavānī sīda (SV. *°vanī roha*) RV. SV.

muleva sadma pakumānī (SV. *°manī*) *hotā* RV. SV.: *parī sadmeva paśu-mānī hotā* RV.

3. Interinfluence of stems in *vantī*, *vāns*, (*v*)*as*, *van*

§265. The similarity in form and meaning between formations of this sort has led to various confusions, some of which established themselves as regular elements in Vedic declension. This is most strikingly true of the vocative forms of *vantī* and *vāns* stems (Wackernagel 3 pp 258, 301). It must be assumed that the original voc endings were *van* and *vas* respectively. But in the Rīgveda *vas* is used almost exclusively from *vantī* stems, by analogy with the *vāns* stems. Conversely, in later Sanskrit, beginning with the AV., *van* is used in the voc. of *vāns* stems, by analogy with the *vantī* stems which in post-RV. times had this ending, the analogy was assisted by the nom sg masc *vān*, which coincided with the ending of *vantī* stems. We find a considerable number of variants between vocatives in *vas* and *van* from *vantī* stems, and one (the first) from a *vāns* stem. In all cases where the chronology is clear, *vas* is the older reading:

hotāś cikīrvo (AV *°vann*) *avṛṇmahīha* RV. AV.

harṣamāṇāso dhṛṣṭā (TB *°atā*) *marutvah* RV. TB N.: *harṣamāṇā dhṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV (Ppp also *°tvan*)

namas te astu bhagavah (GB MG *°van*) VS. TS MS. KS GB TA MG : *namas te bhagavann astu* VS

agnāśī patnīvan (VSK † *agne vākpāni*, MS. KS. MŚ. *patnīvāśī*, TS *patnīvāśī*) *sajūr devena* (MS KS. *sajūs*) VS. VSK TS. MS KS ŚB

ye te sarasva (KS °vann) *ūrmayah* RV TS MS KS N
vśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV °van) RV SV TS MS KS TA. N.
sam sūribhir maghavant (RV MS KS *harivah*, AV *harivant*) *sam*
svastyā (RV, *svasti*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB TB
vvasva ādityarṣa te somapīthas TS KS. *vvasvann* (VSK °vān) *ād-*
ityarṣa te somapīthah VS VSK MS ŚB MŚ
divo jyote (and, *jyotir*) *vvasva āditya* KS (bis): *devajūte vvasvann*
āditya MS

§266. Otherwise the variants here all concern nom sg masc forms. Twice *vant* forms (in *vān*) are substituted for the older *van* form (in *vā*) from *maghavan*, which quite commonly appears as *-vant* even in later Sanskrit (Wackernagel 3 p 264 f).

svasti na vndro maghavān kṛnotu AV. *svasti no maghavā dhātū vndrah*
 RV VS TS MS KS MahānU *svasti no maghavā karotu* TS TA
 MahānU. *īdam havir maghavā vetu vndrah* SV

satrācyā maghavā (SV *maghavānt*) *somapīṭaye* RV AV SV

§267. The others are purely sporadic. The stem *sv-avas*, an *s* stem in which the preceding *v* is radical, not suffixal, is once, in RV itself, drawn into the *vant* (or *vāns*?) declension, showing a nom in *vān* (Wackernagel 3 p 287). In the other variant a perf pple in *vāns* shows in a secondary reading a nom in *vā*, as if from a *van* stem (perhaps aided also by *as* stems? followed by *y*, so that *-ās* would appear as *-ā*). Wackernagel 1 p 332, 3 p 300 supra, has noted this variant, he seems to think that external sandhi (before *y*) may be concerned in the form in *-vā*, but he recognizes the unquestionable occurrence of *van* forms from *vāns* stems elsewhere, and we see no reason to doubt that *-vā* is such a form.

sumrḍīkah (VSK °līkah) *svavān* (VS VSK *svavā*) *yātu arvān* RV
 VS VSK

dadhanvān (VS ŚB TB °vā, MS KS °vān) *yo naryo apsu antar ā*
 RV SV VS MS KS ŚB TB

4 Stems in *n*

§268. Aside from one or two *van* forms, mentioned in the preceding sections, and one case of different ablaut grades noted in §260, most of the variants concerning *n* stems fall into four groups. neuter plurals in *a*, *ā*, and *ān*; oblique cases of the singular with and without the vowel *a* in the stem; instrumentals singular of *man* stems with *nā* for *mnā*; and locatives singular in *an* and *an*.

§269. Neuter plurals. We should expect to find here a number of

variations between *āni* and *ā* (or *a*), both being common endings of *n* stems in the nom-acc neuter pl, and this variation being common in *a* stems, which took over the ending *āni* from *n* stems (§160 ff.). Strange to say, we have found hardly a single clear case. The best is *devānām janimāni rīdān* Kauś, which seems rather a vague parallel to, than a genuine variant of, *rīdā devānām* (TS. *rīdāni deva*) *jarasā vivakti* AV. TS. KS. (§164). Otherwise we find only variants in which the shorter form is probably intended as singular, varying with *a* plural in *āni*, such as:

vocat brahmāni (SV *brahmēti*) *ecce u tat* RV. SV. TS. MS. The SV *brahma* (so p p) is no doubt to be taken as sg. with Benfey (who connects it with *tat*).

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyusñih AV : *lati dhāmāni lati ye rīdān* MS. The AV. is undoubtedly sg.

§270. Among neuter plural forms of *n* stems we find, therefore, chiefly variations between *ā* and *a*, where the long vowel cannot be regarded as rhythmically lengthened (VV 2 §459 f., Wackernagel 3 p. 276). In each of our variants short *a* of RV. is replaced in AV. by *ā*; the variations are all noted in Lanman NI. 510:

yatra gavām nihitā sapta nāma (AV *nāmā*) RV. AV.

varma (AV *varmā*) *sīvyadhvanī bahulā prthūni* RV. AV. KS Ap.5

trīśad dhāma (AV *dhāmā*, MS *trīśaddhāmā*) *vi rājati* RV. AV. SV.

ArS VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. (The AV. variant is not recorded in VV 2 §460) *Pratika* in MŚ. The compound of MS. MŚ. is to be taken as masc nom sg., but AV has a neut pl.

§271. In one variant all MS KS mss have the form *dhāman*, for *dhāma* of the other texts. The preceding adjective *divyāni* proves that only an acc pl can be intended. The form is best understood as a sort of blend with the loc sg (of goal, the word is dependent on a verb of motion):

upa pra yāhi (TS † *yāta*) *divyāni dhāma* (MS. KS. °*man*) VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB. The KapS has *dhāma*.

§272. Oblique cases of the singular with alternative presence or absence of *a* in the stem. The *a* was regular after a long syllable. It was standard in all periods of the language after two consonants; and in the oldest language it is often written after one consonant when the preceding syllable has a long vowel (furthermore, when not so written, it is often shown by the meter to have been pronounced). Cf. Lanman, NI. 524, Wackernagel 1 p. 11, 3 p. 268; Edgerton, *Language* 10.260 *somah kalāṣe śatayāmānā* (SV. AV. °*yāmānā*) *pathā* RV. SV. AV. Here,

as just stated, the meter proves that RV pronounced °yāmanā, in SV AV it is written so

riasya tvā vyomane (MŚ *vyomne grhṇāmi*) TS MŚ

ojase balāya tvedyache vṛṣane śuśmāyāyuse varcase (MS KS *vṛṣne śuśmāya*) MS KS TB ApŚ Here the *a* (in TB. ApŚ) is uncalled-for, after a short syllable, and clearly secondary

§273. Instrumentals in *nā* for *mnā* from *man* stems, type *mahnā* On these forms see Wackernagel 3 p 268 f, and literature there cited, especially Bloomfield JAOS 16, clvi

vaiśvānaro mahnā (TS *mahnā*, KŚ *mahnām*) *viśvakṛṣṭh* (TS KŚ *viśvaśambhūh*) RV TS. KŚ This is the only occurrence in RV of the metrically bad *mahnā* after the cesura, see Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 50 7

etāvatī mahnā (AV *mahnā*) *saṁ babhūva* RV AV Cf prec
antarikṣāyaṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā prathantu
TS · *ṛṣayas tvā prathamajā deveṣu divo mātrayā varinā* (VS *varimnā*)
prathantu VS MS KS : *divo mātrayā varinā* (VS ŚB *varimnā*)
prathasva VS TS MS KS ŚB In the last, which is metrical, *varinā* makes better meter

dyaur va bhūmnā pṛthivīva (VSK *bhūmir va*) *varimnā* VS VSK ŚB .
dyaur mahnāsi bhūmir bhūnā (KS Kauś *bhūmnā*) MS KS Kauś .
bhūmir bhūmnā dyaur varinā TS

§274. Loc sg in *an* : *an* On this see Wackernagel 3 p 273. The ending *an* is characteristic of older and hieratic language It also differs from *am* in being a syllable shorter; the majority of our variants show the form at the end of triṣṭubh-jagatī pādas, so that either ending makes good meter In these variants, where the longer ending *am* is found in RV, the surrounding pādas are *jagatī*, so that the RV reading matches them, in such cases the substitution of *an* is apparently due to conscious hieraticism. In other cases the ending *am* is secondary and introduces a jagatī pāda in an otherwise triṣṭubh verse It is shown by Wackernagel, following Eggeling and Caland, that the Kāṇva recension of the Vājasaneyin school prefers *am*, against Mādhyamdina *an*; but if such variants occur in mantras, we have not noticed them, so that our variants happen to show no trace of this

§275. The cases in which the variant word ends its pāda (triṣṭubh or jagatī) are the following Four times out of six the *an* ending is secondary In all except the first the secondary ending (whether *am* or *an*) makes the pāda metrically inconsistent with its context, at least in certain texts

mā samstṛṣṭhāhūm parame vyoman (AB. AŚ. *vyomani*) VS. MS. KS. AB ŚB. TB AŚ. ApŚ. Here the stanza is otherwise jagati; the AB AŚ. reading seems to be a (secondary) patching of this pāda to make it consistent

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apīlakṣa āsani* (MS. *apīpakṣa āsan*) RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB N.

praty aṅgeṣu prati kṣhāmy ātman (SMB *ātmani*) VS KS ŚB. TB. SMB. HG.

tam pratyāñcam arciṣā vidhya marman (AV. *marmaṇi*) RV. AV. According to Roth Ppp reads *marman*

satyadharmānā parame vyoman (MS *vyoman*) RV. MS

sa jāyamānah parame vyoman (RV.* *man*) RV. (ter) MS. In RV. consistent with context as to meter.

§276. The next two variants are prose; chronological priority is not very clear:

apām tvā bhasman (MS KS *bhasmani*) *sādayāmi* VS. TS MS KS. ŚB.

It is possible that MS really read *bhasmant* (see v. Schr.'s note). *asmin brahmany asmin karmany* AV.: *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre 'smin karmany* ŚŚ : *asmin brahmany asmin kṣatre* KS.: *asmin brahmann asmin kṣatre 'syām āśiṣy asyām purodhāyām asmin karman* (PG *karmany*) *asyām devakūtyām* TS. ApŚ. PG : *te nah pānī asmin brahmany asyām purodhāyām asmin karmany* MS The preponderance of texts seems to point to older *an*.

§277. Thrice the hieratic ending *an* is introduced secondarily to the detriment of the meter:

tam ātmani (TS *ātman*) *pari grhṇīmahe vāyam* (MS. *grhṇīmasīha*) TS. MS KS

śucih śukre ahany ojasinā (MS *ahanā ojasīne*, KS.† *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasinām*) TS MS KS. AŚ. Clearly *ahan* is required by the meter

jyesthasya dharmam dyukṣor anīke SV.: *jyesthasya vā dharmaṇi kṣor anīke* RV. Benfey is certainly right in regarding *dharmam* as merely a way of writing *dharmān* (note that a dental consonant follows).

§278. Otherwise both forms may be real metrically, if final *y* in *any* (before a vowel) be pronounced as a consonant; or other changes accompany the shift and make the meter sound:

yat te asmin ghora āsan juhomi KS : *yad adya te ghora āsan juhomi* MS.: *yasyās ta āsani ghore juhomi* AV.: *yasyās te asyāh krūra āsani juhomi* TS. ApŚ : *yasyās te ghora āsan juhomi* VS ŚB.

ātmann (ĪśU *ātmany*) *evānupaśyati* VS ĪśU.

[*divye dhāmann* (TB Conc. **dhāmany*) *upahūyah* (TB **ūh*) TS MS. TB. (bis). Poona ed of TB *dhāmann* both times]

[*trīṇye dhāmāny abhy* (VS. *dhāmann adhy*) *avrayanta* VS TA.† MahānU † Conc. *dhāmāny* for *dhāmāny*]

§279. As an addendum to the *n* declension, we may mention an isolated curiosity which concerns noun formation rather than inflection: *dhāmne tvā* KS : *dhāmnyai tvā* ApŚ. The latter is due to attraction to the forms which follow in the series of formulas, viz *sanyai*, *vityai*, *śaktyai*, *bhūtyai*.

§280. The Concordance erroneously reports a voc sg. variant of a neuter *n* stem:

[*vācaspate vāhe nāman* (AŚ Conc *nāma*, but text *nāman*) KS AB TA AŚ ŚŚ]

Compare the next, where the forms are obscure but look like vocatives of *in* stems:

lājīṣṇ chācīṣṇ (MS *lājīṣṇ śācīṣṇ*) *yavye gavye* (TS. KSA TB ApŚ. *śācīṣṇ yaśo mamāṣm*) VS TS MS KSA 4 9 (add in Conc) ŚB TB. ApŚ See Kerth's note on TS; but the MS form may intend a voc. in *i* (not *in*)

5 Heteroclitic stems and the like

§281. Stems in *an* and *i*, type *asthān* : *ásthi*. On these see Wackernagel 3 p 302 ff. The variants show shifts between the two forms of the stem in the nom-acc pl (strong stem), and in the weak cases, both those with *h* endings and the 'weakest' forms. Sometimes the accent—regularly recessive in the *i* stem but on the stem final in the *an* stem—reveals the secondary character of one form

leṣām sam hanmo akṣāni (AV *sam dadhmo akṣīni*, Ppp *sam dadhmo akṣāni*) RV AV Ppp. Both accents regular.

aṅgāni ca me 'sthāni (VS. and *v* I of MS. *'sthāni*) *ca me* VS TS MS KS.

So far as accents are written they are regular, except that MS *p p* writes *ásthām*

asthabhyah (KSA. *asthi*°) *svāhā* VS KSA No accent in KSA

bhadram paśyemākṣābhīr (KS.† and *v* I of MG °*ākṣābhīr*) *yajatrāh* RV SV. VS MS KS TA ApŚ MG NṛpU NṛuU Accent *ākṣābhīr* in KS anomalous.

akṣyoś (MŚ *akṣnoś*) *cakṣuḥ* TS TAA MŚ. PG : *cakṣur akṣnoh* AV.

Vart No *v* I quoted for MŚ, but mss of AV mostly *akṣyoś* (or *akṣoś*; a bad writing for the same, cf VV 2 §335, where this might have been quoted), some mss of Vart also *akṣyoś*, which should be read in AV Vart (see Whitney's note)

caḥṣur ā dhattam akṣyoh (MŚ *akṣnoh*) TS. MŚ

§282. Stems in *s* : *r* (Wackernagel 3 p. 310 ff.). The single variant noted concerns *ūdhar* : *ūdhas* as a locative; cf. Wackernagel l. c. 311, Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 70 8, both of whom are inclined to deny any loc *ūdhar* (not to speak of *ūdhas*). It seems, however, impossible to construe the form in the following variant otherwise than as loc. It is very possible that *ūdho* (*ūdhas*) is the true reading of all texts, for most MŚ mss read *ūdho* 'dī°

sūryāyā ūdho 'dityā (VSK † KŚ † *adityā*, MŚ. *ūdhar aditer*, KS. *ūdho aditer*) *upasthe* VSK TS. KS ŚŚ KŚ. MŚ

§283. Strong cases of stem *panthā(n)*. The older forms (stem *panthā*) are replaced in secondary texts by those from stem *panthan*, sometimes (in the first quoted cases) clearly to the detriment of the meter; but usually this is patched up by other changes. Once even occurs *pathayo* as nom pl (from stem *pathi*)

aṅkṣarā rjavah santu panthāh (AV *panthānah*) RV AV. ApMB.

ye te panthāh (TS. KS TB ApŚ *panthānah*) *santah pūrvyāsah* RV. VS. TS. KSA TB ApŚ

ye te panthā adho divah SV Svīdh : *ye te panthāno* 'va *divah* AV.

emam panthām arukṣāma AV · *sugam panthānam ārukṣam* ApMB.

panthānam bhrūbhyām VS : *panthām* (p p *panthānam*) *bhrū°* MS.

taṁ panthānam (Ppp Roth, *panthām*) *jayemānamitram ataskaram* AV. Ppp.

ye panthāno bahavo devayānāh AV.. *ye catvārah pathayo devayānāh* TS SMB PG BDh Wackernagel p 308 plausibly suggests influence of the phrase *pathibhir devayānāh*.

§284. Weak forms of *path(i)*. Once the instrumentals *pathā* and *pathyā* from this stem interchange. In RV VS ŚB. *pathyā* may indeed be taken as nom (see §419), but in the others it is certainly instr.:

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS ŚvetU. °*kā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (sūrih, sūrah, sūrah, VV 2 §328) RV. AV. VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. ŚvetU

§285. The stem *āsan* : *āsya*. See Wackernagel 3 p 317. An interesting blend form *āsyān*, loc sg, a cross between *āsan* and *āsye*, seems to have been the true Atharvan reading (AV GB Kauś, and possibly Vait ?) in the following; it has not been noted by the Conc or the grammarians. See VV 2 §328. Most AV and Kauś mss. have *āsyān*, and Gastra adopts it for GB; it is, to be sure, not noted by Garbe as found in Vait mss

vān ma āsan (MŚ. PG *āsye*) AV. TS GB TAA. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ Kauś. PG BDh

pari svayam cinuṣe annam āsyē (SV *āsani*) RV SV In a jagatī stanza, read *āsīye* in RV, cf Edgerton, *Language* 10 253 ff

§286. The stem *yoṣaṇ(ā)* : *yoṣā* See Wackernagel 3 p 112 The only variant noted concerns the acc sg *yoṣām* : *yoṣanām*, both forms are metrically consistent with their surroundings (both RV), and there is no evidence of priority

ny ūhathuk purumitrasya yoṣām (and *yoṣanām*) RV (both)

§287. The stem *yūṣan* : *yūṣa* See Wackernagel 3 p 317

apo yūṣnā (TS KSA *yūṣena*) VS TS MS KSA

§288. Stems *rai* : *rayi* See Wackernagel 3 p 214 ff, and for the phonetic aspect of this variation VV 2 §396

agne samrād iṣe rāye (ApŚ *rayyai*) AŚ ApŚ · *iṣe rāye* VS MS ŚB TB MŚ (Conc also AŚ ApŚ. under the last, but the same passage is meant) *rayyai* is late and secondary

CHAPTER VIII

DIPHTHONGAL STEMS

§289. Compare the last section (*rai* : *rayi*). Besides this, the variants noted all concern the stem *div* (*dyu*), except one isolated case of instr sg *nāvayā* varying with *nāvā* from *nau*. On this latter see Wackernagel 3 p 224. The RV. original has *nāvayā*, which has been used to posit an otherwise unknown stem *nāvā*. Wackernagel however suggests that it is a poetic nonce-formation, substituted for *nāvā* on the analogy of the instr forms in *ā* : *ayā* from *ā* stems. The AV. *nāvā* is formally more regular, but metrically poor.

sa nah sindhum iva nāvayā (AV *nāvā*) RV. AV TA. For other related formulas see Debrunner, *Festschrift Winternitz*, 7.

§290. Coming to the stem *div* (*dyu*), we find a single anomalous genitive *dyaus* for *dyos*, one acc pl. *divas* varying with *dyūn*; and a considerable number of acc sg forms *divam* : *dyām*. The gen. *dyaus* occurs only in MS, for *dyos* of all other texts. No v. l. is quoted. This is a much clearer case than any of the other alleged instances of *dyaus* as abl-gen, on which see Wackernagel 3 p. 224 *infra*, with references:

sūryo rūpam kṛnute dyor (MS. *dyaur*) *upasthe* RV. AV. VS MS. TB.

Possibly a phonetic hyper-Sanskritism, cf VV 2 §732

§291. The accusative variants, both singular and plural, concern the extension of the stem *div* outside of its proper range, see Wackernagel 3 p 220. The one case of acc pl is:

ati dīdyūn (MS *dyūn*, TS KS TB ApŚ *divas*) *pāhi* VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB ApŚ. The accent in TS TB. is *divás*, not the Rigvedic *divas*

§292. Otherwise only acc sg *dyām* varying with (secondary) *divam* is found. This shift is frequent. While *divam* is already common in the RV itself, the only variants concerning RV. have *dyām* in that text. This form is probably dissyllabic in RV. in all the three following cases; read *dyām* in the first, *dyām* in the second and third (and *prthvīm* in RV. in the third, cf. Edgerton, *Language* 10.252). *tad aslabhñā uto divam* (RV. *uta dyām*) RV. SV ArŚ.

dyām (AV. *divam*) *ca gacha prthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV. *dharmabhūh*)
RV. AV. TA

sa dādāhāra prthivīm dyām ulamām (AV.* *prthivīm ula dyām*, **prthivīm divam ca*, ApŚ. *prthivīm antarikṣam divam ca*) RV. AV. (bis) VS.
VSK TS MS KS KSA PB. ŚB ApŚ. N. According to Roth,
Ppp. has *dyām ulāmūm* for AV. 11. 5. 1.

§293. In one AV. variant the reading *dyām* seems probably secondary, and intended to patch the meter in a changed form of the mantra where the meter requires a monosyllable:

divam (Ppp. *dyām*) *antarikṣam ād bhūmim* AV. Ppp. *divam samudram ād bhūmim* AV. The latter is probably original. It occurs in a Rohita hymn, and is very appropriate to the context, which deals with the sun's defensive activities. The other, with *antarikṣam* for *samudram*, is magical rignmarole, describing the wearer of an amulet; after *divam*, *antarikṣam* follows so naturally! We assume that *divam samudram* was changed first to *divam antarikṣam*; and that then Ppp tried to correct the meter by substituting *dyām* (here, if a monosyllable, contrary to Sievers' Law) for *divam*.

§294. The remaining cases concern YV texts, and are chiefly prose, or if metrical, meter seems to play no part in the shift. Nor is there much clear indication of priority, KS, apparently the oldest YV text, prefers *dyām* in a number of cases, but not unanimously:

divam skabhāna KS : *dyām stabhānā* KS : *divam dṛiḥa* VS. TS MS KS
JB ŚB. TB MŚ

divam gacha VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. TA ApŚ MŚ : *dyām gacha* MS
KS AB AŚ MŚ

divam (KS. ApŚ *dyām*) *te dhūmo gachatu* VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ.
divam agreṇa mā lekhīh (MS MŚ *hinsīh*) TS. MS ApŚ. MŚ. *dyām mā lekhīh* VS KS. ŚB KŚ

divam agreṇāsprkṣah VSK.† *divam agreṇāprāt* (VS *agreṇāsprkṣat*) VS
TB.: *dyām agreṇāsprkṣah* (MS KS * TB °*ṣat*) VS KS. (ter) MS
TB ŚB.

ud divam (KS *dyām*) *stabhāna* VS TS KS ŚB PB. ApŚ. *divam agre-*
ṇotabhāna MS MŚ

sūryena dyām (KSA *divam*) TS KSA.

ā yā dyām (MS *divam*) *bhāsy ā prthivīm orv* (KS *uro*) *antarikṣam* VS
TS MS KS. ŚB

drapsas te dyām mā skān (KS ApŚ. *skān*, MS. *te divam mā skān*) VS
MS.-KS ŚB ApŚ

ararus te divam mā skān TS ApŚ : *ararus te dyām* (KS ApŚ *ararus*

dyām) mā paplat MS. KS. ApŚ.: *araro divam mā paplah* VS. ŚB.
Vart

§295. The stem *diva* for *div* (*dyu*) is according to Wackernagel (2.1 pp. 109, 113, 146, and 3 p. 220) found in the Veda only in compounds. On *dive-dive* see §678. Tho this is a matter which does not strictly concern the theme of this volume (but rather Noun Formation), we record here in passing a clear case of locative *dive* in KS.; no other interpretation is at all possible:

divi (KS. *dive*) *gyotir ajaram* (MS. KS. *uttamam*) *ārabhetām* (MS. KS. †
thām) MS. KS. TB. ApŚ.

CHAPTER IX

ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

1. Feminine adjectives

§296. We find a number of variations between *ā* and *ī* stems, feminines to masculines in *a*; see (pending the appearance of Wackernagel II. 2) Thumb-Hirt, *Handbuch*, 197; Macdonell, *VGr.* 273 n 1, and for the usage in Classical Sanskrit, Renou, *Gr Scie* 279 f The variants reveal no general principles so far as we can see

samhitāsi vīśvarūpā MS KS ApŚ · *samhitāsi vīśvarūpī* (TS ApŚ °pīh)
VS TS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ

upasthāvarābhya dāśam VS : *upasthāvarībhya bairdam* TB (so Poona ed)

śivā rulasya (VSK *śiva rlasya*, TS and v 1 of MS *śivā rudrasya*)
bheṣajī (MS °jā) VS VSK TS MS KS

śivā vīśvāha bheṣajī (TS *vīśvāhabheṣajī*, VS *vīśvāhā bheṣajī*, MS *vīśvāha bheṣajā*) VS TS MS KS

sakhā saptapadī (ApMB °padā) bhava AG ŚG SMB Kauś ApMB
MG . *sakhe saptapadā bhava* PG

pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau (TB ApŚ °vī) VS ŚB TB ApŚ GG KhG ·
oṣadhyā (!) *vaiṣṇave sthah* MŚ

annādā (KB °dī) *cānnapatnī ca bhadrā ca* AB KB AŚ

vairūjī (KSA † °je) *puruṣī* (so KSA †) TS KSA We see no reason to
emend KSA , as v Schroeder would

śamgayī (MS ŚB °gavī, TB °gaye) *jīradānū* (ŚB *jīvadānū*) MS ŚB
TB AŚ ŚŚ

[*vaiśvadevy āmilṣā* MS. KS † Conc *vaiśvadevāmikṣā* for KS]

§297. There are also a couple of cases in which the fem suffix *ī* is alternatively added to *u* stems, varying with the stem in *u* which may be of either gender; cf §225 above.

achidhrāni pārāyīṣṇum (SMB °ṣṇvīm) TS SMB

dhiṣṇane vidū (VS VSK ŚB *vidvī*, KS *vīle*) *satī* (KS om) *vidayethām*
(VSK *vīl°*) VS VSK. TS KS ŚB

§298. Otherwise we have noted in the Conc. only one erroneous quotation of fem forms in *atī* and *antī* from a *vant* stem ·

[*ūrjasvatīr oṣadhīr ā riśantām* (KSA *viśantām*) RV TS KSA.† Conc. *ūrjasvantīr* for KSA]

2 Pronominal adjectives

§299. There are only a few cases of variation between pronominal and nominal endings in these adjectives. See Wackernagel 3 p 579 ff. Perhaps the most interesting is the first quoted, in which, curiously, the late and secondary ApŚ substitutes a pronominal for a nominal form of *viśva*, changing its own Samhitā, the pronominal forms of this stem are in general prehistoric, the nominal forms secondary, see Wackernagel 3 p 581.

viśvārād asī viśvānām (ApŚ *viśvāsām*) *nāṣṭrāṇām hanlā* TS ApŚ
ye keśinah prathamāh (MŚ °*me*) *satram āsata* TB. ApŚ. MŚ This and
the next are quoted from an unpublished part of MŚ
viśvasrjah prathamāh (PB MŚ °*me*) *satram āsata* (MŚ °*te*) PB. TB.
ApŚ MŚ

dakṣiṇāyāmi (AŚ °*nasyām*) *dīśi māsāh pitaro mārjāyantām* TS AŚ
[*te virājam* (KS *sanrājam*) *abhi samyantu sarve* MS † KS Conc *sarvāh*
for MS, but the reading is *sarvā* before a vowel, and *sarve* is
intended; so p p]

3 Numerals

§300. We have noted only the doubtful KSA reading *aṣṭabhyah* (with short *a* characteristic of the later language) for *aṣṭābhyah*, cf. VV 2 §495, Wackernagel 3 p 358:

aṣṭābhyah svāhā TS KSA † (Conc *aṣṭa°* for KSA; ed with ms *aṣṭa°*
in all three occurrences; first hand once *aṣṭa°*)
aṣṭābhyah śatebhyah svāhā TS. KSA Here the ms of KSA reads *aṣṭa°*;
ed em to *aṣṭa°*.

vrtraghna (MS KS. °ghnah) *slomā upa mām upōguh* (AV. *mema āguh*, KS. *mām ihāguh*) AV. TS. MS. KS Here both forms are made metrical

layā mām indra sam srja RVKh.: *layā mā sam srjāmasi* HG. ApMB. The RVKh form would be a syllable short (reading *mendra*) but for its use of *mām* before a vowel

tam mā sam srja varcasā RV. AV. etc.: *sam māgne varcasā srja* RV AV. KS ApMB : *sam mām āyuṣā varcasā* (TS adds *prajayā*) *srja* TS. MS KS The first two forms are both metrical, the last (prose) occurs in a different connexion

viṣve devā abhū rakṣantu (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *meha* (AV. **veha*, Ppp 5. 4. 4d. *mām iha*) AV. Ppp KS †

§304. Variants of *mām* and *mā* before a vowel in prose passages; cf VV 2 §812 (haplology or dittology):

tānu mām avantu SMB.: *te māvatām* AV.: *te māvantu* AV TS. PG.: *te māvata te mā jinvata* KS. ApŚ : *te mām avantu* KS. ApŚ : *tau māvatām* AV.

āyur brhat tad aśīya tan māvatu (MS. *mām avatu*) ApŚ. MS : *tan māvatu* (MS AG MG. *mām avatu*) PB. TA. TU. ApŚ MS AG. MG.: *tan māvīt* MG.: *tan mām āvīt* TA. TU.

ihava lṣemya edhī mā prahāsīr (ApŚ. °hāsīn) *mām amum āmuṣyāyaṇam* (AŚ *prahāsīr amum māmūṣyāyaṇam*, ApŚ † *māmum āmuṣyāyaṇam*) MS. AŚ ApŚ. MS. Caland assumes for ApŚ. the same text as MS

yā devy aśiṣṭaka (°ke) *sā mām upaśeṣva* (MS. *mopaśeṣva*) MS. KS ApŚ (four entries in Conc)

§305. Variations of *mām* and *mā* before a consonant or final. Here the variants are metrically equivalent, and there is no need to separate metrical from prose variants.

ā roha mām (AV. *ā mā roha*) *mahale-saubhagāya* RV AV.

uddhriyamāna ud dhara pāpmano mā (MS *mām*) AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ. MS ApMB

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *brhat saha divā hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ. The next five all occur in the same passage in the texts which contain them:

upa mām sakhā bhakṣo (TB *mā bhakṣah sakhā*) *hvayatām* TB AŚ ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *rathamāram saha hvayatām* ŚB TB ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *vāmadevyam hvayatām* ŚB. TB. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB *mā*) *dhenuḥ hvayatām* TB. AŚ. ŚŚ.

upa mām (TB. *mā*) *divyāḥ* (TB. ŚŚ omit) *sapta hvayantām* TB AŚ. ŚŚ.

cvam mām brahmacārīnah TA. TU.. *crā mā brahmacārīnah* Kauś.
cvam mā śrīdhātūrāh SMB : *cvam mā sakḥāyo brahmacārīnah* SMB.
gopāya mā (VāDh. *mām*) *śevadhīś te* (with varr.) 'ham asmi Samluto-
 paṇīśadB. VāDh VīDh. N.

trptā mā tarpayata (MG. *mām tarpayantu*) KS. MG

divo nu mām (HG ApMB *mā*) *bṛhato antariṣṭāt* AV. HG. ApMB.
 Prs : *divo nu mām* GB Vait Kauś

na mām (N. *mā*) *brūyā vīryavati tathā syām* VīDh VāDh. N

punantu mā (RV *mām*) *devajānāh* RV AV. VS MS KS TB : Prs

punantu mā (BṛhPDh *mām*) Vait Kauś BṛhPDh

punar dravinam aitu mā (AG MG *mām*) TA AG SMB HG MG

The same with *brāhmanam* for *dravinam*

prthivī mālar mā mā hīnsīh (VS ŚB *hīnsīr mo aham tām*) VS TS ŚB.

ŚŚ : *mā mām mātā prthivī hīnsī* TS. MS

mā mā (KS *mām*) *hīnsīṣṭam svam* (KS. *yaṭ svam*) *yonim* MS KS :

mā mā hīnsīh svām (svam) *yonim* VS KS ŚB TB Apś.

samuddho mā (ŚG *mām*) *sam arāhaya* VSK. ŚG

[*āyujśmantam karota mā* (RVKh *Aufr karotu mām*, Scheft *karotu me*,

KS *kṛṇota mā*) RVKh KS TA BDh A dat or gen is uncon-
 struable, only *mā* or *mām* can be read in RVKh ; *me* has crept in
 perhaps from the end of the preceding verse, *dehi me*, or else by
 confusion with the similar *pādas dīrgham āyujh kṛnotu me*, *sarvam*
āyur dadhātu me]

§306. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in metrical
 passages:

abhi tvām indra nonumah RV. SV *abhi tvā sūra nonumah* RV. AV SV
 VS ete A significant case, the final *m* of *tvām* is a sort of 'Hiatus-
 tilger' (cf VV 2 §309).

jayantam tvānu devā madantu (TS *tvām anu madantu devāh*) RV AV.

SV VS TS The original was read *tvānu*, TS implies the irregu-
 lar or later pronunciation *tvā-* (Edgerton, *Language* 10 247f.), and
 tries to 'correct' the meter

tābhīṣ tvābhīṣīcām MG : *tena tvām abhi*° YDh The MG is 'cor-
 rected' in YDh as in prec

mahe cana tvām adrivah (SV *tvādrivah*) RV SV ŚŚ Both may be read
 metrically, but Sievers' Law requires *tv-*.

yam tvām ayam (TS KS *tvāyam*) *svadhītis tejāmānah* (*tejājānah*, *tigma-
 tejāh*) RV. TS MS KS : *ayam hi tvā svadhītis tejājānah* VS ŚB

Sievers' Law would make RV hypermetrical

viśvantu (read *viśantu*) *tvām āhutaयाś ca sarvāh* MU. *viśvam tu* (read

viśantu) tvāhulayah sarvā(h) PrāñāgU. The latter is metrically poor.

[*tena grhṇāmi tvām aham* (AV. *grhṇāmi te haslam*) AV. VS ApMB : *tena tvāham pratigṛhṇāmi tvām aham* HG.]

§307. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* followed by a vowel in prose passages: *elat le tata (latāsau) ye ca tvām anu* (KS *tvānu*) TS. KS. TB. ApŚ ApMB. The same with *talāmaha*, *pitāmaha*, *pratālāmaha*, *prapitāmaha*, for *tata* (only KS reading *tvānu*): *ye ca* (Conc. wrongly omits *ca* for ŚŚ) *tvām anu* (ŚŚ *tvām atrānu*) ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. ŚŚ : *ye cātra tvānu* MŚ GG KhG.

prajāś tvānu (TS. ApŚ *tvām anu*) *prāñantu* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ MŚ The TS form simulates meter, and also makes better assonance with the preceding formula, *prajāś tvam anu prāñihī*. It is of course secondary.

§308. Variants of *tvām* and *tvā* before consonants and final: *ajasram tvām* (ApŚ *tvā*) *sabhāpālāh* TB. ApŚ. *atas tvā viṣṇuh pātu* MS.: *viṣṇus tvām indriyeṇa pātu* (TS KS. *tvām pātu*) VS TS. KS. ŚB.

avalām tvām (VSK. KS. ApŚ. *tvā*) *dyāvāprihivī* VS VSK. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. *viśvās tvām* (KS *tvā*) *prajā upāvarohantu* VS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.

viṣṇus tvā (SMB. v. 1. *tvām*) *mayatu* SMB PG.: *viṣṇus tvām unnayatu* MG. Note that in MG. *tvām* is used before a vowel; 'hiatusstilger'? [*tvā* (!) *manasānārtena vācā* . KŚ. Read *tvām* or *ā tvā* (so Weber in note), or *tvāmanasā*°.]

[*tvām* (so Poona ed ; Conc *tvā*) *bhūlāny upaparyāvarānte* TA]
[*deva savitar etam tvā* (VSK Conc. *tvām*, by error) *vr̥ṇate* . VSK. TB etc.]

§309. Variants of dat sg. *mahyam*, *tubhyam* with *me*, *te* in metrical passages In all cases both forms are metrically sound: *anamivāh pradīśah santu mahyam* ApŚ.: *asapatnāh* (Vait text *sapa*°) *pradīśo me bhavanantu* AV. Vait
tad astu tubhyam id ghṛtam TS . *sarvam tad astu te ghṛtam* (AV. *astu me śivam*) RV AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tubhyam (and *ye ta*) *āraṇyāh paśavo mrgā vane hitāh* AV. (both). *mahyam dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* TB. ApŚ : *sā me dhukṣva yajamānāya kāmān* (KS *dhukṣva sarvān bhūtīkāmān*) KS. TB. ApŚ. Both sound.

śvām mahyam madhumad astu annam AV.: *syonam annam madhuman me kṛṇomi* MS.

§310. Variants of dat sg. forms in prose passages:

agnir janavin mahyam jāyām imām adāt Kauś : agnir janatā sa me 'mūm jāyām dadātu svāhā ŚG

§311. Variants of gen sg *mama, tava* and *me, te*, mostly in metrical passages:

aṅgā parūṅśi tava vardhayanti Vait : priyāny aṅgāni tava vardhayantiḥ TB · dhruvam aṅgam priyam yat tanūs te MŚ While MŚ is metrically poor, its deficiency occurs in the first part of the pāda and seems not to be connected with the use of *te* for *tava*

lat punīdhvam yavā mama ViDh : punīdhvam ca yavā mama ViDh sarvam punatha me yavāh BDh All metrically sound

tava syāma (TS. syām) śarmans (TS. °man) trivarūṭha udbhau (TS udbhi) VS. TS : śarman (MS °mans) te syāma trivarūṭha udbhau MS KS TA The pāda is hypermetric in VS ; TS, apparently based on VS, corrects the meter by another change which introduces inconsistency in number (VV 1 p 253) Apparently MS KS. have the original.

śam u te tanve (TS tanuve) bhuvat TS. KSA · śam v astu tanvaḥ tava VS Both metrically sound

syāma te sumatāv apī RV TS : syāma sumatau tava AV Both may be read metrically

tava-tava rāyah MS KS MŚ : to-to (TS ApŚ to te) rāyah VS TS ŚB ApŚ : tava rāyah MS MŚ Prose

§312. Variants of acc pl *asmān, yuṣmān* and *nas, vas*, all in metrical passages:

abhyati na (SV. abhyeti na, AV asmān aity abhy) ojasā spardhamānā RVKh AV SV VS. The AV. is metrically poor, tho it can at a pinch be read metrically

arāyo ṭasmān abhiduchunāyate TB AŚ ApŚ · arāvā yo no abhi duchunāyate RV TAA Vait MŚ Both metrically sound

asmān (SV sā nah) sīte payasābhyāvartsva AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB evāsmān (KS evā mām) indro varuno bṛhaspatih MS KS . tenāsmān indro varuno bṛhaspatih AV : tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih TS ŚŚ All metrically sound

mā no andhe tamasy antar ādhāt (mss ādāt) MŚ . mā sv (Poona ed mo ṣv) asmāns tamasy antar ādhāh TA · mo ṣvatvam asmān tarādhāt (so, with pp) MS No metrical considerations involved in the variation

tebhīr no adya savitota viṣṇuh KŚ · tebhīyo asmān varunah soma indrah Kauś · tebhīyo na indrah savitota viṣṇuh ApŚ All sound

yo no drevṣṭi sa bhidyatām AŚ KŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB BDh · yo 'smān drevṣṭi sa bhidyatām ŚB.† 1. 6 20d Both sound.

sa no aryamā devah PG.: so 'smān devo aryamā MG.: sa imām devo aryamā (ApMB. adhvarah) AG SMB. ApMB. Deficient meter in PG

§313. Variants between dat pl *asmabhyam* (*asme*) and *nas*; all in metrical passages:

athā nah (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS 'tana) RV AV VS TS. MS KS. N.: *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV. Hypermetric in TS.

datto asmabhyam (KS *dattvāyāsmā*°, AŚ. *dattāyāsmā*°, SMB *dattāsmā*°) *draviṇcha bhadram* AV KS AŚ SMB : *dadhaita no dravinam yac ca bhadram* MS. All sound, but MS. evidently secondary.

śāntā nah santv oṣadhīh AV.; *śivā asmabhyam oṣadhīh* KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ SMB PG. Both sound.

§314. Variants between gen. pl *asmākam*, *yusmākam* and *nas*, *vas*; in metrical passages; both forms are metrically sound each time:

apī jāyeta so 'smākam VīDh : *apī nah sa lule bhūyāt* MDh.

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS : *yusmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV

2 Sporadic pronominal form variants

§315. Besides the variations between orthotonic and enclitic forms, only a few sporadic formal variants occur among the pronouns. Among the personal pronouns, the old form *tubhya* for *tubhyam* is found once in PG, HG reading *tubhyam*. The PG. form is noted in Wackernagel 3 p 459:

tubhyam (PG. *mama tubhya*) *ca samvānanam* PG. HG.

§316. The Rigvedic locative *tve* occurs in a number of secondary texts (only KS reading *tvayī*) in the following variant, which shows that we must modify Wackernagel's statement, 3 p 462, that there are no new occurrences of *tve* after the RV.:

ārūroha tve sacā (KS. *wayī apī*) KS. TB. AŚ. Vait ApŚ. MŚ

§317. The Rigvedic dual form *yuvabhyām* persists also in TS N. in the following variant, only KS. using the later *yuvābhyām* (if the edition is right; but the best ms. of KS. has *yuva*°!). Wackernagel 3 p. 464 says that *yuvā*° is used exclusively outside of the RV. except for one AŚ. passage (Whitney 492b). Evidently this statement is true only if we understand it to apply to new passages, not repeated from RV : *athā* (KS *adhā*) *somasya prayati yuvabhyām* (KS. ed. *yuvā*°, v. l. *yuva*°) RV. TS. KS N.

§318. An anomalous form written *yusmān* before a vowel (i e. *yusmām*? or *yusmān*?) seems to be intended as a genitive in the following.

It is not recognized by the grammars but is textually well established: *yusme* (GB † *yusmān*, Gaastra with all mss; all mss of AV also *yusmān*, Whitney, Index) *astu dive dive* AV. AB. GB JB ŚŚ No acc. can be construed; like *yusme*, the form can only be gen, dat., or loc, and of these it seems that gen is the best choice

§318a. The old dative or locative *asme* varies once with *nah* (and later *asmabhyam*).

athā nah (TS *athāsmabhyam*, AV *adhā nah*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (MS **tana*) RV AV VS TS MS. KS N *tad asme śam yor arapo dadhātana* RV

§319. The only other variants concern demonstrative stems (For fem. *yusmās* see §803) Once the gen-loc dual of *ena* varies between *enos* and *enayos*, as noted by Wackernagel 3 p 521.

na parā jagye katarāś canāznoh (AV. *canāmayoh*) RV. AV TS. MS KS AB

§320. Once TA. uses a wholly anomalous form *amī*, for AV *amū*, as nom dual fem. of *asau* No other form than *amū* for this case, in any gender, has been noted elsewhere, and this form of TA is ignored in the grammars It is particularly strange to find it used as a fem (the noun is *tārahe*), if it were masc. we might assume a use of the plural for dual. The comm interprets by *amū* but offers no remarks, and we can think of no explanation, unless the influence of *devī* nouns *amī ye subhage divi* TA · *amū ye divi subhage* AV

**SECOND PART: SYNTACTIC AND STYLISTIC
VARIANTS**

CASE, NUMBER, AND GENDER

CHAPTERS XI-XXIX

CHAPTER XI

VOCATIVE AND NOMINATIVE

§321. The vocative and nominative case forms are, in the dual and plural numbers (and sometimes also in the singular), formally distinguishable only by accent and consequently only in accented texts. We have tried to include cases where this accentual distinction is preserved, along with other cases in which a difference of stem or ending appears. It would have been clearly improper to include here instances from texts in which no accents are written, if the forms are identical, merely because our interpretation (however obvious and certain it may appear) makes a particular form vocative in one text and nominative in another. Since, however, the Concordance does not record accents, so that these variations can only be got from the original texts, it is likely that our collectanea are not complete in this regard.

Direct address and indirect statement

§322. As might be expected, a large proportion of the variants concerns shifts between direct address and third-person statement, of the sort treated from the point of view of verb forms (with shift between second and third persons) in VV 1 §§292, 327 ff. For example: *māle-vāsmā adite* (ŚG. *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yansat*) AV. TS. MS. KS. TB TA ŚG ApMB, 'like a mother grant, O Aditi, (Aditi shall grant) protection unto him'. This sort of change requires no comment, unless perhaps this, that the direct-address form of the variant need not necessarily contain a second-person verb, tho it most commonly does. For instance: *svasā* (ŚG. *śakhā*, ApMB. *prīyā*) *devī* (HG. ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB. ApMB. PG. ŚG. HG: *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG. Here MG. changes the statement of 'fact' (really a magic formula implying a strong wish that it may be a fact) into a direct prayer, in which the personified power addressed is put in the vocative; but instead of saying 'protect us from harm!', the phrase 'may we not be harmed' is used. This of course means the same thing.

§323. In VV 1 §§293, 332 we have already seen that the case of the subject and the person of the verb in such variants are sometimes incongruous. The lists there given will be found only partly duplicated

by our lists below. The conditions are different when one approaches the subject from the point of view of the variation in case. Notably a nominative referring to the subject in a sentence of direct address can not necessarily be called a syntactic incongruity. It may easily be an appositional nominative, modifying the subject, as in: *ā tiṣṭha mitra-varāhanah* (AV. °na) AV. KS. TB.† ApŚ.†, 'approach increasing friends' or 'approach, O increaser of friends!' Here and in many similar cases both forms of the variant contain direct address, and usually a 2d personal verb; yet the nominative may fit as well as the vocative and is frequently the original form. In such cases it often appears that the change (in either direction) is due to form-assimilation to an adjoining word. Thus: *somam pīḁa vṛtrahā śūra* (TS. TA. MahānU. °hāñ chūra) *vidvān* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU., 'drink the soma, O hero, being the wise slayer of Vṛtra' or 'O heroic slayer of Vṛtra, being wise'. Of course the Taittiriya texts must be secondary, and no doubt the following vocative *śūra* helped the change to *vṛtrahan*, yet their sense is quite as good as that of the original. But as much can hardly be said for the TS. reading of the following, which shows the reverse change (nom. instead of voc.), also under the influence of surrounding forms, but yielding a much less satisfactory result since the name of the god Indra, who is addressed, does not go well as nom. in apposition to the subject of the verb: *sajoṣā indra* (TS. *indrah*) *sagaṇo marudbhñḥ* RV. VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU. AŚ, 'O Indra, in association with the band of Maruts' or 'in association with the band of Maruts, being Indra'. This pāda immediately precedes the one quoted above, so that TS. has substituted a nom. for the voc. *indra*, while putting the voc. *vṛtrahan* in place of the nom.

§324. The last quoted instance may fairly be called a case of syntactic incongruity, since the nom. *indrah* of TS. is not really construable in an intelligent way. Other cases in which form assimilation to adjoining words seems to have determined the shift, and in which direct address is found in both forms of the variant, are quoted in §§335-6. In §333 will be found variants which shift between direct address and third-person statement, the case of the subject being in one form of the variant incongruous (voc. with 3d person or nom. with 2d). Sometimes three of the four theoretical possibilities are found in the same variant, e.g.: *madhvā yajñam nakṣati* (VS. TS. *nakṣase*) *prīṇānah* (AV. *prar°*), followed by: *narāsaṇso agnīḥ* (VS. TS. KS. *agne*), AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. Here AV. MS. (probably original) have 3d person verb with nom. subject; VS. TS. have 2d person verb with voc. subject; only KS.

is inconsistent, having 3d person verb with voc. subject. It might be suggested that KS. contains a blend of the other two forms. But more probably KS. represents the first change from the original reading (of AV. MS.), and VS. TS. have a further changed based on KS. and designed to correct its poor syntax.

§325. It should be noted that not a few vocative-nominative forms differ only in the lack or presence of a final visarga—a very slight phonetic difference. They are collected and related to similar phonetic shifts in VV 2 §380.

§326. We shall list first the variants in which a nom. with 3d person verb varies with a voc. with 2d person. This is the simplest type, and requires no comment, the shift in either direction is extremely natural and common.

mātevāsmā adite (ŚG *aditih*) *śarma yacha* (ŚG. *yansat*) AV TS. MS. KS. TB. TA ŚG ApMB.

indra vājam ajayāt TS. TB : *indra vājam jaya* VS. MS. KS. ŚB.

bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi Kauś : *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG.

īndrah (SV. PB. *indra*) *suteṣu someṣu* RV SV PB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed, in RV. SV., by *kratum punīta* (SV. *punīṣa*) *ukthyam*

agne tān asmāt pra nūdasva lokāt ApŚ : *agnis tān asmāt pra nūnottu lokāt* MŚ. : *agnis tān* (VS *tān*, AŚ *tāl*) *lokāt pra nūdāty* (AŚ. °tv, SMB. *nūdatu*) *asmāt* VS. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. SMB.

aditih keśān (AV. MG.* *śmaśru*) *vapatu* AV. AG. MG. (both) ApMB. : *adite keśān* (and, *keśaśmaśru*) *vapa* PG (both).

annapate 'nnasya (*annasya*) *no dehi* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB ApŚ.

MŚ PrānāgU. AG ŚG MG ApMB. : *annasyānnapatih prādāt* PB.

āyātu varadā devī, akṣaram brahma sammilam, gāyatrī chandasām mātā, idam brahma juṣasva nah TA TAA MahānU. : *āyāhi viraje devy, akṣare brahmasammile, gāyatrī chandasām mātā, idam brahma juṣasva me* MG. All the noms. in TA. etc. go with *āyātu*, which in MG. is changed to 2d person.

agnir hotā vetu AŚ ŚŚ. : *agne vīhi* AB. ŚB. AŚ. MŚ

jayanta upaspr̥ṣatu HG : *jayantiopa spr̥ṣa* ApMB.

avasānapate 'vasānam me vinda TB. ApŚ : *avasānam me 'vasānapatir vīndat* MŚ

sāvitrīm bho anu brūhi AG ŚG. ApG HG : *sāvitrīm me bhavān anu bravitu* GG.

saṁ dev (KS *devī*) *devyorvaśyā paśyasva* (KS.† *°vaśyākhyata*) TS. KS. ApŚ

uṣnena vāya udakenehi (SMB GG *udakenardhi*, ApMB. *vāyav udake-*

nchi, MG. *vāyur udakenet*) AV AG SMB. GG PG. ApMB. MG. The form *it* of MG. is a dubious imperfect, perhaps rather the particle *id*, cf. Kanver p. 165 s v *id*, and VV 1 p 87. In any case MG has an indirect reference instead of direct address.

prthuri mātār mā mā hincih VS TS ŚB ŚŚ. *mā māni mātā prthuri hincit* TS MS

agnināgnih samvadatām TA. *agne agninā samvadaria* TA ApŚ HG *pra candramās tirate* (TS † *tirati*, AV † *candramas tirare*) *dirgham āyuh* RV. AV TS MS. N. See VV 1 p 221.

puruṣu tvaṣṭā (MS *tvaṣṭah*) *surīṣam* (VSK. TS. *surīram*) VS VSK. TS. MS : *puruṣu deva tvaṣṭar* [*tvaṣṭ tvaṣṭā*, accentless; followed by *r-*] AV : *tvaṣṭah poṣāya uṣya nābhīm asme* KS Verb *viṣyatu* or *viṣya*

indra (MS. *indrah*) *śtonena pañcadaena madhyam* (KS. *°daśenaujah*) TS. MS KS AŚ Verb *raṣyatu* in MS, *raṣa* in the other. See VV 1 p 223

araro dīram mā papṭah VS ŚB Vait : *ararur* (MS *ararus te*) *dyām mā papṭat* MS KS ApŚ : *ararus te dīram mā śtān* TS ApŚ

yajñah praty u śhāt sumatāu matinām MS : *yajñah pratyasṣhāt* (v. 1 *praty u śhāt*) KS : *yajña pratitṣṣha sumatāu suśevih* TB ApŚ

vīśvā ca deva (PG. *devah*) *prtanā abhiṣyāh* (PG. † *°syah*) KS PG : *vīśvā tdeva prtanā abhiṣya* TB. ApŚ HG See VV 1 p 242, and on *abhiṣyak* (for *°syat*), VV 2 §142, where this form might well have been mentioned.

lasya na iṣṭasya prīlasya dravinēhūgameh VS. : *lasya meṣṭasya vīlasya dravinam ā gamyāt* (KS *dravinēhūpamyāh*, ApŚ *dravinēhūgameh*) TS. KS ApŚ : *lasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīlasya dravinēhūpamyāt* MS : *lasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sriṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* KS See VV 1 pp 61 f, 232

dīvo jyote (KS * *jyotir*) *vīasra* (MS *devajūte vīasvann*) *āditya te no devā(h) āsuradhīam* MS KS (bis). *vīasvān aditir devajūtis te na ādityā* . *viyantu* TS See VV 1 p 239.

uṣo dadṛkṣe (PB *uṣā*, read *uṣā?*, *dadṛṣe*) *na punar yafira* RV. PB *vaptā* (ApMB. *vaptrā*, HG MG *vaplar*) *rapasi* (PG *vapali*) *leśaśmaśru* (AG PG MG *leśān*) AV. AG PG. ApMB HG MG. In PG. change to 3d person verb to agree with *vaptā* (originally not subject but appositional nom); in HG MG change to voc to mend the same syntax, felt as incongruous See VV 1 p 241 f and below §334

yo (TS TB ApŚ. *yad*) *agnih* (TS TB ApŚ *agne*) *kavyavāhanah* (RV.

kravya°, TS TB ApŚ. °vāhana) RV. VS KS TS TB. ApŚ AŚ. Followed in RV. VS KS. TS by: *patfn yakṣad* (TS *yakṣy*) *rtāṛ-dhaḥ*; by a different pāda with 2d person verb in TB; only *pratika* in AŚ. ApŚ.

śrutalakṣo aram (SV. °lakṣāram) gave RV. SV. Preceded by *aram aśvāya gāyati* (SV. °ta). Note plural verb in SV; cf. VV 1 §372c [*indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS : *indrah karmasu no 'valu* TB. But Poona ed. of TB text and comm. *indra 'vata*]

§327. In the following group the nom and voc. forms are distinguished only by the accents (see above, §321).

śvena mā (ApMB. *tvā*) *caḥṣuṣā paśyatāpah* (ApMB. *paśyantr āpah*) AV.

TS MS AB. ApMB. *āpah* is nom in ApMB., voc in the rest. *ghṛtēna dyāvāprthivī prorn(u)vāthām* (MS MŚ. °tām) VS. VSK TS MS.

KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ.
aśvinā pibatam (VS. KŚ °tām) *madhu* (TB ApŚ *sutam*) RV. VS. TB MŚ KS

devā deveṣu śrayantām (TB. *śrayadhvam*) KS. TB.

tasmasi te dyāvāprthivī revatibhiḥ AV.: *asmabhyam dyāvō 'sahraribhiḥ* TB.

Cf VV 1 p 224, under *kāman duhālām* etc

aśvinā eha gachalam RV AB. AŚ ŚŚ : *aśvinā eha gachatām* (TS. TB °tām, in same stanza in which RV. N have °tām) RV TS. TB N *svāttām cit*. *āpo devīḥ svadatanam* TS ApŚ : *svāttām sad āpo devīḥ svadantu* MS.: *āpo devīḥ svadantu* (VSK *sad*°) VS. VSK. ŚB (*abaddham mano*) *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* (KŚ *hāsīt*) TS. KŚ BDh : *dikṣen* (sc *dikṣā-ud*) *mā mā hāsīt satapā* MŚ.: *dikṣe mā mā hāsīḥ* ŚG See VV 1 p 225. In KŚ read probably *dikṣen*.

apātām aśvinā gharman VS ŚB. ŚŚ LŚ : *gharman apātām aśvinā* (accented in MS. which is therefore inconsistent if not corrupt')

MS TA : *aśvinā gharman pātām* (MS. *pibatām*) VS. MS ŚB.

TA ŚŚ. LŚ ApŚ Consistent in all but the first MS. form.

vāṣve devāso adhi vocatā nah (TS. *me*) RV TS.: *vāṣve devā abhi rakṣantu* (KS. *anu tiṣṭhantu*) *iveha* (AV.* KS † *meha*; AV. **pakvam*, SMB ApMB. HG. *paścāt*) AV. (thrice) KS. SMB. ApMB. HG

vājinau vājajitau . *avajighratam* (KS °tām) MS. KS. MŚ : *vājino vājajito vājam* *avajighrata* VS. TS. ŚB. ApŚ. Similarly:

vājino vājajito vājam . *bhāgam avajighrata ni mṛjānāḥ* (KS. *bhāge ni mṛjātām*; TS. *bhāge ni mṛjādhvam*) VS. TS KS. ŚB : *vājinau vājajitau* . *bhāge nūmṛjyethām* MS MŚ. In this and the prec. KS. has noms, the rest vocs

aśmnā bhuṣajāvalah (MS. °tām, TB. † °ta) VS. MS TB See VV 1 p. 71.

lena brahmāṇo vapatedam asya (ŚG. *adya*) AV. TB. AG. ŚG. PG HG ApMB : *lena brāhmaṇo vapatu* MG See VV 1 p. 220 The MG form can of course only be nom ; the other is ambiguous except for the accent

ā mā ganta pīlaro viśvarūpāh MS : *ā mā gantāmi* (VSK *gantani*) *pīlārā mātārā ca* (VSK *yuvam*) VS VSK † 10 3 12c TS KS ŚB Add to VV 1 §337.

§328. In VV 1 §§295, 328 we have called attention to the apparent tendency of SV. to address Soma Pavamāna directly in second person forms, where RV. has third person references The following (all listed l. c) show correspondingly vocs in SV for noms. of RV.:

pavamāna vy aśnuhi SV. : *pavamāno vy aśnavat* RV.

ayā somaḥ (SV. *soma*) *sukṛtyayā* RV SV

svāyudhah sotṛbhīh pūyate vṛṣā (SV *°bhīh soma sūyase*) RV SV.

Phrase inflection

§329. In another group the mantras are found in different contexts Thus we have the variant *hotrābhīr agnir (agne) manuṣaḥ svadhvarāh* The vocative form occurs in RV. AV, preceded by *sadāsi ranvo yavaseva puṣyate*: 'Thou art ever pleasant, as grazing land to the grazer, having fair sacrifices, O Agni, thru the offerings of man' The nominative form occurs in RV. in a quite different context as an independent sentence (with copula unexpressed): 'Agni has fair sacrifices thru the offerings of man' These constitute a sort of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

hiraṇyavarṇā subhagā AV : *hiraṇyavarṇe subhage* AV Quite different contexts

evāyam daśamāsyō [asraj jarāyunā saha] VS. ŚB : *evā tvam daśamāsyā [sahāvehi jarāyunā]* RV, *sāham jarāyunā pata* AV] RV AV In Ppp. (see Whitney on AV 1. 11 6): *evā te garbha ejatu nir aitu daśamāsyō bahir jarāyunā saha*

bhāratīde sarasvatī [yā vah sarvā upabruve tā naś codayata śrīye] RV. *sarasvatīdā mahī [imam no yaññam ā gaman, etc]* RV

indra (RV. **indro*) *viśvābhīr ūtibhīh* RV (both) AV SV

ośvāni deva (RV **devo*) *vayunāni vidvān* RV. (both) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. TA. In one RV passage and all others except AV preceded by *agne naya supathā rāye asmān*, in the other RV passage, by *ṛbhūś cakra idyam cāru nāma*, AV has different surroundings but requires a voc

upedam upaparcanam [āsu goṣūpaprcyatām] RV TB LŚ. *upehopa-parcana [asmin goṣṭha upa prñca nah]* AV. See VV 1 §85

antarīkṣena saha vājīnīvan (once, °vān) AV. (ter) Verbs are consistent
sahamāne (PG HG ApMB * °nā, RV. AV. *devajūte*) *sahasvati* (HG.

ApMB * °ti, PG *sarasvati*) RV. AV. PG. ApMB (bis) HG See
 also §346, *devajūte*

imam yajñam aśvinobhā bṛhaspatih RV. TS.: *imam yajñam bṛhasnate*
'śvinobhā KS. Followed respectively by: *devāh pāntu yajamānam*
nyarthāt, and. *indrāvata kāvyair dānsanābhīh* Yet the contexts
 are fundamentally the same (cf. below under *devah savitā*°, §399).

ā pavasva madīnlama RV. SV.: *sa pavasva madīnlama* RV. SV.: *sa*
punāno madīnlamah RV

samiddho agna āhuta RV. AV. TS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ. (followed by
 2d person verbs): *samiddho agnir āhutaḥ* [svāhākṛtaḥ pīpartu naḥ]
 KS ApŚ MŚ. The latter is a blend of the former (as in RV) with
 an unmetrical yajus text: *iṣṭo agnir āhutaḥ pīpartu* (KS. TB *svā-*
hākṛtaḥ pīpartu) *na iṣṭam havīh* (TB. ŚB omit last two words) VS
 MS KS ŚB TB.

sa tvam no nabhasas pate (GB *palih*) TS GB : *tvam no nabhasas pate*
 AV. TS : *ayam no nabhasas patih* AV. GB Varit Kauś

ghṛtapratīko ghṛtaprṣṭho agne (KS ApŚ *agnih*) AV MS. KS ApŚ
 ApMB HG : *ghṛtāhavanō ghṛtaprṣṭho agnih* AŚ : *ghṛtam vasāno*
ghṛtaprṣṭho agne KS

hiranyaparna śakune PG.: *hiranyapakṣah śakunih* HG : *hiranyavarṇah*
śakunah MU

agnis tigmena śociṣā RV. AV. SV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB ApŚ. MŚ :
agne ti° *śo*° RV. AV.

pavamānah (RV * °na) *kanīkradat* RV. (both) SV.

īndram soma (and, *somo*) *mādayam dāvyaṃ janam* RV. (both). Fol-
 lowed or preceded respectively by. *sīndhor ivormih* *pavamāno*
arṣasi, and: *ā vidyutā pavate dhārayā sutah*.

devebhyo havyavāhana RV : *devebhyo* (ApŚ. *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV.
 ApŚ : *devebhyo havyavād asī* ApŚ. See RVRep. on 3 9 6b. The
 second ApŚ variant occurs in a context different from any of RV.
 and belongs to §339

deva devebhyo havīh (SV. *devebhyah sutah*) RV. SV.: *devo devebhyah sutah*
 RV. SV

sahāsrote śatāmagha RV.: *sahasrotih śatāmaghah* RV.

sahasrapoṣam (AV. Kauś *sahasrā*°) *subhage* (TS * *subhagā*) *rarāṇā* RV.
 AV TS (both) MS KS. Kauś SMB. ApMB.

nutra satyānām pate (ŚŚ. *satyānām adhīpate*) TB ŚŚ.: *nutrah satyānām*
 (VS ŚB *satyah*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Each in a series, with

2d or 3d person verbs expressed in the first member and implied in the rest. So next

savitā prasavānām (AV. adds *adhipatīh*) AV. TS PG : *savitah prasa-vānām adhipate* ŚŚ As prec.

§330. The following are cases in which the variant containing direct address has no second-person verb form (cf. §322):

svasā (ŚG. *sakhā*, ApMB. *priyā*) *devī* (HG ApMB. *devānām*) *subhagā mekhaleyam* SMB. ApMB. PG HG ŚG. *śivā devī subhage mekhale mā riṣāma* MG.

upa brahmānī saranānī vṛtrahā (SV. **han*), *paramajyā ṛciṣamah* (SV. **ma*) RV. AV. SV. Preceded in RV by: *ā no rīrāsu harya indrah samatsu bhūṣatu*, 'May Indra associate himself with us the slayer of Vṛtra' etc SV. misunderstands *bhūṣatu*, taking it in its later sense of 'adorn' or 'honor'. To make this meaning fit, Indra must be made the object of this verb, the subject being now the worshippers, the resulting first half verse is: *ā no rīrāsu haryam indram samatsu bhūṣata*, cf VV 1 p 199. But since *vṛtrahā* cannot (like *harya indrah*) be made accusative without metrical change, it is made voc, with very awkward supplying of an unexpressed verb, and *ṛciṣamah* then follows it

agnir yaścedam namah KS.: *agne yaśtar idam namah* TS TB 'Agni is the sacrificer, this homage (to him)': 'O Agni sacrificer, this homage (to thee).'

§331. Perhaps in this same group may be placed the following rather puzzling variant:

tasyās te devy aditā (Kauś *aditā*) *upasthe* MS. KS Kauś *te devy adite 'gnim* TS Followed in Kauś by *annādāyānnapatyāyā dadhat*, for which the others have versions containing *ādadh* (1st person), see VV 1 p 211. In all except Kauś there is a direct address to Aditi, thru whose intervention the desired result is expected, tho a first person verb is used In Kauś Aditi seems to be made the subject of the 3d person verb; but note that Kauś retains *te*, which apparently can only refer to Aditi! In fact Kauś is hardly capable of intelligent interpretation.

§332. Similar variants used in different contexts ('phrase-inflection') are:

sahasrākṣo amartyah AV *sahasrākṣāyāmartya* AV. In the second passage a verse of homage, with direct address, is accompanied by the voc. of the deity addressed, the preceding pāda is *namas te rudra kṛṇmas*.

aśveva citrāruṣī [mātā gavām rāvarī, sakṣābhūd aśvinoṛ uṣāh] RV. SV.:
[vayam hi te amanmahy, āntād ā parākāt,] aśve na citre aruṣī RV.
The latter is secondary; see RVRep 63.

abhūn mama (KS. nu nah) *sumatau vīśvavedāh* TS. KS. PG.: *bhūyāśma*
te sumatau vīśvavedah MS.† In the latter a direct address See
VV 1 p 218

indra somasya pīlaye RV : *indrah somasya pīlaye* RV.: *indrah somasya*
pīlaye vṛṣāyate RV. A 2d personal pronoun accompanies the voc
yajñiṣṭham havyavāhana RV.: *yajñiṣṭho havyavāhanah* RV. Again a pro-
noun accompanies the voc

§333. We come now to variations between direct address and indirect
reference in which either the voc. or the nom. seems incongruous in one
form of the variant, as in *narāśanso agnīh* (agne), §324 Other cases of
this sort are:

agne (TS. KS. *agnir*) *manyum pratinudan pareṣām* (TS KS. *purastāt*)
RV AV TS KS. In the next pāda RV AV. TS have *pāhi*, KS
pātu All are consistent except TS, which has nom with 2d per-
son verb, cf VV 1 p 231.

sa no mayobhūh pīto (pītav) *āviśasva* (āviśeḥa, MŚ *pītur āvīśeḥa*) TS. TB.
AŚ MŚ ŚG SMB PG.: *sa nah pīto madhumān ā viśeḥa* (Kauś
vīśeḥa) KS Kauś Only Kauś is incons tent, MŚ. (secondarily)
restores consistency with nom matching 3d person verb

apālām indra (MG *indras*) *triṣ* (trih) *pūtvī* (AV. *pūtvā*, ApMB.† *pūrtvay*
a-, MG *pūrtv a-*) RV. AV JB ApMB. MG The verb in the
following pāda is 2d person in RV. AV JB, but 3d in MG. and
ApMB, despite voc. epithet in pāda b; see Winternitz, Introduc-
tion to ApMB, xvi, VV 1 p 233 f.

inder agnir (VSK ŚBK *agner*, MS. MŚ. *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS MŚ
add *yat te*) VSK TS. MS ŚBK MŚ : *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS
KS ŚB See VV 1 p 233. TS. is inconsistent.

vy astabhñā (VS ŚB *aska°*, MS *aṣka°*, KS. *aṣṭa°*, TS *askabhñād*, TA
aṣṭabhñād) *rodasī viṣnav* (VSK. MS KS. *viṣṇa*, TS *viṣṇur*) *ete* RV.
VS VSK TS. MS. KS ŚB TA —TB is secondary but consistent;
TA inconsistent, and apparently a sort of blend of the other two.
See VV 1 p. 232, where read VSK. *viṣṇa* (instead of VS.)

dyāvāprthivī urv antarikṣam AV TS : *dyāvāprthivī uro* (VSK † *urv*)
antarikṣa VS. VSK. MS KS. ŚB Context of AV. different from
all the others; there a simple third-person prayer. In the rest
either (as in MS.) directly addressed to the deities, altho there
also the verb is third person because the deities are not conceived

as the direct agents (the following pāda is *brhaspatir no haviṣā vṛdhātu* TS MS), or, as in VS. VSK ŚB., the following pāda (*brhaspataye haviṣā vidhema*) contains a first personal statement. In TS the nominatives, if not a direct reminiscence of the AV form of the variant, would be due to assimilation to *brhaspatir*, subject of *vṛdhātu* in the next pāda. Keith understands them as exclamations.

§334. We now come to variants both forms of which contain direct address, and generally a second-person verb. Nevertheless in one form a nominative appears where the other form has a vocative. Either may be the original form, since a nom. in apposition to the 2d person subject is often as easy to construe as a voc., in the example given in §323, *ā tiṣṭha mitravardhana* (°nah), it is hard to say which reading was the older. We shall quote first a group in which the nominative seems to be the original form and the vocative secondary:

pavamānah (SV °na) *samtanum eṣi kṛnvan* RV SV. A slight tendency for SV to prefer the voc. referring to Soma may perhaps be detected in this and the following; cf. VV 1 §328

aprosvān grhapatir (SV °pate) *mahān asī* RV SV

śuddho mamaddhi somyah (SV *somya*) RV SV

sarūpavarṣā ehi MS *sarūpa vṛṣam āgahi* SV JB

samrād asī kṛśānuh (ŚŚ °no) VS VSK TS MS KS PB ŚŚ. ApŚ

śūyavasād bhagavati (KŚ. °ti) *hi bhūyāh* RV. AV. AB. KB AŚ KŚ

ApŚ N. Addressed to the cow, KŚ makes one of the predicate adjectives into a voc.

vaptā (ApMB *vaptirā*, HG MG. *vaptar*) *vapasī* (PG °ti) *keśaśmaśru* (AG. PG MG *keśān*) AV. AG PG ApMB HG MG. The change of the nom. original of AV to a voc. in HG MG belongs here, see §326

āyusmān (MG. °mann) *idam pari dhatsva vāsah* ApMB HG MG; cf. also *āyusmatidam* etc., AV. Lect. fac. in MG.

vasūm cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v 1 *cāryo*, HG *cāryo*) *in bha-jāsi* (SMB *bhṛjāsi*), HG *bhājā sa* *jīvan* AV SMB HG ApMB. Nom. masc. in all but SMB (*ca āryo* in ApMB, for HG see VV 2 §244). In SMB adapted to a different context which requires a fem., (*ca*)*ārye*, voc. fem. Note however that SMB baldly retains the masc. form *jīvan* from the original! (*jīvanī* would be unmetrical.)

sakhā (PG *sakhe*) *saptapadī* (ApMB. PG °padā) *bhava* AG ŚG Kauś SMB. PG ApMB MG. The (predicate) nom. is clearly original *purovāta* (KS. °to, TS °to *varṣān*) *jīva* TS MS KS. Thus and the

adjoining formulas are pretty low bathos; but some of them have nom. forms even in MS

brahmacāry asi (SMB GG. *asy asau*) ŚB. AG. ŚG SMB. GG. KhG. PG. ApMB.: *agneś cāsi brahmacārīn mama ca Kauś* Perhaps, hardly to be called variants.

[*dhruvaidhi poṣyā* (PG *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh. ŚG. PG. ApMB.: *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV Stenzler and Oldenberg take *poṣye* as voc. fem., addressed to the bride. If this be correct, the variation belongs here. We have preferred to understand *poṣye* as loc. sg. masc., going with *mayi*, see §454]

§335. In some cases the change of case form seems to be due to the definite assimilatory influence of a neighboring word; see §323. These deserve special listing, the following are those in which the nom. seems to be the older form and the voc. secondary:

soman piba vṛtrahā śūra (TS TA MahānU. °*hañ chūra*) *indvān* RV. VS TS MS. TA MahānU. §323

nicerur asi nīcupunah (TS TB *nīcañkana*, MS. KS *nīcuñkunah*) VS. TS MS KS. ŚB TB LŚ. Preceded in all by *avabhṛtha nīcupuna* (etc., voc. in all). Doubtless the nom. is original and the voc. assimilated to that of the preceding *pāda*

sanjagmāno divah kavh (SV. LŚ. *divā kave*) RV SV. LŚ. Preceded by *ṛdhak soma svastaye*. It is likely that the voc. *soma* had something to do with the change to voc. *kave*. The next *pāda* begins with *pavasva*, 2d person, which may also have helped.

agner agne puro agnir (KS.† KapS {Oertel 73} *agne*, TS.† TB.† *puro-agnir*, cpd.) *bhaveha* VS TS. MS. KS. KapS ŚB. TB. The orig. seems to be TS TB. ('harbinger of Agni', Keith); the second voc. of KS KapS. is apparently assimilated to the first *agne*

§336. In the rest the nominative seems to be secondary. We shall put first those cases in which form assimilation to a neighboring word seems to have operated, as in the preceding section; note that they are very much more numerous than the opposite shift:

sajoṣā indra (TS. *indrah*) *sagano marudbhīh* RV. VS TS. MS TA. MahānU. AŚ. §323

ulso deva (SV. twice *devō*) *hiranyayah* RV. SV. The surrounding noms have been responsible for *deva*.

rjīṣi śavasas pale (SV. *palh*) RV SV. Preceded by *tvam indra yaśā asi* *pavasva devāyusaś* (SV. *deva āyusaś*) RV SV. PB. Benfey translates *deva* as voc.; it is accented *devā*. If this is correct and it is a nom., it might be explained by assimilation to *āyusaś* if that is a nom.; but Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 9 25 5 considers it a neuter adverb

dyāvāprthivī uro (VSK.† *uro*) *antarikṣa* VS. VSK. MS KS ŚB.: *dyāvāprthivī urv antarikṣam* AV. TS The TS. reading belongs here, see §333.

agne sadakṣaḥ satanur (KS † °*nūr*) *hi bhūtva* TS. KS.: *agnih sudakṣaḥ sutanur ha bhūtva* MŚ The verb is 2d person in all, the nom. of MŚ. is attracted to the following noms.

vasupate vasudāvan RV VS. ŚB.: *vasudāvā vasupatih* TS. MS KS Preceded in all by *sa bodhi sūrur maghavā*; TS etc assimilate to these noms

kāmena kṛtaḥ (RV and p p of MS *kṛta*) *śrava icchamānah* RV MS TB *kṛtaḥ* partly suggested by *icchamānah*

praṇāpatis (ApMB. °*te*) *tanvami me juṣasva, tvaṣṭā devair sahamūna indrah* (ApMB *tvaṣṭar devebhīḥ sahasūma indra*, cf Winternitz, 11) ApMB MG Followed in MG. by: *viśvair devair ṛtubhūh samvidūnah, punsām bahūnām mātaraḥ syāva*, in ApMB by: *viśvair devair rātubhīh sanrarānah, punsām bahūnām mātara syāma* Both texts are poor and doubtless corrupt, but the vocs in ApMB are doubtless more original, and may have been changed into noms. in MG under the influence of the participle in pāda c, which is nom. in both

sahasrākṣa medha ā (VSK. *medhāya*) *cīyamānah* VSK TS KS: *sahasrākṣo medhāya cīyamānah* VS MS ŚB Preceded in all by *imam mā hinsir dvipādām paśum* (TS KS. *paśūnām*) Voc is likely to be original, attraction to *cīyamānah* in VS etc

śaravye brahmasambhite (TS °*tā*) RV. AV SV VS TS: *śaro brahmasambhūtaḥ* TB ApŚ Preceded in all by *avasṛṣṭā* (TB ApŚ °*ah*) *parā pata* Voc was original, in TS. the adjective, and in TB ApŚ. both it and the noun, have been drawn into the nom. by the nom. adjective preceding

ado (MŚ *ato*, AV *ado yad*) *devi* (ApŚ MŚ *devī*) *prathamānā purastāt* (KS. ApŚ. MŚ. *prthag yat*) AV. KS. ApŚ MŚ Direct address and 2d person verb in all; voc original, nom. attracted to *prathamānā subīrana sṛja-sṛja śunaka* ApMB: *suvirnah sṛja-sṛja* HG Preceding pāda ends with *suvirnah*, which certainly caused the change (it may be a mere corruption in tradition)

sakhe (AV *sakhā*) *sakhāyam ajaro jarimṇe* RV AV In the latter attraction to the case of *ajaro*

vīhinām medha (MŚ *medhah*) *sumanasyamānah* TB. ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *tasmīn sīda* Attraction to the following nom. in MŚ

§337. In the rest a nominative is secondarily substituted for a vocative, in an expression of direct address, without any apparent assimilatory influence of surrounding forms:

indra (MS *indrah*) *svadhūm anu hi no babhūtha* RV. KS. MS. In the latter, 'thou hast presented thyself as Indra'

punar āgāh punarṇava (AV. *punarn°*; AV.* *°rah*) RV. AV. (both)

namas te astu sīsara (PG *sīsaro lapetāpahvara*) PG † 1. 16. 24, ApMB HG. The nom of PG. is hardly interpretable; indeed one is almost tempted to suppose that *sīsaro* is meant for voc (of an otherwise unknown *sīsaru*) It must refer to the same individual as *te* (a kind of dog demon).

agne ghṛteuāhuta (KS *°tah*) AV VS TS. MS KS. ApŚ In AV Ppp (Whitney on 6 5 1) *ghṛtebhūr āhutaḥ* Ppp and KS are awkward and secondary, the nom must be taken as predicate to the subject of the preceding verb [*ud cnam* (ApŚ *asmān*) *utaram* (VS TS. KS. *°rām*, ApŚ *°rān*) *naya*]

rātri (TB *°rī*, KS v 1 *°rīh*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB. *°ṣī*) RV KS TB In all preceded by *upa te gā iwākaram*, *ṛnīṣva duhitar dīraḥ* The nom must be taken in apposition with the subject of *ṛnīṣva*. *ṛtena* (MG *ṛteva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB. HG *sthūnāv*, MG. *sthūṇā*) *adhi roha vanśa* (MG *vanśah*) AV. AG HG. ApMB. MG The appositional nom of MG is awkward

indra kratvā (MS *indrah kṛtvā*) *maruto yad vaśāma* RV. MS. KS. Perhaps the direct address to the Maruts (*maruto*, voc.) in the same pāda made the redactor of MS. feel that the voc *indra* must be got rid of. The nom is however clearly inferior; perhaps 'When we, O Maruts, acting as Indra, desire' (?). On the original cf Oldenberg, *RVNoten*, on 1. 165 7. In VV 2 §380 we have called the nom 'hardly construable'

agne (MS *agnir*) *deveṣu pra vocaḥ* (MS *voca*) RV. SV. MS. TA.

Vocative and nom of independent statement

§338. In a few cases the shift between nominative and vocative marks more radical changes in the relation of the word so changed to adjoining words Thus, a vocative epithet may be developed into a separate clause or sentence (cf §§32, 38). The first step in this direction is illustrated by this:

ṛṣṭhā ratham (TS *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS. ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB *°tah*) RV. VS ŚB. TB Here TB, introducing a conjunction *yad*, makes what was originally a vocative epithet into a syntactically separate, tho still dependent, clause: 'since thou art vajra-wielder' instead of 'O vajra-wielder!' The awkward reading of VS. ŚB is intermediate and paved the way

§339. Note also the ApŚ variant *devebhyo havyavād asi*, under *devebhyo havyavāhana* etc §329; and the following, which show the final result of this tendency:

kāmyāsi PB. MŚ. GG : *kāmye* MS

agne prāyaścalle SMB. PG ApMB HG.: *agne prāyaścaltir asi* , ŚG

Similarly with *vāyo* . and *sūrya* (*āditya*)

agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva KS. ApŚ MŚ. *agnaya upāhvayadhvam*

Vait : *agnir me hotā sa mopahvayatām* ŚB Parallels rather than real variants?

adhvanām adhvapale pra mā tira svasti me VS : *adhvanām adhvapale svasti me* PB : *adhvano adhipatir asi svasti no* ŚŚ.

Transfer of epithet

§340. There remain, aside from textually dubious or corrupt variants, chiefly some cases of 'transfer of epithet' That is, the variant word is transferred from one person or thing to another, which involves change of case. Cf §14 above:

tava śravāṇsy upamāny ukthyā (SV. °ya) RV SV In RV. the adj goes with *śravāṇsi*, in SV. with Indra.

śrātās ta indra somā vātāpayo (KB TA *vātāper*, KS. ŚŚ. *vātāpe*) *havanaśrutah* MS KS (9. 8) KB TA ŚŚ. In MS *vāt°* agrees with *somāh*, in the others with Indra, either with the voc *indra* or with the pronoun *te* and the adj. *havanaśrutah*

satyasya dharmanas patī (ApŚ *pale*, Vait MŚ *satyasya dharmanā*, AŚ. *pari satyasya dharmanā*, PG *pari sakhyasya dharmanah*) ŚŚ Vait ApŚ MŚ AŚ PG. In ŚŚ (probably original) *patī* (dual) is part of the predicate of the two preceding pādas In ApŚ it is applied to an unspecified divine personage to whom the stanza is felt as addressed.

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS In the original (MS. KS) addressed to Agni (voc.); but he is not one of those who are to participate in the action of *vyantu* The redactor of VS. felt therefore that there was no reason for bringing Agni in at all; the rest of the verse suggests that Indra is above all the god who is to 'taste the butter', hence *indra(h)*, as one of the *devā(h)* who are the subject of the verb

vrasvann (VSK. °vān, TS. KS °va) *ādityaṁsa te somapūṭhah* VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB MŚ The epithet belongs, as it should, to the sun (*āditya*) in all but VSK, which seems to apply it, incredibly, to *somapūṭhah*.

anu dyāvāprthivī supranītiḥ (ŚŚ. °te) AŚ ŚŚ. The original pāda d of AV. 7. 73 6 (see Whitney's note); Ppp. (Roth) agrees with AŚ., with nom. agreeing with *savitā* of pāda c, while ŚŚ. (secondarily) distorts it to agree with the subject of the 2d person verbs of pādas a, b.

sva devā (TS. TB. ApŚ. *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS MŚ. *agāma*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB TB. ApŚ. MŚ. *devā* is accentless both times in VS, tho comm in one of them takes it as nom. (*vayam yajamānā devā bhūtā*). In KS. 14. 1 it is voc, in KS. 18 12 nom. (but two mss make it voc); in MS nom.; the Tait texts make it accus attracting it to the case of *sva* and making it a second object. If nom. it must, of course, agree with the subject (as comm. on VS says).

bhaga eva bhagavān astu devāḥ (AV.† *devah*) RV. AV. VS TB. ApMB. In AV the epithet (originally voc.) is transferred to *bhaga(h)*. Ppp. agrees with RV.

vṛttacakrā āsīnāḥ HG ApMB.: *avimuktacakra* (v. l. °rā) āsīran PG. See §454.

yat te susīme hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB. HG. °yam) KBU. AG. SMB. PG. ApMB. HG.: *yat te susīmam hṛdayam* KBU. 2. 8 (not in Conc.) *susīme* is voc. fem; *hṛdaye* loc. See §457. If *susīmam* be allowed to stand, it is a case of transfer of the epithet to *hṛdayam*: 'the heart that is thine, of well-parted hair' (! despite the bizarre sound of this to us, it is perhaps not impossible in a Vedic text; the 'heart' is the essence of the person, and any epithet of the person may be applied to it). Deussen would read *susīme*, however.

agne vaiśvānara (MS * °rah) *svāhā* TS MS. (bis) TB. The subject is *gyotis* (neuter!), and if the nom. can stand it must be felt as going with it. But, altho no v. l is recorded, we suspect a corruption (final visarga added, VV 2 §380).

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunītha* (AV. °nītir, MS. °dhīte, KS.* °dhītam, v l °tim, KS.* 38. 12b† °nītha, KapS. °dhītam or °tim) *yajñaiḥ* (AV. MS. KS * *agne*) AV. VS. TS MS KS. KapS. ŚB. The voc. agrees with *agne* (understood in KS.); the nom. with *brahmā*; the acc with *tvā* (sc. Agn) of the preceding.

Miscellaneous

§341. One or two miscellaneous cases, hardly to be called true variants:

svāna bhrājāṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno VS TS. ŚB : *svān*

nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre hasta suhasta kṛśāno KS : *suwān nabhrād aṅghāre bambhāre 'star ahasta kṛśāno* MS : *svāna bhrāt, aṅghārīr bambhārīh, hastah suhastah, kṛśānur viśvāvasuh* TA † In TA part of the *gandharvaganāh*; obviously based on the other list (addressed to the *gandharvas* at the soma purchase), but used in a different connexion

agnir ājyasya vetu vaṅghak ŚB : *agna ājyasya vyantu vaṅghak* ŚB Also *agninājya°*, *agnim ājya°*. Rigmale formulas, with repetition (with slight variations) of the same words attached to various cases of the stem *agn*, as required in a set of offerings

§342. We now append some nominative-vocative variants whose right to be called such is doubtful, either because of dubiety of interpretation of forms, or because textual corruption or editorial error is involved

svapnah svapnādhikaraṇe RVKh : *svapna svapnādhikaranena* AV . *svapna svapnādhikaranena* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 35 52) Probably *svapna* is a sandhi form for *svapnah*, VV 2 §980

sumṛdīkā sarasvatī (MG °tī) AV AA TA AŚ LŚ MG Read °tī in all, so v 1 of MG, and its comm *he sarasvatī* In TA 1 21 3 the Bibl Ind ed reads *sarasvatī*, but Poona ed °tī

sumanah śuharanyavān (ŚŚ °vah) AV ŚŚ But °vān is Roth's emendation and must be rejected

ud īrṣvātah pativati (ApMB. °vatī) *hy eṣā* RV ApMB See Winternitz, xix, some ApMB. mss. °vatī, comm. °vati interpreted as a 'Vedic' nom ! A voc seems impossible

iyam oṣadhe (PG °dhī) *trāyamānā* PG ApMB HG Here too (cf prec) the voc is absurd, yet is clearly intended in ApMB HG, see Winternitz xxiv, and Oldenberg SBE 30 166 note

[*śṛtam havih samitāśh* (TS ApŚ *havīśh samitah*) TS MS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ MŚ. Conc *samitā* for MS MŚ, but both follow this word with *iti*, intending *samitāśh*]

dhānāsomān manihira indra (MŚ *indrah*) *śukrāt* TS KS MŚ See Knauer's note The nom is unconstruable as such

tām nah pūṣaṇ chivatamām erayasva HG . *tām pūṣaṇ* (AV. °an) etc RV AV ApMB . *sā nah pūṣā śvatamām eraya* PG The verb being still 2d person in PG, this might be classed with §337, but PG. is really hopeless

stomatrayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī TS. KŚ AŚ *stomas trayastrinśe bhuvanasya patnī* MS In the latter apparently *stomas* and *patnī* are subject and predicate, the divergence of gender signalizes the badness of the reading

(*aśvakrānte rathakrānte*) *uṣṇukrānte vasumdhare* (TA. °rā), *śirasā dhātā devī* (TA *dhārayiṣyāmi*), *raḥṣasva mām pade-pade* TA MahānU. The nom is impossible as member of a series of vocs, which are epithets of the personage addressed (*trām* must be supplied). With MahānU's *dhārītā*, it might, tho very harshly, be explained by attraction. In fact the comm on TA seems to have read *dhārītā devī*, and for *vasumdhārā* (which he does not quote; did he read °dhare?) he has: *he bhūme sarvāni vastūni dhārayantī satī*. Evidently the text of TA. is very uncertain.

indra (MS *indrah*) *śrutasya mahato mahāni* RV MS The nom is not construable

na vā ojīyo rudra tvad asti RV. TA : *ojīyo rudras tad asti* MS s p., but p p reads like RV but for *tad* instead of *tvad*. The MS. is corrupt and uninterpretable. Add to VV 2 §365 (*tvad* : *tad*).

praty elā vāmā (AŚ *sunvan*) *pratiṣṭhotopavaktar* (ŚŚ. °vaktā, v. 1 °vaktar) *uta* KB AŚ ŚŚ Discussed VV 2 p. 180 All texts seem to have read °vaktar, but a voc seems unconstruable, and a nom must have been intended, whatever the form was.

yatra-yatra jātavedah sambabhūtha (TB. °bhūva, Poona ed °tha) TB ApŚ : *yatra-yatra vibhṛto* (KS. *bibhrato*, v. 1. *bibhṛto*, *bibhyato*) *jātavedah* AV KS The nom is very awkward; Whitney translates a voc *śarīram me vicarṣanam* (RVKh. *vicakṣanam*) RVKh TA. TU : *pratīkam me vicakṣanam* PG Scheftelowitz reads *vicakṣana* in RVKh, but this seems unconstruable

śaviṣṭha (AA °{hah, but Keith °{ha with v. 1 °{hah) *vajrinn ojasā* (AA Mahānāmnyah *ṛṇjase*) RV. SV AA Mahānāmnyah A mere corruption of tradition

arvāguaso svasti te pāram aśīya MS KS. ApŚ.: *arvāguasur [iti trir ukhvā]* MŚ (pratīka). It seems clear that MŚ's pratīka refers to the mantra of MS. There is no v. 1 recorded; but no nom can be really intended.

CHAPTER XII

VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

Direct address and indirect statement

§343. The variants between vocative and accusative are much less numerous than those between vocative and nominative, and naturally do not parallel them altogether; yet it is rather curious to observe the extent to which they correspond. Thus, to begin with, we find a group in which one form addresses directly a divine personage or a thing (vocative), while the other expresses the same prayer, wish, or statement indirectly, referring to the same personage or thing in the accusative. Generally in such cases the variants occur in different contexts, so that we have a sort of phrase-inflection, an adaptation of the same mantra material to different situations. But not always so, in a few cases the same passage undergoes this syntactic modification, just as in the first group of nominative-vocative variants (§326). Among the simplest cases of this sort are two in which a first person verb meaning in substance 'I invoke' is used in both forms of the variant, with the god invoked in the accusative or vocative:

indram (SV. *indra*) *dhenum sudughām anyām iṣam* RV SV. The preceding pāda is *ā tv adya* (SV. *tvādyā*) *sabardughām huve gāyatrave-pasam*. SV., by reading *tvā(dya)* for *tv adya*, turns the verse into a direct address to Indra. 'I call upon Indra' or 'I call on thee, Indra'.

rcā yāmi maruto brahmaṇaspatim (SV. *°pate*), *devān* (SV. *devā*) *avo varenyam* RV SV. MS KS. 'With a hymn I approach the Maruts, Brahmanaspati, the gods, for excellent aid': 'I approach [you], O Maruts etc.'

§344. In a few other cases the accusative is the object of a causative or active verb, while the vocative goes with a corresponding intransitive; the action is thought of alternatively as performed by an outside agency upon the entity referred to, or by that entity itself. These are similar to many variations of the acc with the nom., §372 ff.

īhaiva dhruvā (ŚG. *sthūne*) *prati tīṣṭha sālā* (ŚG. *dhruvā*) AV. ŚG HG : *īhava dhruvām ni minomi sālām* AV. PG. HG. 'Right here stand thou firm, O house (pillar)', or: 'Right here I fix firm the house'

tasmai tvam stana pra pyāya ApMB : *tasmai stanam pra pyāyasva* HG.
'Swell for him, O breast!', or: 'Swell thy breast for him.' See
VV 1 §32

unnambhaya prthivīm TS. KS MS ApŚ.: *pra nabhasva prthivī* AV.
'Split open the earth' (addressed to Dhātār): 'burst open, O earth'
Ppp agrees with TS. etc., and AV. addresses Dhātār in pāda c;
AV. probably secondary.

§345. In the stray variant which follows the acc. is original ('the
sacrifice has gone to the gods '); AŚ. (the reading of which is repeated
by its comm.) makes it a direct address to the gods:

devān (MS *devān*, AŚ *devā*) *janam agan yajñāh* MS KS AŚ. ApŚ MS †

Phrase inflection

§346. The remaining cases of shift between direct address and indirect
reference concern different contexts in the two forms of the variant:

satyadharmānam adhware RV SV. (preceded by *kavim agnim upa stuhi*):
satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS °re) RV. TS (preceded by different
pādas of direct address).

yajīṣṭham havyavāhana (and °nam) RV. (both). Voc. accompanies 2d
pers pronoun.

rudra jalāṣabheṣaja AV.: *rudram jalāṣabheṣajam* RV

śatamūle śatakrato RV : *śatamūlm śatakratum* RV. Voc with *te*, acc.
with *indram*

slomebhir havanaśrutam (and °tā) RV. (both). Acc. with *mahāntam*
(*indram*), voc (dual) with *indrāgnī* or *aśvinā*

slomebhir viśvacarṣanam RV : *slomebhir viśvacarṣaṇe* RV. AV.

uttānaparne subhage (Ppp °nām subhagām), followed by: *devajūte* (Ppp.
sahamānām) *sahasvati* (Ppp °tīm) RV. AV. Ppp. (JAOS 40 161).

The latter also in nom form, §329, *sahamāne*.

indav indrāya pītaye RV.: *indum indrāya pītaye* RV. SV.

indum (RV. also *indav*) *indrāya matsaram* RV. (both) SV.

indram (RV also *indra*) *somasya pītaye* RV. (both) AV. SV.

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya draviṇeha bhakṣīya TS ('may I enjoy the wealth
of thee '): *tasya na iṣṭasya prītasya draviṇehāgameh* VS ('wealth
of , come to us here'). And others; see VV 1 §104u, and §326
above The forms differ only in accent.

§347. We come now to the second large group of vocative-accusative
variants In these there is direct address both times; but the person
or thing addressed is syntactically the object of a verb, at least in one
form and generally in both, while one of its epithets is alternatively

expressed in the accusative, agreeing with the object, or in the vocative. While we can generally see which is the original form, on external grounds, both forms are often equally sound syntactically, as was the case with the corresponding nominative-vocative variants (§§334 ff). Usually the shift is due to attraction to a neighboring form.

§348. In the group to be mentioned first the accusative form is older than the vocative:

indram karmasv āvatam (MS VS **°ta*) RV AV. VS (both) MS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ : *indram karmasv avatu* MS *indra karmasu no 'vata* VS KS : *indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB (but Poona ed *indra 'vata*) See VV 1 §354. The voc is attracted to the subject of the verb, which originally does not include Indra.

namasyāmas tvedyam (KS. *°ya*) *jātavedah* RV MS KS TB 'We pay homage to thee, the worshipful one, O Jātavedas' or 'to thee, O worshipful J'. The RV original makes the epithet *īdyam* agree with *tvā*, the KS attracts it to *Jātavedah*, but in either case it refers to the same person.

agnim (SV. *agne*) *ratham na vedyam* RV SV. On this complicated verse (cf. also *agnī ratho na vedyah* RV, and below §387) see *RVRep.* on 1 186 3, with references, and especially Oldenberg, *Prol* 288. There is no doubt that SV. is secondary. All the surrounding verses are addressed to Agni; this is doubtless the reason for SV's change to the vocative, which makes unsatisfactory sense, the pronoun *vah* (plural!) occurs in the first pāda, and is interpreted by the comm. as equivalent to *tvām*!

pra yā bhūmim (TS ApMB *°mi*) *pravalvah* RV TS MS KS. ApMB N. Followed by *mahnā jinoṣi* (MS *hinoṣi*) *mahim*. Addressed to Prthivī, 'earth', who is said to 'promote the land (*bhūmī*)', by a natural confusion TS ApMB assimilate *bhūmī* to the subject and make it vocative, along with (and specifically attracted by) the adjoining vocative epithets. Note that the short *i* of the ending is retained, which however implies a stem *bhūmī* instead of *bhūm-*; cf. *yās ca bhūmy*. etc, §180.

mahyā indram (ApMB *indra*) *svastaye* RV. ApMB. Occurs twice in ApMB, in different contexts, both different from that of RV. On one of them see Winternitz xxix f. Both are inferior in sense.

§349. The cases in which an older vocative varies with a secondary accusative in expressions of direct address are.

ye tvā rātry (MG. *rātrīm*) *upāsate* KS. MG : *yā tām rātrīm upāmahe* PG : *yām tvā rātry upāmahe* (TS *upāsate*, SMB. *rātri yajāmahe*)

AV. TS SMB. Direct address in all, even in PG, where the object pronoun is 3d person instead of 2d; PG and MG assimilate the form of the orig. voc to the object pronoun

indra śaviṣṭha satpate RV.: *īndram śaviṣṭha satpatim* SV. Repeated in SV from RV 8 68 1, where the first three pādas are: *ā tvā ratham yathotaye sumnāya varlayāmasi, tumikūrmim ṛtīṣaham* The acc epithets of the prec have attracted two of the three vocs of the last pāda; the curious thing is that one (*śaviṣṭha*) is allowed to remain even in SV.

śociṣkeṣam vcaḥṣaṇa (AV.* *°ṇam*) RV. ArS AV (both) TS KS. Preceded by *tvā. deva sūrya*. Clear attraction to the prec. acc. in AV

hotaś cakitvo (AV. *°vann*) *avṛṇimahiha* RV AV : *agne hotāram avṛṇimahiha* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In all texts *tvā* occurs in prec 'In that today we choose thee, O hotar (as hotar)'

punar brahmāṇo (AV. *brahmā*) *vasunūtha* (AV. *°nūtir*, MS. *°dhūte*, KS * *°dhūtam*, v 1 *°dhūtim*, and *†*°nūtha*, KapS *°dhūtam* or *°dhūtim*) *yajñān* (AV. MS KS.* *agne*) AV. VS. TS MS KS (bis) KapS ŚB. See §340.

svar devā (TS. TB ApŚ *suvar devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ *agāma*) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ MŚ The acc certainly secondary, and perhaps influenced by *svar*; see §340.

vaha kāla (HG *kālam*, v. 1 *kāla*) *vaha śriyam mābhī vaha* ApMB HG. Undoubtedly ApMB is correct and original. Addressed to an elephant: 'Carry, black one, carry! Carry me towards fortune!' Probably *kāla* should be read in HG. with two mss.; certainly *kālam* does not make sense 'Carry the time' (Oldenberg) is ridiculous, and 'carry the black one' is little better

Transfer of epithet

§350. The remaining vocative-accusative variants, except a few corruptions, concern 'transfer of epithet' from one person or thing to another, involving change of case (and also, often, of number or gender): *rayim no dhehṣ subhage suvīram* (MŚ *suvīre*, PG † *suvīryam*) AV. TS.

MŚ. PG 'Grant us wealth with good sons, O auspicious one': 'grant us wealth, O auspicious one of good sons' There is little real difference in the sense, the possession of good sons by the deity addressed implies the granting of them to the petitioner.

vardhā samudram ukthyam (SV. *°ya*) RV. SV. In RV *ukthyam* modifies *samudram*; in SV it is transferred to *soma* (in pāda a)

indram sakhāyo (KS °yam) *anu sam rabhadhvam* (KS. *vyayadhvam*)
RV AV. SV. VS. TS. MS KS The voc *sakhāyo* refers to the
subject (warriors); the acc to the object (Indra)

subhage kāmṣīlavāsini TS KSA TB ApŚ · *subhadrikām kāmṣīlavāsi-*
nīm VS MS See Edgerton, *JAOS* 31 141, 144 The words are
applied differently, the accs to a rival queen, the voes (spoken
by the priest) to the Maluṣī Both occur in an obscene passage
in the *aśvamedha* In the voc form note the absence of the impre-
catory suffix *ka*

kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣaṇah sakhāyah AV : *kṛnuta dhūmam vṛṣaṇam sakhā-*
yah RV The whole AV verse is a wretched corruption of the
RV original All that need concern us here is that *vṛṣaṇam*, in
the orig an epithet of *dhūmam* (so Grassmann *Wbch*, Geldner,
Hillebrandt), is transferred to the following *sakhāyah*

kas tam indra tvāvasum (SV PB *tvā vaso*) RV. SV. AB. GB. PB. AŚ.
This involves a 'false division' of the type described in VV 2 §820,
where this variant might have been included The RV. has a
cpd adj. agreeing with *tam* The SV misunderstands it as con-
taining an acc *tvā*, and then makes the seemingly necessary correc-
tion to *vaso*, which is then a voc going with *indra*

āganma mitrāvarunā varenyā (MS *vareṇa*, KS *varenyam*) TS MS KS
In KS the epithet goes apparently with *bhāgam*, to be supplied
in sense (the following *pāda* is *rātrīṇām bhāgo yuvayor yo asti*)
In TS (probably a lect fae) it is made to agree with *mitrāvarunā*.
MS. has a different change, on which see VV 2 §326

achidram (SMB °rah) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented
SMB makes the epithet go with the subject; it may be taken as
either voc or nom

svargam arvanto jayema Vait · *svargān* (AŚ text, *svagān*) *arvanto jayata*
(AŚ *jayatah*; AŚ also, as variant given in the text, *arvato jayati*)
SV. AŚ ŚŚ *arvanto* is voc in SV, nom. in Vait, in both cases
going with the subject (in ŚŚ either nom or voc). In the second
version of AŚ it is transferred to the object

ṛbhum ṛbhukṣano rayim RV.: *ṛbhukṣaṇam ṛbhum rayim* RV SV. In
the first passage *ṛbhukṣaṇo* is a voc elliptic plural, 'O *Ṛbhukṣan*
(and the two other *Ṛbhūs*)' In the second it is an epithet of
rayim See *RVRep.* on 4 37. 5

nāma svadhūvan guhyam (ApMB *svadhūvat svaryam*) *bibharṣi* RV.
ApMB. In RV. *svadhūvan* refers to Agni; in ApMB. it is made
an epithet of *nāma*

§351. There are two cases of the sort mentioned in §15; in both what is in the original form an object noun is treated in the secondary form as a vocative epithet. They differ from the preceding only in that the original accusative can hardly be considered an 'epithet':

avavyayann asitam deva vasma (TB. ApŚ *vasvah*) RV. MS KŚ TB ApŚ The original: 'Removing the black garment, O god' In TB. ApŚ *vasvah* must apparently be meant as an epithet of *deva*; its meaning is obscure; Caland translates the RV. reading See VV 2 p 124.

viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam (AV.* °na) RV. ArS AV. (both) VS. TS. MS. TA. MahānU The subject is the sun; the object, in the orig, *viśvam rocanam* In AV *rocana* must be felt as an epithet of the subject, 'shining' This adjective is unknown to the RV., where *rocana* is always a noun.

Errors

§352. Finally, a few errors:

evā hīndra KB AA TA AŚ Mahānāmnyah. The Cone. follows the Bibl Ind ed of AA in quoting *hīndram*; but see Keith's AA., 142, n 12. Voc in all

kāma kāmam mā āvaritaya PB. MŚ : *kāmam-kāmam mā āvartaya* MS. But one of von Schroeder's best mss. reads *kāma kāmam* (both accented); this and the reading of MŚ, its ritual text, convinces us that the printed reading of MS. is merely due to bad editing
yām iṣum giriśanta VS MS. TS. KS ŚvetU. NīlarU The ed. of NīlarU used in Cone has *giriśantam* in text and comm. But the AnSS ed has °*santa* in text (comm °*santam*) The acc can be construed only with difficulty, Deussen assumes a voc.

devayuvam (TB *devā*) *viśvavārām* (AŚ °*vāre*) TS ŚB. TB AŚ. ŚŚ. Preceded by *ghṛtavatīm adhvaryo* (AŚ † °*yoh*) *srucam āśyasva* The accs. go with *srucam*, the spoon; perhaps AŚ means *viśvavāre* as a voc fem addressed to the spoon, but this is really nonsense, even if it be detached from the preceding and taken with the following (*īdāmahar devān īdenyān*). Note that AŚ. is also corrupt in *adhvaryoh* (omitted in Cone ; to be added to VV 2 §381).

CHAPTER XIII

VOCATIVE AND OTHER CASES

A Vocative and instrumental

§353. The variations between vocative and instrumental are, as we should expect, few and scattering. Nevertheless there are certain conditions in which, rather unexpectedly, these two cases may be interchanged with substantially no difference of meaning. Thus, first, an associative instrumental may be used with a vocative of direct address of a person also addressed, while in another form a second vocative may function. The associative instrumental varies in this same way with other cases (§§55-7). The examples we have noted are

mo śū na indrātra (TS † *indra*) *prisu devāḥ* (KS *devāḥ*, TS MS *deva*)
RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. In the original, 'O Indra along with the gods', in KS., 'O Indra (and) ye gods'. The next pāda begins with *astu* and MS TS read *devāstu*, which however MS pp resolves as *devāḥ, astu*—implying the reading of KS. The reading *deva* would of course be voc. sg., as epithet of Indra; this would be a case of 'transfer of epithet', as described in §15.

devīr-devīr (ApŚ *devīr devair*) *abhi mā nivartadhvam* MS ApŚ. In MS. an āmredita compound. 'Ye several goddesses'. In ApŚ: 'Ye goddess along with the gods'.

ā yāhi śūra haribhyām (SV KB ŚŚ *hariha*, AŚ *harī iha*) AV SV KB AŚ ŚŚ. See notes of Whitney and Keith. Apparently *harī iha* is intended in all but AV, *harī* would seem to be voc.: 'O hero (Indra) [and] ye two bay steeds!'

§354. In another way the voc. and instr. may be nearly equivalent in ultimate meaning in the following, which psychologically go with interchanges between direct address and indirect statement (cf §29), here in the indirect form the personage which in the other form is directly addressed is put in the instrumental instead of the nom. (for the equivalence of these two cases in such contexts see §40).

jagatyamaṁ (AŚ °*ty enam*) *vikṣv ā veśayāmah* (MS KS °*m*, AŚ °*m*)
TS MS KS AŚ. The AŚ reading may be only a phonetic variant or corruption (see VV 2 §709), but if genuine it could be interpreted

as meaning 'O jagatī (instead of 'by the jagatī') may I settle him in the tribes' That is, the potency which in the original is to be the instrument for bringing about the desired result is directly addressed for this purpose in AŚ

ātmāsy ātmann ātmānam (GB. *ātmanātmānam*) *me mā hiṁsīh* GB Vait Kauś. 'Thou art ātman; O ātman, injure not my ātman!' or, 'injure not my ātman by the ātman.' If textually sound, this would be substantially the reverse of the preceding change (assuming that here the voc is original) But Gastra reads in GB like the others (with v 1 in 2 mss)

§355. The following might be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' but for the fact that the two forms are used in quite different contexts, so that it is rather what we have called 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2): *devī devebhīr yajate* (and °*īā*) *yajatraiḥ* RV. (both): *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV MS The latter is certainly secondary; *yajatra* is made to agree with a preceding *agnī*, whereas in the original the word agreed with *devebhīr*. The contexts are different See *RVRep* 241

§356. In one stray case a voc varies with an adverbial instr : *sā nas samantam anu pariṇi bhadrāyā* ApMB : *sā mā* (MG. *nah*) *samantam abhi pary eṇi bhadre* MG SMB *bhadre* refers to the sacred belt, *mekhalā*: 'Do thou encircle me (us) completely, O fair one!' Instead of 'O fair one' ApMB says 'fairly', using the old RV. adverb Or this may be the original reading, and *bhadre* a sort of phonetic (Prakritic) reduction; the variant should in any case have been quoted in VV 2 §747

§357. The next is one of those cases which by a certain stretching of language may be called 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15) A voc epithet of the subject is replaced by an instrumental of different appurtenance: *utūla parimīdho 'sī* PG · *ūlena parimīdho 'sī* HG : *ūlena pariṣīto 'sī* ApMB Original is apparently PG, *utūla* '(runaway) servant.' The word *ula* or *ūla* seems to mean some kind of wild animal, see Bloomfield *SBE*. 42 643 (on AV 12 1 49) But the interpretation of HG. ApMB is very obscure, Oldenberg abandons the text

B Vocative and dative

§358. Here again the variants are few But they show interesting psychological parallels to variations between the vocative and other cases Thus first we find some cases in which there is a shift between direct address, with vocative, and indirect statement, in which the per-

sonage addressed in the direct form is referred to in the dative (cf §30). The alteration may be helped by assimilation to a case-form already present in the older form of the variant, as in the first case.

agnaye (AV. Kauś *agne*) *saṃudham āhārṣam* (ŚG GG *ahārṣam*) AV Kauś AG GG SMB ŚG PG HG ApMB (The false emendation *agre* in AV is withdrawn by Whitney ad loc.) Lanman ap Whitney regards the voc *agne* as original on metrical grounds. More weighty to our minds is the fact that it seems to be a lectio difficilior. The rest of the verse refers to Agni (*Jātavedas*) in the 3d person, not in direct address, and more particularly, the datives *br̥hate jātavedase* follow immediately, and it is almost certain that *agnaye* has been assimilated to them, replacing *agne*. Note that the following stanzas are all directly addressed to Agni *Jātavedas*. However, the comm on AV reads *agnaye*, and so does one of SPP's reciters. 'O Agni (for Agni) I have brought firewood, for the great J'

br̥haspataye mahiṣa (TS *mahiṣad*) *dyuman namah* AV TS. *br̥haspate mahiṣāya dīve namah* Ppp (Barret, JAOS 26 273). *br̥haspate mahiṣa dyuman namah* MŚ. Followed by:

viśvakarman namas te pāhy asmān AV (and Ppp) *namo viśvakarmane sa u pātū asmān* TS. MŚ. In the first pāda there is a double case, *br̥haspate* varies with **pataye*, and *mahiṣa* with **sāya* of Ppp. Altho the AV comm reads *mahiṣad* like TS, we no longer hold the view expressed in VV 2 §§392, 826 that this is the original reading. All texts but TS have a form of the stem *mahiṣa*, we attribute special weight to Ppp *mahiṣāya* which we had previously overlooked. We now take the original to be MŚ. 'O Brhaspati, mighty one (or buffalo bull), glowing homage (to thee), homage to Viśvakarman, may he protect us'. Since no dative is expressed in the first pāda, one of the two vocs (which really indicate the recipient) is changed into a dative in all the other texts, hence *mahiṣāya* Ppp, *br̥haspataye* AV TS. The change to direct address in the second pāda in AV Ppp is also due to a sort of assimilation, it matches the direct address of the first pāda, to a different divinity.

§359. Parallel to the cases mentioned in §§334 etc are one or two instances in which there is direct address in both forms of the variant, but instead of the vocative one form has a dative, referring to the same person but differently construed. Here too the shift may be due to form assimilation. Thus in the first instance the voc is clearly original

and the dative assimilated to the pronoun *te*, which is found also in the older form:

kṣayadvīra (TS °*vīrāya*) *sumnam asme te astu* RV. TS Addressed to Rudra; the preceding is *āre te goghnam uta pūruṣaghnam* RV., *ārāt te goghna uta pūruṣaghne* TS. The meaning of TS is far from clear (Keith may be right in thinking that the variant word is felt as meaning 'hero-destroyer' in TS, instead of 'hero-ruler'; in other respects Keith's interpretation seems to us less happy; we think *sumnam* is felt as 'hymn' in TS) But the assimilation is clear.

vasavo rudrā ādityā etā vañ pannejanīh MS KS : *vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo vo devebhyah pannejanīr grhṇāmi* TS. The former is clearly original. 'These are your footbaths, O Vasus etc' In TS we take it that there is still direct address, *vo* referring to the gods, and perhaps the datives may therefore be conceived as assimilated to the case of *vo* At any rate TS means: 'I take the footbaths for you Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, All-gods' (or, at least, *vo* must certainly go with *viśvebhyo devebhyah*, as its position clearly suggests, rather than with *pannejanīr* as Keith takes it).

puṣṭipate (MS *puṣṭa*°; ApŚ. °*pataye*) *puṣṭis* (MS om) *caḥṣuṣe . . punar dhehi (dehi)* MS AŚ. ApŚ Caland adopts voc for ApŚ, but this involves also reading *puṣṭim* for *puṣṭis*, which is supported by AŚ and which MS lacks altogether. To us it seems that ApŚ. has a genuine (tho secondary) variant: 'To the Lord of Prosperity prosperity! Give back etc'

§360. The following may be said to be cases of 'transfer of epithet' (§14):

viprā ṛgātham gāyata yaj jujoṣati (AA °*ṣat*) AA ŚŚ : *viprāya ṛgātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV Preceded by *pra va indrāya vṛtrahantamāya* In SV. the epithet goes with Indra, in the others it is addressed to the priests (probably by a secondary transfer).

tasmai rudrāya namo astu agnaye (KS ApŚ. *astu devāh*, MŚ † °*stu devāya*) AV. KS. ApŚ MŚ ŚirasU (Ppp has the pāda ending *astu adya*, TS. TA MahānU ending *astu*.) *Lectio difficillima* in AV. (probably original). The voc *devāh* cannot refer to the same personage as the dative of the others, whether Agni be identified or only associated with Rudra Add to VV 2 §909

§361. A couple of anomalous cases:

ekam iṣe TB ApŚ SMB KhG PG. ApMB. ApG. HG. MG. Followed, where more than a pratika, by *viṣṇus tvānvetu (nayatu)*. 'One (step) for nourishment; may Viṣṇu accompany (lead) thee.' Sumi-

lar are *īṣa ekapudī* (sc *bhava*) AG ŚG : *īṣe tvā sumāṅgaḥ praṇ-
vatī susīme* Kauś In these the formula is the first of a series
employing the first seven numerals, with nearly uniform wording
In TS we find the formula isolated, in a quite different context
from any occurring in the others, as follows. *ekam īṣa (viṣṇus tvānu
vi cakrame)*: 'One (step), O vigorous one, Viṣṇu has stepped along
after thee' Keith denies any relation between this and the other
mantras, but it seems to us probable that he is wrong TS has
simply worked over and applied differently a formula remembered
from other occasions It has turned *īṣe* into a voc, probably
thinking of the RV. adjective *īṣa* (but comm *sarvadevair īṣyamāna*)
[*kanyakumāryai* (TA **mārī*) *dhīmahi* TA MahānU Poona ed of TA
**kumārī*, but with accent on the penult (!), and its comm **kumārī*
Occurs in a series of formulas which are closely parallel, differing
only in using various names; in all the others datives are found
Neither a voc nor a nom is, in fact, conceivable here Perhaps
TA has a mere phonetic corruption, belonging with VV 2 §§700-
701 Comm understands a dative, adding *hīṅgādwyatyayah sar-
vatra chāṇḍaso draṣṭavyah* (very simple!)]

C. Vocative and ablative

§362. We have noted only a single stray variant, in which the voca-
tive is surely original; it is subject of the following verb *yaja*: 'O broad
atmosphere, along with god Vāta, [sacrifice]' In VS ŚB this is
violently detached from the following phrase containing *yaja*, and
apparently a verb meaning 'protect' must be understood (so the
comms), but the reading is certainly poor

uro antarikṣa (VS ŚB *uror antarikṣāt*) *saṃr devena vātena* VS TS MS

KS ŚB (Delete reference to KS 2 2)

D Vocative and genitive

§363. Here again the variants are not numerous Some are essen-
tially phonetic in character, involving presence or absence of final
visarga; see especially §366 Most of them are cases of shift between
direct statement, with vocative, and indirect reference in which the
same noun is referred to in the genitive In quite a number of these,
however, as in the nom-voc cases mentioned §333, one form or the
other is more or less inconsistent with the context, producing stylistic
harshness Thus

ghṛtāvati savitar (MS KS. **tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS **tyaḥ*) TS MS KS AŚ

Followed in all by *payasvatī rantīr* (MS *rātīr*) *āsā no astu*. In (by) [thy] lordship, O Savitar': 'in the lordship of Savitar' But the first part of the stanza is directly addressed to a different deity, and the voc *savitar* is harsh.

yena te te prajāpate TB ApŚ.: *yenante prajāpateh* MŚ Followed in all by *ijānasya nyavartayan*. Here the following gen *ijānasya*, which in the (doubtless original) TB. ApŚ. form agreed with *te* referring to Prajāpati, is doubtless connected with the alteration to *prajāpateh* But in MŚ's form *te* is lost and the statement becomes third-personal

tām savitāh satyasavām sucitrām AV.: *tām savitur varenyasya citrām* VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB ApŚ. Followed in all by *āham vṛṇe sumatim viśvajanyām* (AV *viśvavārām*) 'O Savitar, this [thy] favor . ': 'this favor of Savitar.' In the 3d pāda all, including AV, refer to Savitar in the 3d person, with *asya* Thus rather mild inconsistency does not prove that AV. is secondary; on the contrary it may suggest that the others have assimilated to the following context

apsu te rājan varuna AV.: *dvīpe rājño varuṇasya* KS. AŚ Followed by *grho hiraṇyayo mitāh* (AŚ. *mito hiraṇyayah*). 'A golden house is built for thee, O king Varuna (for king Varuna)' The 2d half verse refers to Varuna in the 3d person in AV.; but probably this inconsistency is original, and has been eliminated secondarily in KS AŚ; note that they are metrically very poor Form assimilation.

yad bhūmer hṛdayam, [*divi candramasī śrutam*] ApMB.†: *veda te bhūmī hṛdayam* PG HG Even ApMB addresses Earth directly with a voc in the following, it is metrically poor in the 1st pāda

viṣṇoh (ApMB *viṣṇo*, v. l. *viṣṇoh*) *śreṣṭhena* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *śreṣṭhiyena*) *rūpena* RVKh ApMB MG. 'With the noblest form of Viṣṇu' 'with [thy] noblest form, O Viṣṇu' The same pāda, with different divine names, is found AV. 5 25 10-13, with vocatives; and Ppp (Barret, JAOS. 48 38), with *savitūṣ*, *viṣṇoh*, *tvastūḥ*, but *bhagah* (for *bhaga*?) Barret emends to vocs in all four cases in accordance with AVŚ, but this seems dubious procedure The deity is addressed directly in pāda c, with *ā dhehī*, in all.

so 'ham *vājam saneyam agne* (KS. *sanāmy jagneh*) VS. TS MS. KS 'May I win strength, O Agni (of, or from, Agni).'

ghṛtāvātīm adhvaryo (AŚ † *°yoh*) *srucam āsyasva* TS TB. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ.

See §352, end; AŚ has a stupid corruption.

§364. One or two others are used in different contexts, so that they may be called cases of 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2).

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV : *punānasya prabhūvasoh* RV. The voc agrees directly with *soma*, the gen. with *yasya* which refers to Soma
parnam vanaspater iwa TB. TAA ŚŚ ApŚ PG HG · *parnam vanaspate*
'nu tvā SMB Quite different contexts

§365. We come now to a case or two in which both forms of the variant contain direct address, but a name or epithet of the person addressed is in one form put in the genitive These are similar to the variants of the voc with other cases mentioned in §§27 ff In the first, at least, we have a clear case for form assimilation

bṛhaspatīśulasya ta (KS om *ta*, leaving hiatus) *indo* (KS MS *inda*)
īndryāvatah patnīvantam (KS °*vato*) *graham grhṇāmi* (MS *rādhya-*
sam, KS *graham rādhyaśam*) TS MS KS *bṛhaspatīśulasya deva*
soma ta indo (VSK *inda*) *īndryāvatah patnīvato grahān rādhyaśam*
 VS VSK ŚB It is evident that VS. has assimilated the voc of all other texts to the gen *te* and accompanying adjectives Note that only the Vāj texts have another voc (*deva soma*), which makes *indo* unnecessary

§366. The next variant is one of those which seem most clearly phonetic in character, the original voc *agne* becomes *agneh* by addition of the evanescent final visarga, on which see VV 2 §§378 ff (this variant was overlooked there and should be added to §381) It will be noted that not a few of the other voc-gen variants show this same phonetic relationship, and as we have suggested l c. it is quite likely that in some of them the phonetic moment is more weighty than the syntactic We doubt, however, whether Knauer (MG, Einleitung, xxxi f) is right in suggesting that this added visarga was intended as an external mark of an imperative or vocative form, we even question whether it indicated (as Knauer thinks) aspirate pronunciation of a following consonant

dā agne (MG *agneh*) *prajāyā saha* RV AV PG ApMB MG (All MG mss actually read *dāgneh* with secondary crasis, this should have been recorded in VV 2 §989, Knauer emends) Preceded by *tu-bhyam agre* (MG *agne*, on this cf VV 2 §864) *paryavahan, sūryām vahatunā saha, punah* (AV *sa nah*) *patibhryo jāyām* 'Give back to (us) husbands the bride along with progeny, O Agni (with Agni's progeny?)' But note that MG also contains voc *agne* (for original *agre*), addressing the verse to Agni

§367. In a couple of cases a voc varies with a partitive gen (see §84):
tvam uttamāsy ośadhe RV VS : *uttamo asy ośadhīnām* AV 'Thou art most excellent, O plant (most excellent of plants)' Same context The masc gender is peculiar, apparently there is thought of the

gender of *vrkṣa*. A tree is addressed. But fem forms occur in the following verses of AV.

atho rājann (AV *uta rājñām*) *uttamam mānavānām* AV. TB. Addressed to a king, either makes good sense. The gen *rājñām* might be assimilated to the following gen. ('also highest of human kings'), or contrariwise the voc. might be assimilated to the direct address preceding ('who shall make thee also, O king, highest of men')

§368. The last quoted variant might also be called a case of 'transfer of epithet' (§14) To that category certainly belongs the following:
purā krūrasya viṣṇo virapśin (MS *śinah*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB TB.

It is clear that MS has transferred the epithet *virapśin(ah)* into agreement with *krūrasya*. Otherwise the interpretation is dubious. Mahīdhara understands. 'Before the bloody (battle) with its rushings to and fro, O mighty one (Viṣṇu or the sacrificer)' So, with misgivings, Eggeling, *SBE* 12 64 n 3. Sāyana on TS 1 1. 9. 3: 'Before the secret departure of the cruel foe (perhaps Araru), O mighty one,' taking *viṣṇo* as abl gerund. So Griffith and Keith; Eggeling thinks this much probable than the other.

§369. A stray case or two in which the construction is altered, with change from voc (or nom) to gen :

under agnir (VSK. ŚB. *agner*, MS. MŚ *agne*) *nabho nāma* (MS. MŚ add *yat te*) VSK. TS. MS ŚBK. MŚ : *vided agnir nabho nāma* VS KS ŚB. See §333. The nom is doubtless the original form; but certainly the voc is better than the gen, which must be construed in dependence on *nāma* ('mayst thou know Agni's name Nabhas'), leaving the subject indefinite or at least unexpressed.

ṣaṣṭis cādhvaryū (ApŚ. *yo*, AŚ † *yor*) *navatis ca pūṣāh* AŚ ŚŚ. ApŚ. A voc is clearly required (see §769), and there is no reason why the bonds should be called 'the adhvaryu's' Probably a misprint in the wretched edition of AŚ

E Vocative and locative

§370. First, a stray variant, resembling 'transfer of epithet' (cf. §15), an originally independent noun, in loc. construction, is made into a voc epithet of the subject:

apadyamānah prthivyām TA ApŚ : *apadyamānā †prthivī* TS ApŚ. : *avyathamānā prthivyām* (MS. once *vyām* without v. l., once *prthivī* according to p p, but s.p. might also be read *prthivī*, and one ms. has *vyām*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed in all by *āśā dīśa ā prna*. Except in TA. ApŚ. the firepan is addressed, and doubtless the

loc is original. 'not falling to (wobbling upon) the earth'. In TS (ApŚ), and perhaps once in MS, the loc is assimilated to the subject and treated as a grandiloquent epithet of the firepan. The earth is a symbol of solidity and security —In TA ApŚ the same verse is used in a different ritual connexion which requires a masculine pple. (phrase-inflection)

§371. The next is probably not a real variation in case: -
sa supraṇīle (ŚŚ. °ī) *nṛtamaḥ svarād asi* AA ŚŚ Both forms may be taken as locs, and the text mss of ŚŚ actually read °le, see VV 2 §695.

CHAPTER XIV

NOMINATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE

1 Interchange of active and intransitive phraseology

§372. The only large and characteristic group of variants between nominative and accusative is that which concerns shift between active (transitive, or causative) and passive (intransitive, or reflexive) expressions. In so far as these are signalized by corresponding shifts in verb forms, they have been already recorded in VV 1 (chapters 2 and 5). But of course the materials correspond only in part. For example, many variants between active and passive verb forms have no expressed nominative subject of the passive (or intransitive) variant, and hence no case variation. On the other hand, one or both of the variants may lack any verb form.

§373. A very simple case of this shift between causative and intransitive expressions is found in the set of formulas ŚG. 4, 9, 10 and BDh. 2, 5, 9, 10, which illustrates at the same time the point last mentioned, that the verb is very easily omitted. Here, in a long list of supernatural entities to which offerings of water (*tarpana*) are made, we find many correspondences of the type (*om*) *agnim tarpayāmi* BDh., *agnis tṛpyatu* ŚG. So with *vāyu*, *sūrya*, *viṣṇu*, *prajāpati*, etc. A similar set occurs in AG., with the verb understood thruout, and expressed (*tṛpyanti*) only at the end. The verb is also understood in some items of the list in ŚG.; hence such variants as *ṛṣayah* (sc *tṛpyantu*) AG. ŚG.: (*om*) *ṛṣins tarpayāmi* BDh. Finally, it must be noticed that in the middle of the list ŚG. suddenly shifts to a causative construction like that of BDh. (*śrutim tarpayāmi*), which prevails for six items (incidentally all these contain nouns not found in BDh.), after which, for no evident reason, it shifts back again to the intransitive form. Perhaps this very irregularity of expression may indicate greater antiquity of the ŚG. form. The Śāmbavya Gṛhya (quoted by Oldenberg, *ISi.* 15. 153) has a similar list with the names all in the nominative.

§374. Cases also occur in which the same verb form, or at least a form in the same voice, is found in both variants, but is used now in active sense, governing the acc., now in intransitive, passive, or reflexive sense, with nom. subject. Naturally these would find no inclusion in

VV 1; yet they are psychologically of the same nature as active-passive or causative-intransitive shifts. Of these we find the following examples: *apochatu* (AV. °*chantu*) *mithunā yā kimīdīnā* (AV *ye kimīdīnah*) RV. AV 'Let him (Indra) shine away the paired *kimīdīns*', or 'let the paired *kimīdīns* fade away.' The verb *apa-vas* is transitive in RV, in this AV. passage it seems impossible to avoid taking it as intransitive. In AV. 2 8 2 and 3 7 7 it is also commonly taken as intrans, but Bloomfield (*SBE.* 42 289, 338 f.) would make it trans. *ā no vīsvāsu haryah* (SV. Svidh. *havyam*) RV. AV SV AA. ŚŚ Vart. Svidh. Followed in RV AV SV by *īndrah* (SV. *īndram*) *samatsu bhūṣatu* (SV °*ia*). The verb is used in a different sense; explained in §330.

ny aśvinā hṛtsu kāmā (ApMB *kāmān*) *ayansata* (AV *aranisata*) RV. AV. ApMB. In the RV. original. 'O Aśvins, (our) desires have stationed themselves in your hearts'. In ApMB, with less feeling for the middle: 'O Aśvins, they (people, indefinite) have stationed (their) desires in your hearts'.

ekapadī dvīpadī aṣṭāpadī bhuvanānu prathatām svāhā TS : *ekapādīm aṣṭāpadīm bhuvanānu prathantām* VS ŚB : *ekapādam dvīpādam tṛīpādam catuṣpādam bhuvanānu prathantām* KS. Only TS seems to use the verb in the intransitive sense which it should have: 'let her (the cow) spread out over the worlds'. In the others it seems that it must be taken as transitive (= *prathayantu*; cf. the preceding variant), tho the form is certainly anomalous. Comm. on VS and Eggeling make *bhuvanā* subject. 'let the worlds spread her along' or (comm.) 'make her renowned.' Better indefinite subject, as suggested VV 1 p. 268.

somam rājānam oṣadhīṣu apsu VS TS MS ŚB : *somo rājauṣadhīṣu apsu* KS. Preceded by *vājasyemam* (KS *vājasya nu*) *prasavah suṣuve* 'gre' (TS *ṭagre*, add to VV 2 §908). In the original: 'The instigation of strength pressed out this King Soma,' etc. KS eliminates the pronoun *imam* and brings *somo rājā* into agreement with the subject of the verb, which is now felt as passive; probably it also understands *prasavah* as 'offshoot'. 'The offshoot of strength, (viz.) King Soma, was pressed out'.

§376. A little different is the next, in which the sense of the verb is also changed, but is transitive both times, the subject and object being reversed.

avrato (AA °*iam*) *hinohi na sprśad rayīm* (AA *rayih*) SV. AA. Preceded in SV. by *na kāmam*, in AA. by *na somo*. 'The man who pays no

vows attains not his desire, wins not wealth', SV : 'Soma impels not him who keeps no vows, wealth will not come near (him)', AA. See Keith's note on AA

§376. Frequent in the YV. formulas are dedicatory expressions (cf. §126) in which no verb at all is expressed. In that case the formula ordinarily consists merely of the name of the deity, in the dative or genitive, and the name of the thing offered, in either the nominative or accusative according as a passive (or intransitive or copulative) verb form or an active verb form is in the mind of the speaker. These two alternatives may vary with each other in different texts; or either of them may vary with a form of the other in which the verb is expressed. So we get such variants as these, it would hardly be worth while to list them completely:

himavate (TS. KSA TA °to) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS. MS. KSA.

TA. 'An elephant [is offered, or I offer] to Himavant'

dhūmrān vasantāyālabhate VS *dhūmrā vasantāya* MS. In the same passage, *prṣato hemantāya* VS., *prṣanto hemantāya* MS., and others.

anumatyai caruh (MS. *carum*) TS MS KSA.: *adityai viṣṇupatnyai carum* (KSA. *caruh*) VS. TS. MS KSA. And others.

agnaye 'nhomuce 'ṣṭākapālāh TS KSA ApŚ.: *agnaye 'nhomuce purodāśam aṣṭākapālam nirvapatī* MS. In this and the following MS. alone has acc. thruout, all others nom; the verb *nirvapatī* is however regularly omitted in MS. So:

agnaye vaiśvānarāya dvādaśakapālāh VS TS. KS KSA : *vaiśvānaram dvādaśakapālam* MS.

mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomugbhyām payasyā (MS °yām) TS MS KSA.—

Similarly *marudbhyā enomugbhyām* etc; *agnaye gāyatrāya* etc., *brhaspataye pāṅktāya* etc

§377. In one passage with no verb expressed, the name of the deity is put alternatively in the acc and nom. The case to be expected is rather dat. or gen; cf §485 under *agnim svāhā* etc. The TB obmm. supplies *uddīśya* to govern the acc. No explanation of the nom in ŚB. is offered by the comm. or by Eggeling. Perhaps an intransitive form of *trp* is to be supplied with the nom. and a transitive form of the same verb or of *yaj* (*hotā yakṣat*) with the acc. (cf §§373 and 459 under *svāhāgnim*) Parallel formulas in the vicinity present acc forms in ŚB.:

svāhā devā ājyapāh (TB *devān ājyapān*) ŚB TB.

§378. Next may be recorded a group in which a form of *kṛ* or *dhā*, 'make' or 'put', with acc, varies with a form of *as* or *bhū* with nom,

or with a nominal clause without expression of the copulaic verb Thus: *parā svapnamukhāḥ śucah* AV : *parāḥ svapna mukhā kṛdhi* KŚ 'Away the dream-faced pains' (supply *santu* in AV, rather than 'I put' with Whitney), 'away, O sleep, put (thy) faces' (or, quite possibly, 'away put the dream-faces')

ojasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām sahasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* (Vait *āyusmantam manuṣyeṣu kṛnuhi*) TS MS AŚ Vait. *ojasvān aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VSK.: *ojasvy aham manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* ŚŚ : *oṃṣiho 'ham man° bhū°* VS ŚB

bhrājasvantam mām āyusmantam varcasvantam (MS *mām varcasvantam*) *manuṣyeṣu kuru* TS MS. *bhrājasvān* (ŚG *bhrājasvy*) *aham* (VS ŚB *bhrāṃṣiho 'ham*) *manuṣyeṣu bhūyāsam* VS. VSK ŚB ŚŚ *jaradaṣṭim kṛnomi tvā* AV.: *jaradaṣṭir bhaviṣyasi* SMB Ppp (JAOS 42 125) reads as SMB.

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV SV. ApŚ *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KŚ. *karave*) AV. KŚ 'Brahman is my inner defense' 'I make B my inner (defense)'

asmākam abhūr haryāśva medī AV. *asmākam kṛṇmo harivo medinam tvā* Ppp (JAOS 37 263 f) *īha kṛṇmo harivo medinam tvā* KS *asya* (RVKh Scheftelowitz *īha*) *kurmo* (RVKh. *kulmo*, Sch. em. *kurmo*) *harivo medinam* (RVKh Sch. *vedinan*) *tvā* RVKh. TS TB *viśvāḥ dhātām anapasphurantīm* RV. VS. ŚB. ApŚ : *viśvāḥ santy ana-* *pasphurantīh* AV TA

catuṣṭomo abhavad (MS KS *catuṣṭomam adadhād*) *yā turīyā* TS MS KS 'The fourth (brick) has become (has set) the Catuṣṭoma'

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N °nam) *akarma* (MS. *kṛnomi*, KŚ *Kauś sadanāni santu*) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ *Kauś* N : *sugā vo devās sadanedaṁ astu* KS : *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ

ariṣṭām tvā (KŚ MŚ MG *mā*) *saha patyā dadhāmi* (ApMB. *kṛnomi*, KŚ MŚ MG *dadhātu*) RV KŚ MŚ MG ApMB : *ariṣṭāham saha patyā bhūyāsam* VS The contexts are essentially similar, but the forms with 1st person pronouns are spoken by a woman

aśmānam tanvam kṛdhi AV. *aśmā bhavatu nas* (AV *te*) *tanūh* RV AV VS TS MS KSA. *aśmā bhava paraśur bhava* ŚB BṛhU. KBU. AG SMB HG. MG ApMB The contexts are in part similar

ākhum te rudra paśum karomi MS MŚ *ākhus te paśuh* VS TS TB. ŚB ApŚ *ākhus te rudra paśuh* TS ApŚ

yathā tvam (PG *tvam agne*) *suśravah suśravā asy* (SMB *deveṣu*) *evam aham suśravah suśravā bhūyāsam* (SMB *brāhmaṇeṣu bhūyāsam*,

AG. PG. MG *evam mām suśravah saśravasam kuru*) AG SMB.
PG. ApMB. MG.

§379. In a couple of other cases forms of *dhr* (passive) or *pad* (middle) are found instead of the copula with the nom. form of the variant; otherwise they are exactly like the preceding.

evā te dhṛiyatām garbhah AV.: *evā dadhāmi te garbham* AV.: *evam garbham dadhāmi te 'sau* (ApMB *dadhātu te*, HG *dadhāmi te*) ŚB.
BrhU. ŚG. ApMB. HG.: *evam tam garbham ā dhehi* RVKh. MG :
evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva ApMB

uśvasya janitor adhamam cakāra (RV.* AV. *adhamas paḍiṣa*) RV. (both)
AV 'He has made him lowest of every creature': 'may he fall lowest of every creature.'

§380 There remains a considerable group of other variants in which active or causative verb forms with acc vary with intransitive, passive, or reflexive forms with nom In most, tho not all, the varying verb forms derive from the same root, these are given first:

evam aham āyusā samundhe (SMB *samedhīṣya*) SMB. PG : *evam mām āyusā* (HG. *mām medhayā*) *samedhaya* ApMB HG 'Thus I am (may I be) inflamed' or 'thus inflame thou me'.

sahobhau caratām dharmam MDh : *saha dharmam cara* NāradaDh : *saha dharmas caryatām* GDh.

tvam yajñeṣv idyaḥ RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB.: *tvām yajñeṣv idate* RV.

vedim bhūmim kalpayitvā AV : *vedir bhūmim akalpata* AV. Both in same hymn; 'shaping the earth into a *vedi*'. 'the earth took shape as a *vedi*'

varca ā dhehi (KS *dhāyi*) *me tanvam* (KS *tanūh*) AV KS 'Set splendor in my body': 'my body has been set in splendor.' On *tanvam* see §249.

māmīṣām (TS TB. ApŚ *maiṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV SV VS. TS. TB ApŚ · *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV · *māmīṣām moci kaś cana* AV 'Leave not one of them': 'let not anything of them be left' ('let not one of them be let go')

ganā (KS. *te*) *me mā vi tṛṣan* VS TS KS ŚB.: *ganān me mā vi tūtṛṣah* (MŚ. *vi tūtṛṣat*, Vait *vy arirīṣah*) TS Vart. MŚ

yukto vāto 'ntarikṣeṇa te saha PB · *yunajmi vāyum antarikṣeṇa te* (MŚ *tena*) *saha* TS. ApŚ. MŚ

yuktās tistro vimṛjaḥ sūryasya PB : *yunajmi tistro vimṛcaḥ sūryasya te* TS. ApŚ : *yunajmi tistro vimṛtaḥ sūryah sava* [iti] MŚ.

dviṣantam (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV. AV.

TB ApŚ : *dvīṣaṇś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV. : *dvīṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ. All in the same verse Add to VV 1 §§79, 238.

mṛtyava ekaśatam parah Kauś : *mṛtyūn ekaśatam caye* ApŚ Others, §509 The verb in Kauś is *nir yantu*

pāpmānam te 'pahanmaḥ KŚ : *pāpmānam me 'pa jahī* (MG *me hata*)

Kauś MG : *pāpmā me hatah* AG . *hato me pāpmā* AG MG

caritrāns te śundhāmi VS. ŚB : *śuddhāś caritrāh* TS. ApŚ

trayastrīṇśat (VS *catuṣtrīṇśat*) *tantavo ye vi tatnre* (MS *yam* [for *yān*']

vi tanvate, KS AŚ *yān vi tanvate*) VS TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ

' which were stretched out (which they stretched out) '

ād id ghṛtena pṛthivī vy udyate (AV † *pṛthivīm vy ūduh*) RV AV MS.

KS. N : *ād it pṛthivī ghṛtair vy udyate* TS.

atthaiṣām bhinnakah kumbhah SMB : *bhinnadmi te kuṣumbham* AV . *aṣho bhinnadmi tam kumbham* Ppp

ayam var tvām ajanayad ayam tvad adhijāyatām asau svāhā ŚŚ *asmād var tvam ajāyathā ayam tvad adhijāyatām* (JB *°thā eṣa tvaj jāyātām*) JB AG Kauś

yenākṣā (SMB *°kṣān*, PG. *°kṣyāv*, ŚŚ *yenā kṣām*) *abhyasicyanta* (ŚŚ

SMB *abhyasīñcatam*, PG *abhyasīñcatām*) AV ŚŚ SMB PG

apahato 'raruh pṛthivyai (also *°vyai devayajanyai*, *°vyā adevayajanah*)

TS ApŚ : *apāraram adevayajanam pṛthivyā devayajanāḥ* (ApŚ † *adevayajano*) *jahī* KS ApŚ : *apāraram pṛthivyai devayajanād bādhyā-*

sam VS ŚB : *apāraram pṛthivyā adevayajanam* (ApŚ *°rum adeva-*

yajanam pṛthivyāh) MS MŚ ApŚ. (the last apparently an abbreviated form of the KS formula)

§381. In the rest the psychology of the variation is essentially the same, but there is no such formal correspondence in the verb forms. Sometimes only a copula, or even no verb at all, is used with the nom form, as in §§376-7:

pumānsam putram janaya AV ŚG *pumāns te putro nārī* ApMB

'Bear a male son' . 'a male son is thine, O woman'

antarikṣasya dhartrīm (TS *om an° dha°*) *viṣṭambhanīm* (TS *°nī*) *dīśām*

adhīpatnīm (TS *°nī*) *bhuvanānām* (MS *dīśām bhuvanasyādhipat-*

nīm) VS. TS MS KS ŚB In TS predicate noms with pre-

ceding copula, in the others agreeing with object of *sādayāmī*

sūryam cakṣur gamayatāt, vātam prānam anvavasṛjatāt MS KS AB TB

AŚ ŚŚ . *sūryas te* (AV. *sūryo me*) *cakṣur vātaḥ prānah* AV TS

KSA ŚŚ [Cf *sūryam* (TA *sūryam te*) *cakṣur gachatu vātam ātmā*

RV TA *sūryaś cakṣur vātaḥ prānam, puruṣasya vi bhejre* AV]

In the same passages *antarikṣan asum* MS KS AB TB AŚ ŚŚ .

antariṣṣam ātmā AV TA ŚŚ : prthivīm śarīram MS KS AB TB
AŚ ŚŚ : prthivī śarīram (MŚ °ram asi) AV. ŚŚ. MŚ With the
 first quotation in these pairs a verb of sending, forming, or the like
 is to be understood. The second is a nominal clause (with 3d per-
 son copula 'understood', as used to be said) *MŚ* in a still unpub-
 lished passage was quoted by Knauer with 2d person *asi*, which
 would seem to require a voc. instead of nom *prthivī*, or else *prthivī-*
śarīram as a cpd

aganma yatra pratranta āyuh (MG pralaram na āyuh) RV AV MG.
 'We have gone where they have extended life (where life is extended
 for us, or the like)'

§382. Others, in which the nom form is subject of other intransitive
 verbs, are-

ā te pñanam suvāmasi AV : punas te prāna āyati (TA āyati, AŚ āyātu)
TS † TA AŚ

sahasraṇa upa no māhi vājān (no yantu vājāh) RV. (both).

tasya ta iṣṭasya vīlasya dravinēha bhakṣīya TS : tasya meṣṭasya vīlasya
dravinam ā gamyāt TS : tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya svṛṣṭasya dravinam
māgachatu KS And others, see VV 1 §104u Cf also §326 above
ihava tiṣṭha nimitā (MG nitarā) AG ŚG MG ApMB : ihava dhruvā
(ŚG sthūne) prati tiṣṭha śāle (ŚG dhruvā) AV. ŚG HG.: ihava
dhruvām ni minomi śālām AV PG HG

ūnamradasam (ūrṇā°) tvā stṛṇāmī (KS ūnamradah prathasva, Kauś
ūnamradam prathasva) svāsastham (VS † SB † °sthām) derebhyaḥ
VS TS KS ŚB TB Kauś ApŚ ūnamradah of *KS* might be
 taken as voc (since the text is here not accented), but *Kauś* sug-
 gests rather nom, and *svāsastham* can only be nom (neut.)

yamāya somam sunuta (AV somah pavate) RV AV. TA

§383. We shall close this section with a variant which will serve as
 a sort of transition to the next subdivision:

sam ī vatsam na mātṛbhūh RV SV. AB. AŚ.: sam vatsa tva mātṛbhūh RV.
SV AB. AŚ The first is followed by *śṛjātā gayasūdhanam*, the
 second by *indur hinuāno ayyate* The calf is compared to soma in
 both, and the sense is essentially identical The two hymns are
 workings-up of the same material, see *RVRep* 13, and on 9 104. 2
 We find here something like the 'phrase inflection' found in the
 next group

2 Phrase Inflection

§384. Often, as is well known, a phrase or an entire pāda is lifted
 out of its original context and put into a new context. This, naturally,

may require a change in the case of one or more noun forms. To such alterations we have applied the term 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2). As regards nominative-accusative shifts of this sort, they differ from those listed above essentially only in that the context in the two forms differs in such a way that in one form the nom. is required, in the other the acc. (In the preceding variants the context is essentially the same, but their internal syntax has been altered in a way that involves shift of case.)

§385. A simple illustration is the *pāda kṣīreṇa pūrṇā (pūrṇān) udakena dadhṇā* (both AV.). In the first form the nom. agrees with the nouns of the preceding *pāda* (*ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ*), in the other (which occurs in the next stanza and is an obvious modulation of the first) it is thrown into agreement with *kumbhānś* of the preceding *pāda* (*caturāḥ kumbhānś caturdhā dadāmi*).

§386. Sometimes two entire *pādas* are thus lifted into a different context, involving change of case in several words. Thus the two following variant *pādas* are *pādas* b, c of a verse which in RV. has for a *tam ahyam bhurijor dhryā*, but in SV. *esa sūryena hāsate*. The epithets of Soma are in RV. objects of *ahyam*, in SV. subjects of *hāsate*: *samvasānam* (SV. °no) *ivasvataḥ* (SV. °tā); followed by: *patiḥ* (SV. *patir*) *vāco adābhyam* (SV. °yah) RV. SV.

§387. The long list of such variants now follows. It will be noted that sometimes shifts of number and gender as well as case are involved. For convenience these are listed separately, after the others (§388). Otherwise neither subdivision nor, as a rule, individual comment seems to be called for.

pavamāno vicarṣanīḥ RV.: *pavamānam vicarṣanam* RV. In quite different contexts; nom. subject of *arocayat*, acc. object of *gāyata* *tiro rajānsy asprītam* (RV.* °tāḥ, SV. *asprītaḥ*) RV. (both) SV *koṣa iva pūrṇo vasunā* SMB.: *koṣam na pūrṇam vasunā nyrṣtam* RV. AV *agnī ratho na vedyaḥ* RV.: *agnīm ratham na vedyam* RV. Cf §348. *hīranyābhīṣum* (and °sur) *aśvinā* RV. (both). See RVRep. on 8. 5 28 *īśāno jagates patiḥ* AV. TS. KS ApMB: *īśānam jagadānś sadā* PG *avyo vāre* (SV *avyā vārāḥ*) *pari priyaḥ* (and, *priyam*) RV SV. (both in each).

pībasphākam udāratham AV: *pīvo vṛkka udārathīḥ* RV KS.

viśvasya jagato niśām (ArS *rātri*) RVKh ArS.

sindhulas pary ābhṛtaḥ (and °tam) AV (both).

sutam somam diviṣṭiṣu RV.: *sutah somo diviṣṭisu* RV SV.

suśamiddham (VS *susam*°) *varenyam* VS TB.: *suśamiddho* (VS MS. *susam*°) *varenyah* VS MS KS TB.

suṣvānam (and °no) *devavītaye* RV. SV. (both in each).

ṛṣabhū sambhṛtam rasam RV. SV. TB.: *ṛṣ° sambhṛto rasah* RVKh. SV. TB.

barhīs ca vedīs (ŚŚ. *vedīm*) ca MS. ŚŚ.

dogdhṛim dhenum ŚŚ : *dogdhṛi dhenuh* VS. TS. MS. KSA. ŚB. TB. The verb is *āswam* in ŚŚ, in the others *jāyālām*. Likewise, in the same passages, these acc. forms in ŚŚ. with corresponding noms in the others: *volhāram anadṣvāham*, *āsum saptim*, *jiṣṇum ratheṣṭhām*, *puramdhum yoṣām*, *sabheyam yuvānam*. The entire passages are evidently related, one being based on a recollection of the other, but applied to quite different purposes, so that the contexts are fundamentally different, and they constitute a true instance of 'phrase inflection' on a large scale

bahubhyah panthām anupaspaśānam (AV.* °nah, TA † *anapaspaśānam*) RV. AV. (bis) MS TA. N. The same verse, with acc. governed by following verb, in all except AV. 6 28. 3, where the nom. occurs preceded by *yah prathamah pravatam ā sasāda*. This AV. passage has adapted the orig. to a quite new context; see Whitney's note and Fischel, *VSt* 2. 73.

tiras tamānsi darśatah (RV.* °lam) RV. (both) AV. SV. TB. ŚB. ŚŚ. The RV. acc. form and ŚŚ are followed by:

ghṛtāhavanam idyam RV.: *ghṛtāhavana idyah* ŚŚ. The nom. of RV. etc. is in apposition with *agnih*, subject of *sam idhyate*; the acc. is appropriate to its different context. In ŚŚ both occur as *nivids*; cf. *RVRep* 192.

agnih (RV. **agnim*) *śukreṇa śociṣā* RV. (both) KS.

apām patim vṛṣabham oṣadhīnām KS.: *apām patir vṛṣabha* (KS om. *vṛ°*) *oṣadhīnām* MS. KS

ghṛtam duhānām adītim janāya VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. TA.: *ghṛtam duhānādītir janāya* KS.

sahasradhārā payasā mahī gauḥ RV.: *sahasradhārām payasā mahīm gām* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. Occurs thrice in RV., the nom. being subject of various verbs. In the others preceded by *yām asya kaṇvo aduhat prapīnām*, a pāda found also in AV., where it is followed by a variant of our pāda, viz. *sahasradhārām mahiṣo bhagāya*.

manih sahasravīryah AV.. *maṇim sahasravīryam* AV.

yajīṣṭhan havyavāhana (and °nam) RV.: *yajīṣṭho havyavāhanah* RV.

rathātaman rathīnām RV. SV. VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. TB. *rathātamo rathīnām* RV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 11. 1.

viśvajanasya chāyā (MS. KS. MŚ. ApMB. *chāyās*) TS MS. KS ApŚ. MŚ ApMB.: *viśvajanasya chāyām* ApŚ.

āyuh kīrtir varco yaśo balam HG : *āyuh kīrtim yaśo balam annādyam*
prajāṃ PG

sahasradhāram (TAA * °ro) *akṣitam* (TAA * °tah) RV AV TAA. (both).

In RV both words are acc masc, epithets of *indum*. In AV. twice in a wholly different stanza. *ud utsam śatadhāram, sah° akṣ°, evāsmākedam dhānyam, sah° akṣ°* This is recast in TAA thus: *yathā kūpah śatadhārah, sahasradhāro akṣitah, evā me astu dhānyam, sahasradhāram akṣitam* Ppp (JAOS 37 294 ff) agrees with TAA but for *akṣatah* and *akṣatam* (to be added to VV 2 §576), and the corruption *rūpaś* for *kūpaś*, which Barret l c failed to correct. The Ppp TAA reading makes both forms nom both times (once masc, once neut), and is simpler than AVŚ, which is certainly harsh, see Whitney on 3. 24 4, who takes the forms as acc depending on the verb of the prec. stanza In pāda d they might be taken as nom. neut, as in Ppp TAA; but in b this is difficult, since *utsa* is otherwise masc We feel however that accs are impossible, and that either *utsa* is here felt as neut, or the forms of pāda b are mechanically assimilated to those of d (nom neut) Cf the next, which is evidently related.

sunasradhāram śatadhāram utsam akṣitam AV. *sahasradhāra utso akṣityamānah* ApŚ. Cf. preceding Different contexts.

aṅgabhedam aṅgavaram AV : *aṅgabhedo aṅgavarah* AV

indram (RV * *indrāh*) *somasya pīlaye* (RV * adds *vr̥ṣāyate*) RV (both) AV. SV.

duhśansam martyam rīpum RV. *duhśanso martyo rīpuh* RV

dhanamjayam rane-rane RV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait MŚ *dhanam-jayo rane-rane* RV SV. TS MS KS

manhīṣṭham vājasātaye RV SV. *manhīṣṭho vājasātaye* RV AA ŚŚ

prajāpatih prathamajā rīasya AV. MS. TS TA MahānU *prajāpatim prathamajāṃ rīasya* MS TB.

§388 The following are precisely similar except that the variant forms shift in number or gender, or both, as well as in case.

bahvīm prajāṃ janayanīm sa-ūpām (ApMB * *janayanti suratnā*, * *janayanti saretasā*) TA MahānU ApMB (bis)

aṣṭasithūno daśapakṣah Kauś. *aṣṭāpakṣām daśapakṣām* AV

sīdhram adya divispr̥śam (RV * SV MS * KS °śah) RV (both) SV TS

MS (both) KS ApŚ N For *divispr̥śah*, nom pl rather than gen sg, see RVRep on 1 142 8

gaur aśvah puruṣah paśuh AV TA. *gām aśvam puruṣam jagat* (AV

paśum, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV TA MahānU ApMB HG. *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ

viśvā rūpāṇi bibhrataḥ (AV.* °*tan*) AV. (both) MS.

samānam yonim anu samcarantam RV AV. VS MS. KS. ŚB.: *samānam yonim anu samcarantī* (AV MS. °*carete*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS. ApMB.

manhiṣṭham vo maghonām RV : *manhiṣṭhāso maghonam* RV.

viśvair devair anumatā (KS. TA. °*tan*) *marudbhīh* AV. VS TS MS. KS.

ŚB TA In both KS. TA different contexts; in KS neut. acc. adverb, see §817; in TA masc acc adjective, §849.

amṛtā martyebhyah RV.: *amṛtam martyābhyah* TB. ApŚ.

sahasrasā medhasātā sanīṣyavah (RV. KB. *medhasātāu va tmanā*, VSK. *medhasātā va tmanā*) RV. VS VSK. TS. MS. KS KB ŚB.: *sahasrasām medhasātāu va tmanā* RV. SV.

3 Interchange of subject and object

§389. We return to cases in which the internal syntax of the variant pāda is altered. But now there is no longer any change in the syntax of the verb, which is always transitive in a broad sense, that is, capable of governing an accusative, whether as what we call direct object, or as goal of motion or the like. Yet without any alteration in the form or meaning of the verb, the same noun is used now as subject and now as object. Indeed, in a number of cases the subject and object change places in the two forms of the variant, subject becoming object and vice versa. It is characteristic of the inflated, mystical language of the Veda that this can not infrequently be done without difficulty. Thus in the first example, it makes little difference whether we say 'Brahman has increased the gods' or 'the gods have increased brahman':

udgrābham ca nigrābham ca VS. TS ŚB. ApŚ : *udgrābhaś ca nigrābhaś ca* MS. KS MŚ. Followed in all but MŚ. by:

brahma devā (MS s p *devan*, KS *devān*) *avīrddhan* (MS KS. °*dhat*).

The nouns in the first pāda are probably appositional to *brahma* rather than coordinate with it; cf. Keith on TS 1. 1. 13. 1

na tat prāpnoti nirṛtim parācaih (KS *nirṛtiḥ parastāt*) KS. ApŚ.: *nābhi prāpnoti* (MŚ *prāpnuyur*) *nirṛtim parācaih* (AŚ MŚ *parastāt*) TB. AŚ ApŚ. MŚ 'Destruction reaches it not' or 'it reaches not destruction'. For MŚ's verb see VV 1 p. 265

ojo na jūhr (TB. *jūtm*) *ṛṣabho* (MS † *vrś*°; add to VV 2 §359) *na bhāmam* VS. MS. TB. Followed by *vanaspatir na dadhad mdrīyāni* TB. makes *ojas* subject and *jūh* predicate of the first simile, reversing the relationship found in the others; but there is little real difference

tābhīh samrabdhām anv avindan (TB *samrabdho avidat*) *ṣad urvīh* AV TB 'The six wide (directions) found out him, grasped by them'; or, 'he, grasped by them, found out the six wide (directions)' In a mystic verse to Rohita; one version makes as good or as bad sense as the other

viśvam anyām abhāvāra AV. (Ppp *viśvam anyābhi vavāra*, which Whitney adopts, tho Barret *JAOS* 26 223 alters it to *anyām abhi*). *viśvam anyābhuvāvṛdhe* TB ApŚ No doubt Ppp, supported by TB ApŚ, is more original in making *anyā* subject and *viśvam* object; but the AVŚ reading may be rendered 'the Universe has enveloped (?) one'. *jyok ca paśyāti* (PG °āsi, MG. °ati) *sūryam* (MG °yah) AG PG ApMB MG. 'And long may he behold the sun (may the sun behold him).' See VV 1 p 235

gamad indram (SV. *indro*) *vṛṣā sutah* (SV. *sulah*) RV. SV. Apparently the reversal of relationship in SV. was due to a feeling that *vṛṣā* is more appropriate as an epithet of Indra than of Soma (*sulah*) *tam varianur* (SV. °nīr) *anu vāvṛta ekam it puru* (SV *eka it*) SV. AV 'He, the One, has followed along the paths towards him' (SV.). 'the path has followed him, the One, manifoldly' (AV.). The latter is probably a secondary mouthing over of SV.

ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh SV : *o cil sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām* RV AV. In SV. the passage is extensively reconstructed, the original object *sakhāyam* is made subject (with change of number also), and so displaces the original unexpressed subject (1st person pronoun implicit in the verb), which is now represented by the object *tvā*.

§390. In the remainder there is no double nom-acc shift, but a single noun form appears now as subject, now as object (or goal, etc.), of the (always 'transitive') verb:

pra yakṣma eku nṛtīm (AV. °tīh) *parācāh* AV. TB HG ApMB 'Let the fever, let perdition go far away' (AV.), 'let the fever go far away to perdition'

jajñānam (SV. °nah) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV. *mātrbhīh*) RV SV. Followed by *vedhām āśāsata śriye* RV., *medhām āśāsata śriye* SV *sa sūra ā* (ŚŚ *sūrye*) *janayañ jyotir indram* (ŚŚ *indrah*) TB ŚŚ Followed by *ayā dhuyā taranur adribarhāh* (ŚŚ *aṅgrasvān*). The TB comm makes *indram* acc of goal, supplying *gachatu*, the subject is *sūrah* = *ādityah* ŚŚ. makes *indrah* subject and *sūrye* loc *tṣṭhantam ava gūhah* (mss. °vi) AV.: *tṣṭhann evāva gūhasi* ŚŚ. No intelligible meaning in either form

agninā tapo 'nvabhavat (KS.† KSA † 'nvābhavat) TS KS KSA. TB. ApŚ.

Followed in TS. KS KSA by a long series of similar phrases, only partly identical in the things named. In the first formula the form *tapo* is ambiguous, but the parallels show that TS. and KSA. construe it as acc; this is doubtless the original construction: 'By Agni he has come up to (equalled, or attained?) *tapas*'. KS makes it nom: '*tapas* has come up to (equalled, attained, sc. him) thru (by) Agni'. Other phrases in the same lists are: *yamena pīlfn* (KS. *pītarah*); *indreṇa devān* (KS *devāh*; not in KSA); *vālena prāṇān* (KS. *vāyunā prānāh*; not in KSA), *vyāghrenāranyān paśūn* (KS *āranyāh paśavah*), *ṛṣabhena* (KS. KSA. *vrṣ*°) *gāh* (KS. *gāvah*); *vr̥ṣṇanāvīh* (KS. *āvayah*); *yavenauṣadhīh* (KS. *dhayah*), *brāhmaṇena vācam* (KS *vācah*)

vi parjanyaṃ (TS. *°yāh*) *srjanti* (MS KS *pra parjanyaḥ srjatām*) *rodasī anu* RV. TS MS. KS. In RV. the subject is the Maruts and *parjanyaṃ* defines the *divah koṣam* of the preceding half-verse. The others make the subject the rain-god, or deified rain-cloud, and retain the same object, *divah koṣam*

muñcatu (KS. *muñcemam*) *yajñam* (ApŚ *yajña*, KS. adds *muñca*) *yajñā-patim anhasah svāhā* MS. KS. ApŚ. In MS. preceded by *vardhatām bhūtir dadhnā ghṛtena*; in KS. by a similar but expanded phrase. It is evident that *bhūti* 'prosperity' is in both texts the agent that is to 'release the sacrifice and sacrificer from evil'. ApŚ. with the same context as MS. produces a lectio facilior by making *yajñah* the subject of *muñcatu*: 'let the sacrifice release the sacrificer'.

pra yam (SV. *yo*) *rāye ninīṣasī* (SV. *°ṣatī*) RV SV. In VV 1 p. 243 we have taken SV. (which read there for 'N') to mean 'who will bring [thee, Agni] to wealth', taking *yo* to refer to the sacrificer as in the following pāda (*maro yas te vaso dāṣat*). But perhaps Benfey may be right in making *yo* refer to *te* (= Agni): 'what mortal shall worship thee, who will lead [him] to wealth'. As to the 3d person in such relative clauses cf. VV 1 §331, to which the variant should be transferred if this interpretation is correct

prasnāpayanty ūrmiṇam RV.: *prasnāpayanta ūrmayaḥ* SV. The acc. in RV. is an epithet of soma; in SV. it is replaced by an additional subject: 'the ten associates (i.e. fingers) wash (soma), and the waves.' See VV 1 p. 48; the SV. form must intend present middle. Delete this variant on VV 1 p. 143

śryam ca lakṣmīm ca TAA.: *śrīś ca lakṣmīs* TAA.: *śrīś ca puṣṭīs*

MahānU. Same context, in the first form there is no subject expressed, and comm supplies *paramātmā*
[*indrah karmasu no 'vatu* TB . *indram karmasv avatu* MS For the better reading of TB see §326]

§391. In a small but rather interesting group the variant word is so situated that it may be either subject of one clause or object of another. *samudrā* (MS °*drān*) *nadyo veśantāh* (MS °*tān*) AV MS. Preceded by *divam brūmo nakṣatrāṇi, bhūmim yakṣāṇi parvatān*, and followed by *te no muñcantu anhasah*. In AV. the three nouns of pāda c are made parts of the subject of *muñcantu*, in MS of the object of *brūmo*.

devā ājyapā juṣānā agna (VS *indra*) *ājyasya vyantu* VS MS KS . (svāhā) *devāḥ ājyapān svāhāgnim hotrāḥ juṣānā agna ājyasya vyantu* TB. In the first version *devāḥ* is subject of *vyantu*, in the second it becomes an additional object of *yakṣad* in the preceding (*hotā yakṣad agnim svāhājyasya* [sc *devān*])

yenāvṛtaṁ kham ca divam mahīm (MahānU. *mahī*, v 1 *mahīm*) *ca* TA MahānU. Followed by *yenādityas tapati tejasā bhrōjasā ca* If the nom be read, *mahī* (with *kham* and *divam* which must then also be nom) would be subject of *āvṛtam*. 'by whom was enclosed the air, the sky, the earth ' But Deussen's translation implies the v. 1 *mahīm* in MahānU ; in that case all three nouns are objects of *tapati* in the next pāda: 'by whom the sun warms the atmosphere, enclosed by him, the sky, and the earth ' The double relative is then harsh, but not inconceivably so

4 Nominative of separate statement varies with dependent accusative

§392. In a considerable group we find that what is originally an accusative dependent on a verb is developed into an independent statement, syntactically separate from the clause containing the original accusative Or, contrariwise, an originally independent statement is compressed into syntactic dependence, so that the nominative subject (or predicate) of the original clause becomes an accusative The latter is found perhaps most clearly and simply in variants where by the insertion of *āhuḥ* 'they say' an original independent statement is made into a sort of indirect quotation Thus-

iyam vedih paro antah prthivyāh RV AV. VS. ŚB. AŚ LŚ : *vedim āhuḥ param antam prthivyāh* TS KSA. In the same verse:
ayam yajño bhuvanasya (AV. *viśvasya bhu°*) *nābhah* RV AV VS LŚ
yajñam āhur bhuvanasya nābhum TS KSA And likewise:

ayam somo vṛṣṇo aśvasya retah RV. AV VS LŚ : *somam āhur vṛṣṇo*

TS KSA —In the fourth pāda of this stanza the nom. remains in all texts Cf also:

dirgham yac cakṣur aditer anantam AŚ : *yad āhuḥ cakṣur aditāv anantam*

PB JB (see Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases*, §48. 24 R) Here the forms are identical, being of neuter gender; and here the form with *āhuḥ* is likely to be older.

§393. The accusative seems to be the original form and the nom of independent statement a secondary development from it in most of the following In the first the particle *iti* is brought in with the nom to make the syntax clear, in the second a verb is inserted in which the secondary nom is the subject, thus expanding the pāda into a complete sentence:

nirṛtm tvāham pari veda viśvatah VS MS ŚB : *nirṛtur iti tvāham pari veda viśvatah* (AV *sarvatah*) AV TS KS The meter seems to indicate that the acc. is original; it is to be noted also that the preceding pāda in all texts has a similar phrase with *iti*, which may have attracted *nirṛtm* into its own construction 'I know thee completely as Nirṛti'

atas tvā rayīm abhi (SV *rayiṣ abhy ayat*) RV. SV. The RV. original makes *tvā* object of *bharati* in pāda c, and *rayīm abhi* probably an adverbial phrase, 'unto riches'. (Otherwise but implausibly Grassmann) SV. by a lect *fac* expands into a separate sentence: 'thence may riches come unto thee'

anāgaso yajamānasya vīrāk (MŚ *vīrān*) .AV. ApŚ. MŚ (Mss of MŚ *anuśaso* for *anā*°, and all but one *vīram*) The original has an independent sentence with nom ; MŚ attracts the noun into apposition with *no* in *yo no dveṣṭi* preceding

nābhā prthivyāh samidhāne agnau (TS °*dhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*dhāno agnim*) VS TS. MS KS. ŚB The only possible construction for the nom in MS KS seems to be as part of an independent statement, of which Agni is implied as the subject; *agnim* is object of the verb in the next pāda (*rāyaspoṣṭāya brhate havāmahe*): 'He (Agni) is kindled at the navel of the earth; we call Agni unto great increase of wealth' The very harshness of this may, however, be considered an argument for its greater originality, the other texts look suspiciously like lect *fac*

tvām (TB *tvam*) *rāya ubhayāso janānām* RV MS. KS. TB Preceded in all by *tvām vardhanti kṣitayah prthivyām* In RV. etc supply *vardhanti* also in this pāda (*rāya ubh*° subject, *tvām* object). In

TB this is made an independent statement (*tvam* subject, *rāya ubh°* predicate; comm *tatsampādaka ily arīhah*).

agnim (SV *agnih*) *sudīṭaye chardīh* RV. AV. SV. (Cone VS. for SV)

In RV AV *agnim* and *chardīh* are both accs with the preceding *idīṣva*. In SV.: 'Agni is the chardīs.'

adhvarakṛtam (TA °*krd*) *devebhyah* VS. ŚB TA. Preceded by *tvā ādade*; in VS. ŚB *adhvarakṛtam* agrees with *tvā* But TA inserts between the two passages *abhrir asi nārīr asi*, thus it makes our variant pāda an independent statement, understanding *asi*

indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi AV : *indrasya bhāgah suvite dadhātānc* ApŚ The latter is scarcely intelligible, *bhāgah*, if construable at all, must be taken as an independent statement with some verb (or the copula) understood The plural *dadhātāna* is inconsistent with the singular verbs which follow.

tām (HG *tām nah*, PG *sā nah*) *pūṣaṇ* (AV *pūṣan*, PG *pūṣā*) *chivata-mām* (PG. *śiv°*) *erayasva* (PG. *eraya*) RV. AV. ApMB ApG. HG PG. The PG has clearly a corruption, which as it stands can only mean 'She (the bride) is Pūṣan (felt as 'prospering one') to us; bring her hither, most felicitous' The comm. so takes it, Stenzler and Oldenberg translate the other reading

agnim hotāram iha (MS. MŚ *upa*) *tam huve* TS MS ApŚ MŚ : *agnir hotṛpa tam huve* KS 'I call here (hither) Agni the hotar': 'Agni is the hotar, I call him hither'

akṣatam ariṣṭam ulānam SMB : *akṣatam asy ariṣṭam ulānam gopāyanam* ŚG In both preceded by a formula containing acc *tvā*, with which the epithets agree in SMB, in ŚG they are made predicates of a separate sentence It is hard to say which is original here.

§394. A special group of the preceding type is formed by variants in which the nom. of independent statement is part of a relative clause, of which it is the predicate, while the acc. is part of the main clause Thus:

tam u ṣṭuḥ yo antah sindhau AV : *tam u ṣṭuhy antahsindhum* AŚ Followed by:

sūnuh (AŚ *sūnum*) *satyasya yuvānam* 'Praise him who is within the waters, the son of truth, the youthful.' The relative clause is here original, AŚ compresses it into an epithet, and necessarily alters *sūnuh* also to *sūnum* Note the chastic, rhetorically involved order of AV. (*yuvānam* at the end agreeing with *tam* at the beginning) AŚ has a lect. fac, involving case attraction; but all the epithets refer to the same person.

§395. The reverse of this appears in the next, where the relative clause with predicate nom. appears only in the secondary PG.:

samvatsarasya pratimām (PG. °mā) AV. TS. KS. ApŚ. SMB. PG. HG.

MG The following pāda in PG. is *yā tām rātrīm upāsmahe* (for the others see VV 1 p. 213); only PG. has *yā* as subject of the relative clause, in which *pratimā* is predicate.

§396. Similarly, the following variants show such shifts in both directions:

taṁ kravajādam aśīsamam AV.: *yah kravajāt taṁ aśīsamam* Kauś.

veda te bhūmī hṛdayam PG. HG : *yad bhūmer hṛdayam* [†*divi candramasī śritam*] ApMB. The latter is metrically poor and doubtless corrupt

yo devo viśvād yam u kāmam ākuh AV.: *viśvādām agnīm yam u* . MS :

hulādām agnīm yam u KS.: *yam hulādām agnīm yam u* . ApŚ.

The nom. is doubtless original, the acc. being due to attraction to the case of the following; note that ApŚ. still has a relative clause, but attracts it into the same construction as the following.

dhattād asmabhyam draviṇeha bhādam (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu dravinam yac ca bhādam*) TS MS ApŚ : *datto asmabhyam* (etc., see Conc.)

draviṇeha bhādam AV. KS AŚ. SMB : *dadhatā no draviṇam yac ca bhādam* MS.

apāsya ye śśināḥ pāśāḥ KS ApŚ. ('off what fetters are bound on him'):

apāsyaḥ satvanāḥ pāśān Kauś. Followed by *mṛtyūn* (KS. ed. *mṛtyor*, but best ms. *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśataṁ suve* (Kauś. *nude*). The secondary change in Kauś. is due to the influence of *mṛtyūn*.

tābhīr vahatnam suktām u lokam (TA. *vahemam suktām yatra-lokāḥ*)

RV. AV TA : *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *suktām yatra lokāḥ* (KS † *lokāḥ*) KS TB. ApŚ.

prchāmi (LŚ °mo) *yatra bhuvanasya nābhīḥ* RV. VS LŚ.: *prchāmi tvā* (AV. *viśvasya*) *bhuvanasya nābhīm* AV. TS. KSA. TB.

§397. In the next following group there is in both variants a relative clause; the nom. is construed as part of this, while the acc. is syntactically part of the main clause (both refer to the same entity). As in some of the preceding, the alteration is usually due to formal case attraction:

āranyān (AV. VS °yā) *grāmyāś ca ye* RV. AV. (bis) VS. TA. Preceded by *paśūn* (*paśūns*) *tānś cakre vāyavyān* In RV. TA *āranyān* goes with the preceding accusatives; in AV. VS. it is attracted into the relative clause. In AV. 11 5. 21 the pāda occurs in a different context.

jyeṣṭho (SV. °ḥam) *yo vṛtrahā gr̥ṇe* RV. AV. SV. There are no other

accs in the stanza, SV has turned *jyeṣṭho* into an acc to provide an object for the verb *gr̥ne*

catrabhānum (TB ApŚ °bhānū) *rodasī antar urvī* RV. SV MS KS TB ApŚ. Preceded by *aganma mahā namasā yaviṣṭham, yo didāya samiddhah sve durone* (with unimportant variants) The acc goes with *yaviṣṭham* as object of *aganma* in the first pāda; because of the intervening relative clause, it is natural that secondary texts attract it into agreement with *yo* This assumes that the TB comm is right in understanding °bhānuh, nom sg, instead of dual (with *rodasī*), which would be formally possible

kakṣivantam ya auśjah (TS TA °jam) RV SV. VS TS MS KS ŚB TA N. The Tart version can only be interpreted by referring *ya(h)* to the god addressed: 'who (didst make famous) K A' So Sāyana, who supplies *kṛtavān aśi*, and Keith Of course the other reading (in which K° goes with the preceding object acc and is referred to by the relative, 'K who is the A') is original (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1 18 1).

yathā mītrāya varunāya śantamah (SV °mam) RV SV Preceded by *punātā dakṣasādhanam, yathā śardhāya vītaye* 'Clarify the strength-producing (Soma), that (it may be) for a refreshing draft for the throng, that (it may be) most gratifying to M and V' So RV, making *śantamah* subject of a separate clause, SV brings the word into direct connexion with the preceding *dakṣasādhanam*

yadī śrāto (AV. *śrātam*) *juhota* RV AV ApŚ MŚ Followed by.

yady aśrāto (AV °iam) *mamattana*, same texts The preceding pāda of RV. AV. makes clear the antecedent *indrasya bhāgam rtvīyam* 'If cooked do ye offer it, if not cooked, delay' The AV has attracted the adjectives into direct agreement with *bhāgam* (The comm on AV, however, takes them as nom neuter, supplying *havih*)

svarpatim yad im vṛdhe RV AV *svahpatir yadī vṛdhe* SV The acc agrees with *indram* (*somasya pītaye*) in the preceding pāda, SV makes it subject of *vṛdhe*

5 Case attraction

§398. The preceding cases taper off into another group which is a little hard to define further than by saying that (as in some of the variants quoted above) case attraction, that is the influence of a neighboring case-form, is responsible for the variation The varying word still refers to the same person or thing, so that there is no proper 'transfer

of epithet', but the syntactic shift is hardly of the same type as the immediately preceding cases, unless perhaps in the first two examples: *hotā yakṣat tanūnapāt sarasvatīm* (TB. °ti) VS MS. TB. It seems fairly clear that TB has attracted *saras°* to the case of *tanūnapāt*; but how either of the noms is to be construed is not obvious. Comm. on VS. dares to say that *tanū°* is nom. used for acc.! Perhaps the TB version may be understood as containing an independent statement: 'Let the hotar worship! (The deities are) Tanūnapāt, Sarasvatī'

anyam (AV. *anya*) ū ṣu *tvam* (AV omits *tvam*) *yamy anya u tvām* RV.

AV N See Whitney on AV. 18 1 16. We believe that *anya* is due to stupid and mechanical assimilation to the following *anya apsu dhūto ṛbhīh sulah* RV. *apsu dhaulam ṛbhīh sulam* SV. Preceded by *śubhram andho devavātam*, and followed by *svadanti gāvaḥ payobhīh* Śāyana takes the RV pāda as parenthetical (pādas a and c going together), which is probably the best way out, tho all three pādas might be taken as syntactically separate, understanding *somam* or the like as object of *svadanti* SV assimilates the participles in b to the case of *andho*, an easily comprehensible lect fac Grassmann's suggestion that RV is incorrect is implausible

§399. As in the two variants just quoted, not a few of the following passages are dubious of interpretation, and at times under suspicion of corruption:

hṛtsu kratum ṭvaruno (MS °ṇam) *vikṣv* (RV *apsv*, MS *dhikṣv*) *agnim* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB. The subject is originally Varuṇa, who has instilled 'insight into hearts, Agni into dwellings' MS has an unintelligent assimilation of V to the surrounding accs., perhaps with the thought that Agni is still the subject as in the preceding stanza

tebhīh (AV. VS VSK *tebhīyah*) *svarād asunītim etām* (AV *asunītar no adya*) RV AV VS VSK It seems clear that AV, which Whitney calls unintelligible, contains a stupid assimilation of *asunītim* to the case of the adjoining word. The following pāda is *yathāvaśam tanvam* (AV *tanvāh*) *kalpayāti* (RV *kalpayasva*)

viṣnum agan varunam pūrvahūtiḥ AV.. *viṣnū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tm) VS MS ŚB. TB AŚ ŚŚ In AV the prayer itself is the subject of *agan*; in MS it is made the goal, along with Viṣnu and Varuna, the subject being the offering or the water used with it The other texts use a locative which might be one of goal, agreeing in sense with MS; but see §457

gāyatrī chanda indriyam, tryavar (KS. *trīya*^o) *gaur vayo dadhuh* VS MS KS. TB.: *gāyatrīm chanda indriyam, tryavīm gām vayo dadhat* VS. TB The noms are subjects of *dadhuh*, the accs. objects of *dadhat*, being assimilated to *indriyam* and *vayo*, which are accs (objects) in both versions. These are the first of a series of formulas, all of the same type, the meter names (in nom. form) are *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇihā*), *anuṣṭup*, *brhatī*, *pañktiś*, *triṣṭup*, *jagatī*, *virāḷ*, *dvipadā* (*dvipāc*), *kakup* (*kakuc*), *alichandā*. For the epithets of cattle (*dityavād*, *pañcāvīr* etc.) see the passages, which can easily be found in the Conc

ukhām (MS. KS.† *ukhā*) *svasāram adhi vedīm asthāt* MS. KS ApŚ. Preceded by *syūtā devebhīr amṛtenāgāh* (MS. KS ^o*āgāt*). The word *ukhā* is subject in MS. KS. and it seems scarcely possible to interpret ApŚ (which addresses it directly in the 2d person) otherwise; yet ApŚ. stupidly assimilates the form to the following accs. Caland translates *ukhā*, but notes that Hir Ś. also reads *ukhām*, so that the corruption is evidently very old.

devah savitābhīmātīśāhah AV.: *savitā devo 'bhīmātīśāhah* Ppp : *devam trātāram* (TS. KS *savitāram*) *abhīmātīśāham* RV TS KS Assuming (cf. Oldenberg, *Proz.* 326 f.) that the acc, as in RV TS. KS, is original (tho it is difficult), the change to the nom in AV. is easy to understand. In AV. the preceding pāda is *dhātā vidhātā bhuvanasya yas patih*, and the following: *ādityā rudrā āśvinobhā, devāh pāntu yajamānam nṛtthāt*. For o the others have a different version beginning *īmam yajñam* (cf. §329); it is significant that this acc. is also eliminated in AV.

yajñasya (AV. *cittasya*) *mālā* (SMB *mātaram*) *suhavā me* (AV *no*) *astu* AV. TB. SMB. Preceded by *ākūlīm devīm manasū prapadye* in SMB., which has put the epithet *mālā* syntactically into the preceding clause, making it agree with *devīm*, the meter proves it secondary.

samyag āyur īyājño (MŚ *yajñam*) *yajñapatau dadhātu* (MŚ *dhāh*) KS MŚ. See VV 1 p 100 In MŚ *yajñam* is attracted to the case of *āyur*.

idāno (KS ^o*nā*) *vahnir* (KS. *vahnim*) *namasā* AV VS VSK. TS. MS KS Followed by:

agnim (AV. *agnih*) *sruco adhvarēṣu prayatsi* (AV *prayakṣu*), same texts The original readings are doubtless given by the texts which agree, VS TS MS A verb of approaching occurs in the preceding 'The carrier (approaches), praising, with adoration, to Agni (approach) the spoons as the sacrifices proceed' In AV *agnim* is

changed to *agnih* to agree with its synonym *vahnih*, and the two pādas are more closely connected than in the original. In KS. the attraction has worked in the opposite direction; *vahnir* becomes *vahnīm* to match *agnim*, *sruco* is now the subject, *idānā* agrees with it, and the preceding pāda (*achāyam eli śavasā ghṛtēna* [AV *ghṛtā cīt*], see §467) is changed to *achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh* (note retention of *ayam*, now ungrammatical!): 'here come with might the ghee-filled spoons, praising with adoration Agni the carrier . . .' Ppp has *ide vahnīm namasāgnim sruco 'dhvareṣu prayatsu*, which is translatable but obviously secondary.

gāyatrīm triṣṭubham jagatīm anuṣṭubham (MS. °līm *virājam*) AV. TS. MS.: *gāyatrī triṣṭub jagatī virāt* KS. This is the 3d pāda of a verse whose 4th pāda in TS. MS. KS. (omitting slight variants) is *arkam* (TS *bṛhad arkam*) *yujjānāh svar ābharann idam* It appears that KS has allowed the names of meters to be attracted into agreement with *yujjānāh* (the leaving *arkam* to be the object of the participle, which is the construction of all of them in TS. MS.); they thus become subjects of the verb *ā-abharann*. The AV. varies considerably and is difficult, probably corrupt; its accs. must depend on the verb of the 1st pāda.

yuvō ratho adhvaram (AV.† GB † °ro) *devavīṭaye* RV. AV. AB. 6. 12. 7 (add in Conc) GB Followed by the verb *yāti* (*yātu*). 'Your chariot goes to the sacrifice...' In AV. *adhvaro* is awkwardly attracted to the case of *ratho*: 'let your chariot, the sacrifice, approach...' Ppp. is reported to read *adhvaram*.

ā gharṃ agnim ṛṇayann asādī (TA. *asādī*) RV. TA.: *ā gharṃ agnir anyto na sādī* MS. In the latter *agnim* has been changed to the case of *gharṃ*.

kāmam (AV. PB. *kāmah*, KS *kāmas*) *samudram, ā viṣa* (AV. *viveṣa*, KS. TB *viṣat*) AV. KS. PB. TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ. There seems little doubt that the nom. is original, and it is likely that the acc. is due to attraction to the case of *samudram*. The two accs. must be taken as in apposition. According to the comm. on TA. the subject is *dakṣiṇā*. TB. has the following explanation of the meaning: *samudra iva hi kāmah, neva hi kāmasyānto 'stī, na samudrasya. nayanto garbham vanām dhūyam dhuh* RV.: *nayantam gīrbhīr vanā dhūyam dhāh* SV. Highly problematical; *nayanto* agrees with the indefinite 3 plural subject ('they', really the singers); *nayantam*, like the other accs. in the verse, must be object of *dhāh*. In SV. the subject is Agni and the accs. probably refer to the singer (now singular).

6 Transfer of epithet

§400. A very large number of nom-acc variants concern what we have described above (§14) as 'transfer of epithet'. That is, an epithet is transferred to a different entity, involving change of case. Often formal case-attraction is also involved, as in the last group; but there is this difference, that the variant word no longer applies to the same person or thing as in the other form. As in all cases of 'transfer of epithet', these variants have no bearing on the uses of the varying cases. There is nothing that need be said about them as a whole except that they may of course show shift of number or gender or both, as well as case, such instances are given separately. No other subdivision of the long list needs to be made.

§401. The following show no change in number or gender:

vyartī dhūmam aruṣam (MS KS °ṣo) *bharibhrat* RV. VS TS MS KS ApMB '(Agni) comes clothed in ruddy smoke', original, changed in MS KS to read 'the ruddy (Agni) comes clothed in smoke'

svar devā (TS TB ApŚ *devān*) *aganma* (MS. MŚ *agāma*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ See §§340, 349. The nom or voc is certainly original, the acc secondary. The nom would apply the epithet *devāh* to the priests: 'we have gone to heaven as gods'; the acc, 'we have gone to heaven, to the gods'

ye ca devān (ŚŚ. *devā*) *ayajanta* AV ŚŚ. The passage deals with generous sacrificers and givers of *dakṣiṇā*, AV. means 'who have sacrificed to the gods' (referring to *maghavāno* which follows). In ŚŚ *devāh*, if nom, must refer to *maghavānah*, as in the preceding variant. It might however be voc (again as in the preceding)

mā no hṛṇītām atithir (SV *hṛṇītā atithim*) *vasur agnih* RV. SV. Followed by *puruprasasta eṣah* RV.: 'let not Agni, our kindly guest, be ashamed of us; much praised is he.' The SV distortion makes *atithi* object of the verb, referring to some vague person (the *yajamāna*?) other than Agni, to whom it originally belonged. It seems to mean, 'be not ashamed of our guest (O Agni), Agni is kindly, much praised is he'

didīhi deva devayuh (SV °yum) RV. SV. Preceded by *abhi dūmnam bṛhad yaśa śaspate*. In RV. *devayuh* is in logical apposition with the subject of the imperative; in SV. it is apparently made to refer to the worshiper (so Benfey), as a second acc with *didīhi*.

jatram indra (KS *jatrāyano*) *raiham ā tiṣṭha govī* (AV *govidam*) RV SV. AV. VS TS. MS. KS. Whether the epithet is applied to Indra or to his chariot makes little practical difference. But the

rest of the stanza is triṣṭubh, and it is curious that AV. turns this pāda into a jagatī by this otherwise harmless alteration. One or two mss are quoted by Lanman as reading *govit*, but Ppp (JAOS. 40 151) supports *gondam*.

uprasya vā yac chaśamāna ukthyam (AV. °yah) RV. AV. Followed by *vājam*, with which the adjective agrees in RV.; in AV. (with the help of the adjoining *śaśamānah*) it is transferred to the subject (Agni).

pari dyukṣam sanad rayim SV.: *pari dyukṣah sanadrayih* RV. In RV. both epithets agree with the subject (Soma) of the verb of the following pāda; in SV. *sanad* is made a separate verb (subject Soma) with *rayim* as object, and *dyukṣam* agreeing therewith.

āreśatrum (TS AŚ ŚŚ. MŚ *āre śatrūn*) *kṛṇuhi sarvavīram* (TS AŚ. ŚŚ MŚ. °vīrah) AV † TS AŚ ŚŚ. MŚ. In AV. the epithet goes with the object (*imam* of the preceding pāda), in the others, with the subject.

punar brahmāṇo (brahmā) *vasunītha* (°nītr, °dhīte, °dhītim, °dhītam) *yajñānah* (agne); see §340

ava priyā (AV. *priyān*) *adhūṣata* RV AV. SV VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB. If *priyā(s)* is really nom., as commonly assumed, it must agree with the subject (in RV. apparently the Maruts, in the others, secondarily, the pitrs); *priyān* is of course object, but it is not clear to what it refers Grassmann takes *priyās* as acc fem., supplying *giras* (Most AV mss read *avā 'priyān*, with wrong accent, see Whitney's note)

ūrdhvo adhvaram divi deveṣu dhehi VS. ŚB : *ūrdhvam* (VSK. °vo) *imam* (VSK omits) *adhvaram* *hotrā yacha* VS VSK TS. MS. KS. ŚB TA

jāmum (KS † *cam*, see VV 2 §57) *mā hūṣīr* (AV. *mā jāmim moṣīr*) *amuyā* (MŚ *anu yā*) *śayānā* (AV. KS † °nām) AV. KS TB. ApŚ. MŚ. The nom. agrees with the subject, the acc. with the object *jāmim*.

svargān (svargam, svagān) *arvanio* (arvalo) *jayata* (jayema, jayatah, jayati), see §350

lam akratum (KU °tuh) *paśyati vītaśokah* TA MahānU KU SvetU.

pre go jagñe vidvān (AV °vān) *asya bandhum* (AV. *bandhuh*) AV. TS KS. Followed by *nītvā devānām* (TS. *nītvān devo*) *janimā vivakti*. The verse is mystical and its real sense obscure. It is, however, clear that *bandhuh* must be construed with or as the subject of *vivakti*, and *bandhum* as one of the objects of *vivakti* or object of *vidvān*.

urudrapso viśvarūpa induh TS ApŚ · *purudasmo viśurūpa induh* VS ŚB : *purudasmaṇḍa viśvarūpaṇḍa induh* KS. Followed by *pavamāno* (VS ŚB. *antar*) *garbham* (TS *dhīra*, VS. ŚB *mahimānam*) *ānaṣṭa dhīrah* (TS. *garbham*). The adjectives agree with the object *garbham* in KS, with the subject *induh* in the others

samārabhyordhvo adhvaro divispṛśam TS TB : *ūrdhvo adhvaro divispṛk* MS KS In the ritual the TS passage (followed by *ahruto yajño yajñapaleh*) is addressed to the sacrifice (*āghāra*), and can only be interpreted (understanding *āghāra* as object of *samārabhya*, as TB does): 'lofty is the cult, undertaking the heaven-touching (*āghāra*); the sacrifice of the sacrificer is undisturbed' The reading of MS seems to be a lect. fac., *samārabhya* is taken easily with the preceding formula, and *divispṛk*, assimilated to the preceding nouns, applies to *adhvaro* (KS omits *samārabhya*) Kerlā considers the TS TB reading a corruption, but with doubtful justice.

sarasvatī vayah peśo antaram (TB and ms. of KS °rah) VS MS. KS TB. Preceded in all by *īdāśvinnā bhīṣajā rudravartanī* 'The Āśvins and Sarasvatī make(s) his inner form.' *antaram* agrees with *peśo* But *antarāh*, read by the sole ms of KS as well as TB (v Sehr emends), is difficult The TB comm seems to have no qualms about making it agree with *Sarasvatī* (or does he mean to take it as an adverb, = *antar*? *yā tu sarasvaty antarah śarīramadhye*) All we can say is that it certainly no longer goes with *peśo*

ud asthām amṛtān anu VSK TS MS KS ŚB TA AŚ ApMB · *ud asthāmāmṛtā vāyam* (HG *abhūma*) AV HG 'I have risen up after the immortals': 'we have risen up immortal.' The AV. verse seems on the whole to be secondary to that of the Yajus texts, and to have transferred the epithet to the subject

asmin yajñe suhavām (AV °vā) *johavīm* AV MS KS. TS AŚ ŚŚ. N. Preceded by *kuhūm devīm sukrām vidmanāpasam* (with slight variants) AV comm also has *suhavām*, agreeing with *kuhūm*, if *suhavā* be kept it agrees with the subject, who then has to be conceived as a woman.

prajāpatiṛyam prathamō jīgāya ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ ApMB *prajāpatiḥ prathamō 'yam jīgāya* AŚ Preceded by *īdāśvinnā kāman aham jayān* In AŚ (*a*)*yam* goes with the preceding nouns. 'this Prajāpati was the first to win (it)' The other, with *yam* referring to *kāman*, is doubtless original

§402. Transfers of epithets between nominative and accusative forms which involve also changes in number or gender or both are:

viśvāni yo amartyo (havyā marṣeṣu ranyati) RV.: *viśve yasminn amartye (havyam marṣāsa indhate) SV.* See §457.

tad ayam (MG. idam) rājā varuno 'numanyatām AG SMB. PG. ApMB.

HG. MG. *ayam* agrees with the subject *rājā* etc., *idam* with the object *tad*.

devān acā na majmanā RV.: *deva indro na majmanā SV.* In SV. the epithet *deva* is attracted into agreement with the subject.

yā rājānā (TS °nam) saratham yātha (MS yāta) ugrā TS MS. KS Subject is Mitra and Varuna, with which *rājānā* agrees: 'ye (MS. they) two kings who, terrible, go against the (warrior) with his chariot' TS. transfers it to the object: 'ye two who, terrible, go against the king with his chariot.'

agnis tad viśvam (AV. mss viśvād) ā prnāti (AV. °tu) vidvān RV. AV. TS. MS KS With Whitney and SPP. *viśvād* (epithet of Agni) must be kept in AV.

anāhanasyam vasanam jarisnu (ŚG car°, PG. °ṇuh) ŚG. PG. HG. ApMB. See VV 2 §57.

anuttā carṣanīdhrīh SV.: *anuttā carṣanīdhrīh RV* Preceded by *tvam vṛtrāṇi hanīsi* (*anuttā* with *vṛtrāṇi*, °*tas* with *tvam* = Indra).

ayā san (MS. ŚŚ ayāh san, KS ayās san, Kauś ayāsyam) havyam ūhiṣe MS KS TB AŚ. ŚŚ ApŚ. Kauś ApMB. HG. The original epithet of Agni is, with phonetic changes resulting in a different word, applied to *havyam*

devatrā yantam avase sakhāyah (KS. °yam) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *anu tvā mātā pīlaro madantu* The original applies *sakhāyah* to *mātā pīlaro*, KS. transfers it to *tvā* (influenced no doubt by *yantam*)

vapāvantaṁ (MS °to) nāgninā tapantaḥ TS. MS TA Preceded by *añjanti yam prathayanto na viprāh*; MS transfers the epithet from object to subject

prānyā tantūns tirate dhatte anyā AV.: *avānyāns tantūn. kirīto dhatto anyān TB* In AV *anyā anyā* refers to weaving maidens, in TB. it is transferred to the threads.

viśvāni yo amartyah RV.: *viśve yasmin amartye SV.* The n. acc *viśvāni* of RV agrees with the following *havyā*; the masc. nom. *viśve* with the following *marṣāsaḥ*

dawim (VS. devīm) nāvam svaritrām anāgasam (AV. °sah) RV. AV. VS TS MS. KS In AV. *anā°* is transferred to the subject of *āruHEMA*.

sā śantāh (SV. °tā, TB ApŚ. śantācī) mayas karad apa sridhah RV. SV. TB. ApŚ. śantāh is epithet of *mayas*; on the other see VV 2 §156.

- bhūristhātrām bhūry āvesayantīm* (AV °*tah*) RV. AV See Edgerton, *Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield* 126, and §14 above
- viśvavandam* (AV. °*do*) *vācam avīśvaminvām* (AV *avīśvavinnām*) RV AV Discussed by Edgerton, l c 128, the AV is secondary.
- yavena* (AV * *yavena vā*) *kṣudham puruhūta viśvām* (AV.* *viśve*) RV AV (quater) The AV once transfers the epithet 'all' from *kṣudham* to the subject (of *tarema* in the preceding)
- dhinām antah sabardughah* RV · *dhenām antah sabardughām* SV In RV the adjective agrees with *vanaspatir* (= *Scma*), in SV it is attached to the false form *dhenām*
- parāsutrpo abhi śośucānah* RV : *parāsutrpaḥ śośucataḥ śrñāhi* AV In RV śo° agrees with Agni, subject of preceding *śrñāhi*, in AV with the object (*mūradevān*)
- dyumantam sam idhīmahi* RV SV VS TS ŚB TB ŚŚ *dyumantah sam idhīmahi* AV TS MS KS Acc with preceding object *tva*
- gharmam śocantah* (AŚ °*ta*, ŚŚ °*lam*) *pravaneṣu* (AŚ ŚŚ *pranaveṣu*) *bībhretah* AB AŚ ŚŚ In AB nom with *dhiṣanāḥ* in preceding, in ŚŚ acc with *gharmam*. On AŚ cf VV 1 p 165
- āmum naya* (RV MS *āyum na yam*) *namasā rātahavyam* (RV † MS † °*yāh*) RV AV MS In RV MS *rā°* goes with nom *pañca janāḥ* in the following
- achidram* (SMB °*rāh*) *śarma yachata* RV AB SMB The unaccented SMB may understand voc rather than nom
- vande dārum* (? see VV 1 p 218) *vandamāno vivakmī* RV *vandadvārā vandamānā nvaṣṭu* SV Preceded by *indrasyeva pra tavasas kṛtām*, in SV. *vanda°* is attracted into agreement with *kṛtām*
- vandārus te* (VS ŚB °*ruṣ te*, add to VV 2 §958, MS KS °*rum te*) *tanvam (tanuvam) vande agne* RV VS TS MS KS ŚB The meaning here shifts with the form, nom 'praising', acc 'praiseworthy' (fem gender, with *tanvam*, tho the masc would have the same form).
- akhidrāh* (ApŚ *aghorah*, VS ŚB *achinnapatrāh*, MS *achinnapatrah*) *prajā abhivipaśya* (VS MS ŚB *anuvīkṣasva*) VS MS KS ŚB ApŚ
- viśvāḥ pṛtanā abhūbhūtaram naram* (SV. PB Svidh *narah*) RV AV SV PB AŚ Vait Svidh Followed in RV AV SV. by *śayās tataḥśur indram jājanuś ca rājase*
- ahruto maho dharunāya devān* (AV *devah*) RV AV Followed by *dvīva jyotiḥ svam ā mumīyāh* (AV † °*yāḥ*) In AV (which has reconstructed the passage extensively) *devah* is made an epithet of the subject (a horse)

trīn samudrān samasrpaṭ svargān (MS °gah) VS MS ŚB.: *samsarpa* (KS °pan) *trīn samudrān svargān* (ApŚ *svargān* lokān) KS ApŚ. *ye ceme* (TS *cemām*, VS *cainam*) *rudrā abhītah* (MS NīlarU. *abhīto rudrāh*) VS. TS. KS MS NīlarU. The nom *ime* goes with *rudrāh*; *enam* (= Rudra) or *umām* (apparently the earth) is construed as object of *abhītah*

śukrām vayanṭy asurāya nīrṇjam RV.: *śukrā vi yanṭy asurāya nīrṇje* SV. 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura': 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously for the adornment of the A.'

sa nah prīthu (TB. °uh) *śravāyā* RV. SV. ŚB. TB. *prīthu*, object: 'the broad (space).' In TB. transferred to the subject (Agnī).

ny adhūr mātrāyām (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasah* (KS °sam) MS. KS. In MS *vayo*° goes with *kavayo*, in KS. with *agnim* in the following

apo mahi vṛyayati cakṣase tamah RV : *apo mahi vṛṇute caḥṣuṣā tamah* SV PB *mahi* refers to the subject Uṣas, *mahi* refers to the darkness which she uncovers

sūryam cāmū rīśādasah (RVKh °sam) AV. RVKh ŚŚ (ed. of AV. *cāmum rīśādasam*, but mss as ŚŚ, RVKh. Scheftelowitz p 157). The original nom pl agrees with *devāh* in the next sentence; RVKh. has acc sg with *sūryam* (The form *am* is probably neut. pl. of *asau*, cf. Wackernagel 3 p 350)

ulokam u dve upa jāmim ūyatuh RV.: *lokam u* (ApŚ. *id*) *dve upa jāmī ūyatuh* MS ApŚ *jāmī* transferred from object to subject.

agnim bharantam (MS. KS °tā) *asmayum* VS TS MS KS. ŚB Preceded by *yuijāthām rāsabham yuvam*, *asmin yāme vṛṣaṇvasū* The acc agrees with *rāsabham*, the nom dual with the subject of *yuijāthām* (the adhvaryu and yajamāna). The mss. of MS (s.p and p.p) read *asmayuh*, perhaps they intend *asmayū*, which would be another transfer

tā (TS. *te*, VS ŚB *yā*) *te* (RV. KS. N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV. KS N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhya* (TS °ye) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB N. Only in TS. the pronoun (*te*) is made to agree with the subject (Keith suggests that it is a mere blunder due to the following *te*, enclitic from *tvam*)

suvirāh prajāh prajānayan parīhi TS. MS. KS TB ApŚ : *suvirō vīrān prajānayan parīhi* . . VS ŚB

varenyakratūr (AV °tur) *aham* RVKh. AV : *īdenyakraṭūr* (text *īde*°, doubtless misprint) *aham* ApŚ. Scheftelowitz reads °tur in RVKh. The form °tūr is acc. pl fem. agreeing with the waters; and thus is a simpler reading than °tur (nom sg. masc), going with *aham*.

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Jhvāntam vātāgram anusamcarantau (PB *abhisam*°) TS PB TB PG ApMB.: *dhvāntā vātā agnim abhi ye samcaranti* MŚ MG The mss of MŚ MG. read *dhvāntā* (nom dual, going with the subject in the preceding pāda) *vātāgnim* (for which *vātāgram* is doubtless the true reading, cf VV 2 p 402)

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmīm*) *deva yamase* (TB. *yuvase*) *svaśvān* (RV TB *svaśvaḥ*) RV. VS ŚB TB

jyotiṣmatī (MS °*tāh*) *prati muñicate nabhaḥ* TS MS. KS PG Followed by *devī rātrī sūryasya vratāni*, or an equivalent In MS *jyo*° (originally epithet of *rātrī*) is made an object of the verb

jīvam (comm *jīvan*) *devebhya uttaram strṇām* AV.. *devebhya jīvanā uttaram bharema* TA In TA *jīv*° is epithet of the subject; so *jīvan* if this is intended in AV. (then with variation of number only); *jīvam*, if intended, must go with the object *uttaram*

hranyarūpam (MS. KS MŚ °*varṇam*) *uśaso vyūṣṭau* RV MS KS MŚ : *hranyarūpā* (TS. TB °*varṇāu*) *uśaso* (TS TB °*sām*) *vroke* VS TS ŚB. TB Followed by:

ayasthūṇam (TS. *ayasthūṇāu*) *udītā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS. In both of these the dual noms agree with the subject, Mitra and Varuna, the accs with the object, *garām*

ekaviṃśa r̥bhavaḥ (VS † °*va*) *stutam* (VS *stutāḥ*) VS MS KS TB One of six consecutive and parallel verses in all, the remaining five have (before *stutam* or *stutāḥ*): *rudrāḥ pañcadaśe*, *vasavaḥ trivṛtā*, *stome saptaśe*, *trayastrinṣe* 'mṛtam' (°*tā*, VS), *trinave marutah* (TB. *ma*° *tri*°) In VS *stutāḥ* agrees with the subject, a group of gods that varies in each verse In the others it agrees with the object in pāda d (*haviṃ indre vayo dadhuh*)

hranyayāḥ (MS °*yayā*) *śucayo dhārāpūtāḥ* RV MS Preceded by *trī rocanā dvyaḥ dhārayanta*. In RV. *hr*° agrees with the subject, the Ādityas; in MS with the object *rocanā*

mātā yad vīram dadhanad dhanīṣṭhā (MS *vīram jajanaḥ janiṣṭham*) RV VS. MS KS TB

urv (AŚ. *ūrvy* and *urvy*) *antarikṣam vīhi* VS. MS KS ŚB Vait AŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ The nom must agree with the subject of *vīhi*

sa praty ud (MS. *sa pratyāññ*) *aud dharuṇam* (TS. MS KŚ *dharuno*) *madhvo agram* AV TS. MS KS KSA AŚ ŚŚ KŚ Part of a mystic verse; the sense is no better and no worse, whether the adjective goes with *sa* or with *agram* But it may be based on *juhoma te dharuṇam madhvo agram* RV. AV, in a ritualistic connexion; this rather points to the originality of the acc

mahiṣam nah subhvaṁ tasthivāṁsam MS · *samudram na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayah* RV : *samudram na suhavam* (AV *subhvas*, TB Poona ed *suhavam*) *tasthivāṁsam* AV TB ApŚ — Ppp reads like MS, but for *subhavas* (Barret *subhvas*, suggesting *subhavam* as a better reading, JAOS. 35. 46) Same context in all except RV, the acc. agrees with *samudram*, the nom with the subject of the verb in the next pāda. Perhaps AV is influenced by recollection of the RV passage (i.e. shows contamination of two passages).

yajā no (or *yajāno*, so Poona ed of TB with MS, see VV 2 p 376) *devān* (MS *devo*) *ajarah suvīrah* MS TB AŚ ApŚ. Nom *devo* is construed as epithet of subject Agni, acc as object of *yajā* (or *yajāno*), referring to the gods to whom Agni ministers.

avīraghno (ApMB † *ni*) *vīratarah* (HG. *īlamah*, AŚ. ApŚ. ApMB. *vīravatah*) *suvīrān* (HG. *suśevān*) AŚ. ApŚ ŚG HG ApMB : *vīram hi* (read *avīraghni*?) *vīravatah suśevā* MG The accs refer to *gṛhān*, the noms to the subject *aham*, which is fem in ApMB. MG Presumably the masc. *aham* is more original, *vīratarah* would be impossible in ApMB MG. Further than this we can hardly go as regards the original form of that epithet. But the nom *suśevā* of MG alone is certainly secondary

vi mamarśa rohito viśvarūpah TB · *vi rohito amṛśad viśvarūpam* AV. The latter original (*viśvarūpam* object)

parīmam rāyo manuṣyam KS : *parīmam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS And others, see §§442 etc In KS *manuṣya* is applied to the *yajamāna*, 'let wealth invest this man' In TS *rāyās* is gen, and *manuṣyāh* must be taken with Keith as a second subject, 'men', or, with thought of *davīr viśo* in the preceding, 'human clans'

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS *īlam*) *cīd anvāk* RV. AV. ArS. MS. TB. In RV etc the adjective goes with the subject, Indra, in ArS. with *rādha(s)*

apo devā (TS MS. KS ApŚ *devīr*) *madhūmatīr agrbhnan* (TS ApŚ *agrhnan*, MS KS *agrbhnām*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ The acc fem *devīr* is doubtless orig; *devā(h)* goes with the subject

ayam (TA *īdam*) *devo vanaspathiḥ* AV. TA Preceded by *varano vārayātai* (*vārayāt*) TA feels the need of an object, and alters *ayam* to *īdam*

ādityā rudrā upariśprśo nah (KS *īśam mā*) AV. KS : *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśprśam mā* RV VS TS Followed by *ugram cettāram adhrājam akran* (AV. *akrata*) The adjective, orig. going with *mā*, is transferred to the subject in AV.

ād im aśvam na helārah (SV. °ram) RV. SV. Followed by *aśūsubhann amṛtāya, madhvo* (SV *madho*) *rasam sadhamāde*. 'As drivers (deco-rate) a horse', RV.: in SV. *helāram* is Soma (attracted to the case of *rasam*), 'the inciting one'.

yasya dyāvo na vicaranti mānuṣā (SV °ṣam) RV. SV. The meaning of RV is doubtful Oldenberg: 'whose (Indra's) gifts to men go their course like the days', Geldner: 'for whom the ages (*yugāni*) of men pass like (his) days' In SV *mānuṣam* is assimilated in case and number to the epithets of Indra in the verse, and is taken to mean 'friendly to man', the relative clause might mean 'whose heavens do not pass away' (so Benfey).

taḥ jānatīr abhy anūṣata vrāh RV.: *tā jānatīr abhy anūṣata lṣāh* ArS In RV *taḥ* is object of *jānatīr*, in ArS. *tā(h)* attracted to agreement with it

indra jaḥharam navyo (SV AŚ. ŚŚ °yam) *na* AV. SV. AŚ ŚŚ For the difficulties involved see Whitney's note; in any case the word goes with Indra in AV., with *jaḥharam* in the rest

tvam ṣamudram prathamō vi dhārayah (SV. °drah *prathamē vdharman*) RV SV. Radical reconstruction, with transfer of object to predicate nom 'You first arranged the sea (for the gods)' 'du bist das Meer im allerhochsten Träger' (Benfey).

indram juṣāṇā vṣaṇam (VS *janayo*) *na patnīh* VS. MS KS TB Here different words are involved 'Taking delight in the manly Indra, like wives': 'taking delight in Indra, like wedded women'

§403. In some of the preceding cases it is perhaps doubtful whether the term 'transfer of epithet' applies strictly In these which now follow it can certainly apply only by stretching the term Namely: in them one form of the variant shows a noun or pronoun of independent construction, which cannot properly be described as an 'epithet' of any other word. In several cases, moreover, the words are different, as in the last variant in the preceding section Cf. §15

pratnam nī pati kāvyam RV ('he protects the ancient wisdom')·
ṣpratnāni (Conc *pra tvā nī pati kāvyah* KS ('he [Soma], the wise, protects the ancient things [laws, or the like]')

prajāpatim aham tvayā samakṣam rāhyāsam GB Vait : *prajāpatir aham tvayā sāksād rāhyāsam* MS. 'May I cause Prajāpati to prosper visibly with thee': 'may I, a very Prajāpati in person, prosper thru thee' The latter is original; see Caland on Vait

achāyam eti śavasā ghṛtēna (AV *ghṛtā cit*) AV Ppp VS. TS MS :
achāyam yanti śavasā ghṛtācīh KS See §467.

samdhātā samdhm (MS. *samdhir*) *maghavā purūvasuh* (*puro*°, *puru*°)
RV. AV. SV. MS. PB. TA. KŚ. ApMB. The nom. can only be
felt as going with the subject; but the whole verse is very corrupt
in MS

gīrah somah (SV *gīra stomān*) *pavamāno manīṣāh* RV. SV. 'The puri-
fied soma (has inspired) our songs and devotions', RV.: 'the puri-
fied one (soma, has inspired) our songs, praises, and devotions'

evam tam garbham ā dhehī RVKh MG.: *evam tvam garbham ā dhatsva*
ApMB

asmabhyam indav indrayuh (SV *indriyam*) RV. SV. The verb is
pavasva, to which SV. supplies an object *indriyam*; *indrayuh* is
nom., epithet of the soma-drop (*indu*).

duraś ca viśvā avṛnod apa svāh RV AV.: *turaś cid viśvam ṛjarnavat tapas-
vān* AV. *duraś* is object of *avṛnod*; *turaś* apparently felt as epithet
of the subject

samudhyamānah prathamānu dharmā (TB. ApŚ *prathamo nu dharmah*)
RV † TB ApŚ (RV. p.p. *prathamā, anu, dharmā*) The original
neut pls were misunderstood later and made into noms sg. masc.,
epithets of the subject, Agni Doubtless the adjacent *samudhya-
mānah* helped Caland translates ApŚ. as if it had the RV. read-
ing, tho he has no note.

yusmāns ca dāyam ma upelā (ŚŚ *dāyam copelām*) AB. ŚŚ. Followed
by *vidyām yām u ca* (ŚŚ *uta*) *vidmasi upelā* is nom. sg. of a
nomen agentis used as periphrastic future: 'he shall obtain you as
an inheritance from me, and also the knowledge which we know.'
In ŚŚ. we have *upelām*, past pple., attracted into agreement with
vidyām; in this form there is no verb to govern the accs

dharṣā (VSK °*ṣān*) *mānuṣah* (KS °*ṣam*, TS ApŚ. °*ṣān*) VS VSK TS
MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In KS. TB. ApŚ acc object of the verb,
in the others subject, or agreeing with the subject: 'be bold, as a
man (VSK let the man be bold)'

tasmā devā amṛtāh (AV °*iam*) *sam vyayanlām* (AV. °*lu*) AV. TS MS
KS ApMB. In AV *amṛtam* is a noun, object of the verb

7. Neuter acc adverbs varying with nom. adjectives

§404. In a small and simple group we find neuter accusative adverbs
varying with nominative adjectives, virtually equivalent in meaning:
subhūh svayambhūh prathamah (AŚ ŚŚ °*mam*) VS ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ
somah prathamō vivide RV PG. HG ApMB : *somasya jūyā prathamam*
AV 'Soma was the first to marry (thee)': '(thou wast) Soma's
wife first.'

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG : *ncaranty apativratā* ŚŚ . *yac cacārā-nanuvratam* (adverb) ApŚ. Preceded by *yan me mātā pralulubhe* (or the like).

ava tara (TS. *avattaram*, AV. *avattaro*) *nadiṣv ā* (AV *nadinām*) AV VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. *avattaram* apparently an adverb; *avattaro* adj agreeing with the subject MS p.p. has *avalaram*, which seems to be what Keith means to translate by 'lower' in TS

svasti naḥ pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB. HG We now would render (rather than as in VV 1 §359). 'Happily may he, with his face turned full towards us (HG they, with their faces), walk round us ' So better than Oldenberg's interpretation of HG, 'walk round our full face ' The Sūtra itself renders by *pradakṣinam*

aśambādḥ yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS.. *aśambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp *mānaveṣu*) AV Ppp Kauś See §623.

dyumad vibhāti bhāratebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm *śucih*) RV. SV VS TS MS KS. *śuci* may be taken as an adverb *nīsvair devair anumatā* (KS TA °*lam*) *marudbhīh*, see §388 above KS. has an adverb

viṣvak patantu didyavah RV : *viṣvañco asmac charavah patantu* AV *āgne yāhu suvidatrebhir arvāñ* (MS *arvāk*, p.p. *arvāñ*) RV AV MS TB N.

prāñ (VS TB *prāñk*, MS *prāk*, p.p. *prāñ*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK. MS ŚB. TB ApŚ

pratyak (p.p. *pratyāñ*) *somo atidrutah* MS *pratyāñ* (VS TS MS † ŚB † TB *pratyāñk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atidrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB (bis) TB ApŚ

§405. Once we have what seems to be perhaps a fem acc adverb varying with a nom adjective, but the form is very suspicious: *didāyānudhmo* (MS °*mām*) *ghṛtanirṇag apsu* RV TS MS '(Agni) shone in the waters without kindling ' If MS is sound it would seem to have an adverb All s.p. mss agree; curiously the p.p. reads *didāya*, *asme ity asme*

8 Miscellaneous and doubtful

§406. The remaining nominative-accusative variants are hardly classifiable Many are textually dubious, and in most the interpretation of one form, or both, is troublesome

sakṛd yat tvā (KS. *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *garbham*) *āśayat* TS. KS
Here *garbha* is used in different senses: 'embryo' (TS) and 'womb'
(KS)

amāsi sarvān (AŚ. *sarvān*) *asi praviṣṭaḥ* AŚ Kauś : *amo 'si sarvān asi*
praviṣṭaḥ ŚG : *amā hy asi sarvam anu praviṣṭaḥ* SMB The origi-
nal is certainly *sarvān* (from *sarvāñc*); the accs are lect fac

apa snehitṛ (SV *snihitum*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adhad rāh*, KS.† *nṛma-*
nām adadhrām) RV. AV SV KS : *upa stūhi tam nṛmṇām* (Poona
ed. *snuhi tam nṛmanām*) *athadrām* TA The latter is plainly
corrupt The acc *nṛmanām* (bad form in any case) may be felt
as a second object, correlative with *snehitṛ*; but the interpretation
is certainly dubious

sūryasya marīcīḥ TA : *sūryo marīcim ādatte* TA. Probably the two are
not really related The former occurs in a list of the *patnīs* of
various gods; the latter in a cosmic verse about creation.

udādāya prthivīm jivādānum (TS TB ApŚ *jīradānuh*, MS KS *jīra-*
dānum) VS TS MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ The nom. is clearly
established as the reading of the Tait school, but there is no main
verb in the stanza and it is hard to construe Both Keith and
Caland think an acc (agreeing with *prthivīm*) must be read

kratum dadhikrā (MS **krām*) *anu samtavītvai* (VS MS KS. ŚB *samsa-*
nīṣyadai) RV VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB N. The context is
identical in MS, and only a nom seems construable: 'Dadhikrā,
showing his strength according to his will' Is the final *m* in MS.
mere 'Hiatusstilger'? Cf. VV 2 §308 ff.

samānam ajman (PB. *ṭayman*) *pary eti* (TA ApŚ. *ajmā pari yāti*)
jāgruh RV PB TA ApŚ. In RV.: 'watchful he (Agni) goes about
his accustomed course' The nom *ajmā* is apparently felt as an
epithet of Agni (TA comm *svargagamanaśīlāḥ*), but is scarcely to
be called anything but a corruption (Caland on ApŚ) Comm on
PB. understands *ajman* (for *ajman*) as a loc, but probably mis-
understands the intention of its text On *y* for *j* in PB. see Caland's
translation, xxv. The Conc should be corrected for this and
ṭyunaymi te prthivīm agnau sāha, and these interesting variants
added to VV 2 §192 Cf also Raghu Vira, *Kapīṣṭhala-Kaṭha-*
Samhitā, 5, Oertel 28

bṛhaspatim yajñam akrīnvata rṣim RV : *bṛhaspatir yajñam atanuta rṣih*
AV The same passage in both texts, dealing otherwise wholly
with Yama; the introduction of a statement about Brhaspati's
action is evidently a stupid blunder

yāns (TA. Poona ed. text and comm. *yās*) *te soma prānāns tām (tān, tān)* juhomi TA. MahānU. Either reading must intend approximately 'those breaths which are thine' Comm. on MahānU. supplies *patyāmi* as governing the acc. The nom. *yās* makes construction simpler (*prānāns* for *prānās* being then attracted to the following *tām*).

sam takṣā hanti cakrī vah (HG. *cakrīnah*) ApMB, HG. Obscure and likely to be corrupt in both forms. According to Oldenberg, HG would mean 'the carpenter hammers at (the chariots) that have wheels.' *cakrī*, if sound, would seem to be felt as an epithet of *takṣā*!

brahmānam (TB °na) *indrām vayodhasam* VS. TB. After *hotā yakṣad*, only acc seems construable Comm. on TB in fact takes *brahmānas* as acc. pl (agreeing with *dvāras* preceding)!—as if from *brahman*, with strong stem for weak.

manyum (AV *manyur*) *viśa īdate mānujūr yāh* (TB † *īdate devayantīh*) RV AV. MS. TB The nom. is carelessly repeated from the preceding half verse, where it occurs three times It is really unconstruable, as Whitney observes; comm. reads *manyum* Yet Ppp. has *manyur*, which seems to suggest that it is the actual reading of the Atharvan schools

purāṇān (TA °ṇā) *anu venati* RV. TA N. Comm. on TA *purāṇān devān* In fact neither a nom. pl masc nor a nom. or acc. pl fem. is construable.

narāśansena nagnahum (KS TB. °huh) VS MS. KS TB The form must be acc. in all Von Schroeder emends KS to °hum, TB. comm. keeps the form °huh but regards it as acc. neut.

parīdam vājy ajnam (PG °dam vājinam) *dadhe 'ham* (HG *ajnam dhatsvāsau*) ŚG PG HG ApMB Haplogy in PG. (VV 2 p. 362); *vājinam* not construable

bahuprajā nirṛtam (AV °ir) *ā viveśa* RV. AV N Whitney assumes an acc. in AV, but the passage is mystic nonsense and perhaps anything is possible Thus might be classed with 'case attraction' above, since apparently AV has made *nirṛt*-agree with *bahuprajā* *ā viveśāparājītām* (TA °iā) AV TA Only the acc. can be construed, so comm. on TA interprets the form, tho he reads °iā like both editions

tilvilāstām irāvatīm AG †. *tilvilā syād irāvatī* ApMB, and others, always with nom. Stenzler (note in transl. of AG p. 83) regards the acc. ending as certainly erroneous

- §407. In the rest there seems to be no genuine variant at all:
sindhum (MahānU. v. 1. *sindhur*) *na nāvā duritāti parṣi* RV. MS. TB.
 TA MahānU. The v. 1. is worthless; no nom could be construed.
havyam pārāvatebhyah AV. ŚŚ. So mss of AV.; R-Wh. emend wrongly
 to *havyah*.
pūṣaṇvān karambham MS. KS AB *karambhah* is read by Von Schroeder
 in MS by emendation, and the Conc quotes KS. as °*bhah*,
 erroneously All texts should read °*bham*.
śmāh kṛṇvanti śmyantah TS KSA Conc. quotes *śmām* for KSA ,
 this is a false reading of one ms, rejected in the ed.
tān sma mānuṣaṣṭkṛtāh AŚ: *ele nānuṣaṣṭkṛtāh* Vait. But all mss of
 Vait read *ca tāmsamānuṣaṣṭkṛtā(h)*; with Caland we should
 probably assume that they intend the AŚ. reading.
trptām juhur mātulasyeva yoṣā RVKh.† N† Conc reads *trptā* for
 RVKh, with Aufrecht, but see Scheftelowitz, p 87.
vāyavyah śvetah puche VS MS.: *vāyavyam śvetam* ApŚ. The latter
 should be deleted in the Conc ; it is no mantra but the beginning
 of a Brāhmana passage, TS. 2 1 1. 1
iṣamāṇa (ŚŚ °*nā*) *upasprśah* AV. ŚŚ Read in AV as in ŚŚ. (with
 mss, SPP, Whitney's Index; and see Bloomfield's note on 20.
 127 2).

CHAPTER XV

NOMINATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1. Instr of means or agent and subject nom

§408. The instrumental in one aspect expresses the means or instrument, or the agent, by which an action is performed. Naturally, therefore, it sometimes varies with the nominative as expressing the performer of the action. In its simplest form this change merely accompanies a shift between an active or transitive verb and a passive or intransitive one, as in:

ya im vahanta āśubhiḥ RV.; *yadī vahanty āśavaḥ SV.* 'Whoso travel by horses': 'when the horses carry (him)'
manyur akārṣin manyuh karoti .TAA : *manyunā kṛtaṁ manyuh karoti .BDh*

§409. It is not even necessary that the verb form should vary; once, at least, the same verb is taken as either passive or middle-deponent: *na karmaṇā lpyate pāpakena ŚB TB. BrhU BDh.*: *na karma lpyate nare VS. IśāU.* 'He is not stained by evil action': 'action does not stick to (stain) a man'

§410. A little different in psychology is the next group—all occurring in the same passage—in which the instr. of means varies with what would be, with the active voice, an acc of direct object, but becomes nom as subject of a passive verb:

antar dadhe parvatāḥ HG ApMB : *antarhūtā girayah ŚG* 'I interpose with mountains': 'mountains are interposed.'—In same context: *antar mahyā pṛthivyā HG.† ApMB †*, *antar dadha rībhiḥ, ahorā-trāś ca samdhībhiḥ (HG. "trāś susamdhībhiḥ)*; *ardhamāsāś ca māsaś ca*—all HG. ApMB : *antarhūtā pṛthivī mahī me; antarhūtā na ṛtāvah; ahorātrāś ca samdhīyāḥ; māsāś cārdhamāsāś ca*, all ŚG.

§411. More often there is no such change in the verb, whether in form or meaning. The variation in case may be said to signalize a lack of clear distinction between the concepts of agent and of instrument. 'Indra by his might has done so and so' is equivalent to 'Indra's might has done so and so'. In such religious literature as the Veda, where personification and apostrophe of inanimate things and qualities

are so common, such a shift is particularly easy; it would indeed not be difficult anywhere. It suggests a characteristic trait of Homeric diction (βίη Ἡρακλείη). But it is noteworthy that the possessive adjective, or genitive, or equivalent, which appears in such Homeric phrases, is rarely found among our variants, the first example is perhaps the only one.—Instead of the subject nom., the voc. of direct address is also found varying with the instr. in the same way, §354

pra te divo na stanayanti kuṣmāh (MS. °yanta kuṣmaiḥ) RV. TS. MS.

'Thy (Agni's) furies thunder like (the thunders) of heaven': 'they (sc. *gṛah*) have thundered to thee with furies like (those) of heaven.'

abhi stomair (RV.* SV.* *stomā*) *anūṣata* RV. SV. (both in each) AV.

VS 'Songs of praise shouted to thee': 'they shouted to thee with songs of praise'

vājasya mā prasavena (VS. ŚB. °vah) VS TS. KS MS ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

Followed by *udgrābhenod agrābhīt* (*ajigrabham*, etc.). 'He has (I have) exalted me (myself) with increase of strength, with exaltation': 'increase of strength has exalted me with exaltation'

tam tvābhūh suṣṭutibhir vājayantah RV.. *tam tvā gṛah suṣṭutayo vāja-*

yanti SV. 'Strengthening thee with these fair praises': 'songs of fair praise strengthen thee'

punantu manavo (RV. *vasavo*, VS KS. *manasā*) *dhiyā* (VS. KS. *dhiyah*)

RV AV. VS MS KS TB. 'Let men (*Vasus*) purify with prayer':

'let prayers purify with mind.' The change of *manavo* to *manasā* introduces a different word; but it is to be noted that it replaces the instr. *dhiyā*, and so in a way restores the original construction of the sentence.

abhi yo mahinā divam RV. AŚ : *abhīmam* (TS MŚ.† °māh, MS. MŚ.

v. l. °mān) *mahinā* (VS. °mā; delete MŚ v. l. in Conc.) *divam*

(MS *divah*) VS. TS. MS. TA ApŚ. MŚ. Followed by *mitro* (VS

vipro) *babhūva saprathāh*. 'The far-spreading Mitra has surpassed

this heaven (these heavens) by his majesty'; VS substitutes *vipro*

for *mitro* (phonetic shifts, VV 2 §§180, 235), and turns *mahinā* into

mahimā, nom.. 'the wise, far-spreading majesty has'

kṣatram agne (AV. *kṣatreṇāgne*) *suyamam astu tubhyam* AV. VS. TS.

MS KS. In AV. neither the pāda itself nor the context furnishes

a subject for *astu*. Apparently indefinite subject: 'by dominion,

Agni, let it be of easy control for thee.' The other reading is sup-

ported by Ppp and is much simpler, but for that reason perhaps

to be suspected of secondariness: 'let dominion, Agni, be of easy control for thee.'

śukro brhan dakṣinayā (TB. *brhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pīparlu* AV. TB 'Let the bright one, the mighty, endow [me] with the sacrificial fee': 'let the bright one, the mighty [comm, the *sāman*], (and) the sacrificial fee endow thee.' On this use of root *pr* see Bloomfield, *AJP.* 17. 408 ff (esp 409)

2. Associative instr and (collateral) subject or predicate nom.

§412. An associative instrumental attached to a noun in any other case might theoretically be replaced by a form in that other case. So we find such instr forms attached to a subject or predicate nom, varying with a nom as collateral subject or predicate. For the same variation with other cases than the nom see §§55-7 With the nom. this is particularly easy in constructions with words whose meaning suggests the instr, expressions of mingling, union, equality, comparison, or the like. Such words occur in most of the following variants:

ā dadhnaḥ kalaśair (ApMB. °śir, MG °śam) *aguh* (with varr) AV. AG ŚG PG HG. ApMB. MG Preceded by *ā vatso jagatā saha* Ppp. reads *ā dadhnaḥ kalaśaś ca yah*. The ApMB substitution has phonetic aspects (VV 2 §701), but Ppp. supports it in sense by reading a nom (Note, however, that the fem stem *kalaśi* is post-Vedic) 'They have come with pots of sour milk': '(they and) pots of sour milk have come' Knauer prints MG as *kalaśam airayam*, but the mss are clearly corrupt, the syllable *air* must conceal the true case-ending of *kalaśa* Read *kalaśair ayam*, as in Kāṭhaka G (see Caland's ed and note on this). In the same context-

emām paṛisrutah kumbhah AV : *enam paṛisrutah kumbhyā* ŚG : *ā tvā paṛisrutah* (°srutah, °srtah, *hīranmayah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °āh) AG PG. MG ApMB HG

yaśasā (ArS *yaśo*) *mā dyāvāprthivī* ArS PG MG The verb to be supplied is a form of *vid* 'find', from pāda c: *yaśo bhagaś ca mā vidat* (MG *riṣat*) PG. MG, *yaśo bhagasya vindatu* ArS ('let glory of fortune find [me]'; so correct rendering in VV 2 p. 98).—So, in same stanza, between these two pādas-

yaśasendrābhraspatī PG. MG : *yaśo mendrābhraspatī* ArS Cf. prec 'With glory let find (come to) me.' However, the dual forms might be taken as vocs, supplying a 2d person verb: 'with glory (come) to me, O . . .' (So Oldenberg on PG)

yavā (MS *yavar*) *na barhī bhruv kesarāni* VS MS KS TB 'The hairs on his eye-brow are like barley and sacred straw (like sacred straw with barley)'

- samā bhavantūdvaro* (TS °*vatā*) *npādāh* RV TS KS 'The heights and depths shall be equal': 'the depths shall be equal with the heights'
- teṣām iṣṭāni sam iṣā madanti* RV VS TS MS N.: *sam no, mahāni sam iṣo mahantām* KS A far-reaching reconstruction in the latter, it vaguely suggests the psychology of the variants in this section.
- satyā eṣām* (AG *etā*) *āśiṣah santu kāmāh* (ApMB HG. *santu kāmāh*; SMB Jorgensen *santu kāmāh*, v 1 *kāmāt*, AG *santu sarvāh*, VS *samnamantām*) VS. VSK AG SMB. Kauś ApMB HG 'Let their prayers, their desires, come true': 'let their prayers with their desires (or perhaps, according to their desires' of the v 1 *kāmāt*) come true'
- ādityas* (ApMB °*yas*) *te vasubhir ā dadhātu* HG ApMB. Preceded by *indro marudbhir rtudhā* (HG *iha te*) *kṛnotu* (HG. *dadhātu*) 'Indra with the Maruts, Āditya with the Vasus': 'Indra with the Maruts with the Ādityas, with the Vasus'.
- sam revatīr jagatībhiḥ prcyaṇtām* VS ŚB ŚŚ: *sam revatīr jagatībhir* (VSK °*bhiḥ sam*) *madhumatīr madhumatībhiḥ srjyadhvam* (VSK *prcyaṇtām*) TS VSK TB: *sam revatīr jagatīh* MŚ The latter belongs to the same context as the others, but the verb of mingling is postponed to the next pāda (*śvāh śvābhiḥ sam asṛkṣatāpāh*), and the original instr. which was paired with *revatīr* is made into a supplementary subject
- tan mṛtyunā nṛtīh samvidānā* AV · *tan mṛtyur nṛtyā samvidānah* TB. Here nom. and instr. change places, without real change of meaning 'Destruction in unison with death': 'death in unison with destruction'
- tām viśvair devair* (KS *viśve devā*) *rtubhiḥ samvidānah* (KS. °*nāh*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ Followed by *prajāpatīr viśvalarmā vimuñcatu* (ApŚ *yunaktu*) KS turns the original complementary instr. (dependent on *samvidānah*) into a collateral subject of the verb in the next pāda
- śukrah śukraśociṣā* VS. TS. KS. ŚB TB ApŚ. *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MŚ. 'The bright with the bright-shining one': 'the two bright, bright-shining ones'
- tayor* (TS TB *tasyām*, MŚ *yasyām*, v. 1 *asyām*) *devā adhīsamvasantah* (MŚ *abhisamvśantah*) TS TB ApŚ. MŚ: *tasyām devair samvasanto mahatvā* AV In AV. the following verb is *madema*, in the rest *mādayantām* or °*yadhvam* 'The gods, dwelling together': 'may we, dwelling together with the gods'
- parīmam yajamānam manuṣyāh saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajāyā ca vyayantām*

MS : *parimam rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāh* TS The associative instr is pointed with *saha* See §§402 etc
indrāghoṣas (MS KS. °ṣās) *tvā vasubhīh purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavaḥ pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhīh pāntu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB : *indrāghoṣā vo vasubhīh purastād upadadhatām* TA. Followed by the next two, q v
manojavās tvā pīṭrbhīr (KS *pītarō*) *dakṣīnatah pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS KS ŚB : *pītaras tvā manojavā dakṣīnatah pāntu* MS . *manojavaso vah pīṭrbhīr dakṣīnata upadadhatām* TA See next
pracetās tvā rudraḥ paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB : *rudrās tvā pracetasaḥ paścāt pāntu* MS : *pracetā vo rudraḥ paścād upadadhatām* TA This and the two preceding all occur in the same passage, which also contains a fourth phrase (*viśvakarmā tvādityair*) in which all texts have the instr When a nom is substituted for the instr (as twice in KS and twice in MS) it may be felt as a second subject, so belonging in this group Yet it is at least as likely to be felt as sole subject, modified by the word (*indrāghoṣās* etc) which in the other version is the substantive subject, but here may be felt as an adjective

3 Instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr) and nom of bahuvrīhis

§413. Occasionally we find the same compound stem used now as an instr (a karmadhārayā), and again in the nom as a bahuvrīhi, an adjective epithet of the subject The instr seems generally to be felt as associative, tho this shades over into the instr of means In general psychology this group is similar to the preceding one Sometimes the instr occurs in separate, uncompounded forms

aśvānām sadhastuḥ (TB °*tiḥ*) RV TB The verse reads *ye me pañcāśatam dadur, aśv° sadh°, dyumad agne mahi śravo, brhāt kṛdhi maghōnām, nṛvad amṛta nṛnām* 'Who have given me 500 horses, of (these) patrons do thou, Agni, with joint praise (TB having joint praise), make great the fame' etc

dame-dame suṣṭutir (AV KS °*tyā*, TS °*tir*, MS °*ti*) *vām vyānā* (TS MS KS *vāvr̥dhānā*, AV °*nau*) AV TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ If MS intends nom dual, its variation with AV. KS is like the foregoing: 'having good praises' or 'along with good praise' But *suṣṭutir* may be taken also as instr TS makes the form acc. pl depending on the pple, and AŚ ŚŚ are hopelessly corrupt

tam tvā bhrātaraḥ suvr̥dhā (ApMB °*dho*, HG *suhṛdo*) *vardhamānam* AV ApMB HG The following verb is *anu jayantām* AV . 'after

thee, growing with good growth, may brothers be born.' ApMB : 'after thee, growing, may brothers be born whose growth is good' Even closer to the preceding cases would this variant be if *svyrdhā* were taken with the following verb rather than with the participle; but the order seems against this.

prāno agnih paramātmā pañcavāyubhir āvṛtaḥ PrānāgU.: *prāno 'gnih paramātmā vai pañcavāyuh samāśṛitaḥ* MU. 'The Paramātman is surrounded by the five breaths': ' . has entered in with (or, perhaps, as) the five breaths' Here the psychology is a little different; the instr. seems clearly one of means

vi yo mame rajasi sukratūyayā RV : *vi yō rajānsy amimīla sukratuh* RV. Here a different but related word (with abstract suffix) is used in the karmadhāraya

tripād ūrdhva ud atī puruṣaḥ RV ArS VS TA : *tribhīḥ padbhīr dyām arohaṭ* AV. Here two separate words are used instead of the karmadhāraya compound

4 Nom and instr of part dedicated in offering

§414. In the long list of dedicatory formulas used in presenting parts of the horse's body to various deities in the *Aśvamedha*, we find a number of times variation between instr of the part dedicated (and acc of the deity), on the one hand (with verb of 'gratifying' understood), and on the other hand nom. of the part dedicated and gen or dat of the deity (with copula 'understood'). Cf §126 on the various types of dedicatory formulas We shall not record a complete list here; others will be found in the same vicinity:

pūṣaṇam vaniṣṭhunā VS MS. ('Pūṣan [we gratify] with the *van*^o): *pūṣno vaniṣṭhuk* TS. KSA ('the *van*^o is for Pūṣan') —Similarly: *andhākān* ('he, ^oheh') *sthūlagudayā* (*sthūra*^o, *gudā*), and others, same texts

5 Transfer of epithet

§415. As usual we find in a number of cases that the shift between nom and instr is due to the transfer of an epithet from one person or thing to another In most cases there is a variation in number or gender as well as case, we quote first those in which case alone varies: *svāveśayā* (VS. ŚB. ^oveśa) *tanvā samviśasva* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. In VS.

ŚB the adjective, if as we believe (cf §174) it is nom., agrees with the subject (*iṣṭakā*), in MS KS with *tanvā*.

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV. VS TB : *prātaryāvabhīr adhware* SV. Pre-

ceded by: *śrudhi śrutkarṇa vahnūbhir, devair agne sayāvabhīh, ā śīdantu* (SV. *śīdatu*) *barhiṣi mitro* (TB. adds *varuṇo*) *aryamā* In the original *prātar*^o agrees with the subject; in SV. it becomes an associative instr. attached to the subject, doubtless influenced by the instrumentals in the preceding.

nuttāś carṣaṇīdhṛtāh SV : *anuttā carṣaṇīdhṛtā* RV. In RV. *carṣaṇīdhṛtā* is an epithet of doubtful reference (cf. Oldenberg, *Nolen*, 1 p 162, n 1), in SV. it is transferred to the subject (*tvam* = Indra).

§416. In the rest there is variation in number or gender or both, as well as case:

paro devebhīr (MS °*bhyo*) *asurair* (MS. °*ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asurair guhā yat*) RV. TS MS KS. Preceded by *paro divā para enā prthivya*, except in MS. which has *paro divah para enā prthivyāh* (abls for instrs); MS. makes *devebhīr* over into *devebhyo* in accord with this, and since the meter does not permit *asurebhyo*, it transfers this word to the subject *yad*

ghnanto (MS ApŚ *ghnatā*) *vṛtrāṇy apratī* AV. MS KS TS ApŚ. Nom goes with subject *vayam*, instr. with associative *indrena indrena sayujō* (AV. °*jā*) *vayam* AV TS. ApŚ 'We allied with Indra': 'we with Indra as ally.'

indrena devīr (MŚ *devair*) *vīrudhah saṁvidānāh* TS MŚ.

ta ā vahanti (MS *tayā vahante* [so p p]) *kavayah purastāt* TS MS TB : *tad āharanti kavayah purastāt* KS In MS *tayā* by attraction to preceding *svadhayā*, cf. VV 2 §342

udyan bhrājabhṛṣṭābhir (PG °*bhrṣṭir*) *īndro marudbhīr asthāt* SMB. PG GG.

śuddha (SV *śuddhair*) *āśtrvān mamattu* RV. SV. Preceded by *śuddhair ukthair vāṛdhvānsam*, to these instr forms the SV. has assimilated *śuddha(h)* of RV.

aganma mahā (KS. *maha*) *namasā yaviṣṭham* RV SV. MS KS AB KB TB ApŚ AŚ ŚŚ We have come with mighty homage (KS mighty with homage) unto the youngest (Agni) KS apparently understands a nom pl with its *mahā*

abhikhyā bhāsā brhatā suśukvanāh RV · *dr̥śe* (MS *dr̥śā*) *ca bhāsā brhatā suśukvanāh* (KS. °*vabhīh*, MS *suśikmanā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB In MS *su*^o is made an epithet of *bhāsā* In KS. too the epithet no longer agrees with the subject (Agn). It is perhaps made coordinate with *bhāsā*, or possibly it is meant to agree with *suśastibhīh* in the following pāda (but in that case the form would be irregular since the latter word is fem)

ayasā manasā dhṛtaḥ ApŚ. ApMB HG.: *ayāsā manasā* (AŚ. *vayasā*) *krtaḥ* AŚ ŚŚ Kauś. : *ayā san*† (MS. *ayāḥ san*, KS. *ayās san*, ms. *ayāsā*) *manasā hitaḥ* (MS *krtaḥ*, p p. and KS. *krtaḥ*) MS. KS. TB ApŚ ApMB. HG Followed by:

ayasā havyam ūhiṣe ApŚ ApMB. HG.: *ayā san* (MS ŚŚ. *ayāḥ san*, KS *ayās san*, Kauś. *ayāsyam*) *havyam ūhiṣe* MS KS. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. Kauś ApMB. HG.: *ayā no yajñam vahāsi* KŚ. In the first of these two pādas, the instrs. are transferred to *manasā* from agreement with the subject (Agni); in the second they are attracted to the like construction by the preceding *ayasā*.

uruvyacasō dhāmnā pātyamānāḥ VS TS. MS. KS : *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā pātyamāne* AV. The AV. version is corrupt; by a false verse division *uru*^o (originally epithet of the divine doors, *dvārah*) is transferred to *dhāmnā*. Ppp. agrees with the others

pāvakayā yaś (TS. *pāvaka ā*) *catayantyaḥ kṛpā* RV. VS TS MS. KS ŚB. The nom. in TS. is really due to phonetic alteration; cf. Oldenberg, *Prol* 453, and VV 2 §343 But it is construable in agreement with the unexpressed subject of the verb *ruruce*.

saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV AV. SV. N : *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣāḥ* (MS. *avikṛutāḥ*) AV. MS. The instr. goes with a preceding *indrena*, the nom with the *gāvaḥ* who are addressed. But the contexts are quite different, and the pādas in their original forms probably unrelated. We take it that AV. has a contamination of the MS. pāda with that of RV etc.

§417. The following cases are also classed as 'transfers of epithet' as explained in §§15-6 They show in one form a true 'epithet', in the other sometimes a form of the same, sometimes a different word, not properly an epithet of anything but independently construed:

acutibhṛś cakṛmā yac cid āgah RV. MS KS : *avidvānsaś cakṛmā kac canāgah* TS

apa dṛuhā (AV. *druhṣ*) *tanvam gūhamānā* RV. AV. The instr. of manner, virtually an adverb, of RV. becomes in AV. an epithet of the subject, a she-demon.

harṣamānāso dhṛṣṭā (TB. *dhṛṣṭā*) *marutvaḥ* RV. TB N : *harṣamānā hṛṣṭāso marutvan* AV. In TB. the orig. nom epithet becomes an adverbial instr. of a different but related stem.

indrādhipatīḥ (MS KS. *°patyāḥ*) *pipṛtād ato naḥ* TS. MS. KS. AŚ 'O Indra, as overlord (with thy overlordship) . '

vaiśvānarah pavayān naḥ pavitraiḥ TA.: *vaiśvānarah pavitā mā 'punātu* AV The TA reading seems to be intended by Ppp. (Whitney on 6 119 3). 'May V. with purifiers (V the purifier) purify us (me).'

yena prajā (MS *ya imāh prajā*) *vśvakarmā jajāna* (TS *vyānāt*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB. In MS. *yah* goes with *vśvakarmā* The original 'by which V produced creatures'

yenaḥ bhūtas tiṣṭhaty (MahānU MundU *bhūtais tiṣṭhate hy*) *antarātmā* TA MahānU. MundU (2 1 9) Deussen reads *bhūtas* in MahānU. but observes that a v 1 has *bhūtais* and that this is a better reading The nom is secondary and attracted to *antarātmā* See also Deussen's note on the MundU passage

tenā (TS. *sā*) *no yajñam pipṛha mśvavāre* AV. TS Nom is secondary. *candro* (SV *candrār*) *yāti sabhām upa* RV SV Preceded by *śvātra-bhājā vajasā sacate sadā* Apparently under the influence of the preceding instrumentals, tho not in agreement therewith, the nom is changed into an associative instr The 'shining ones' are soma-drops according to Benfey.

priyah kavīnām matī (SV *matih*) RV SV In RV *matī* is instr 'by the hymn of the seers' In SV it is anomalously made into an epithet of *indu*

sūyavasiniṁ manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA *daśasye*, TS MS KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA The original *daśasyā* is instr of stem *daśasyā*, 'benevolently' TA's *daśasye* seems, like *yaśasye*, to be dual nom fem agreeing with the subject

6 Nom of independent sentence and instr

§418. Twice a dependent instr of one form of the variant is paralleled in the other form by an independent sentence, with nom, which is however resumed by a pronominal instr in the same construction as the nominal instr of the variant form See §33:

gavā te krīṇāmi TS ApŚ : *nyam gaus tayā te krīṇāmi* MŚ 'With a cow let me buy of thee' 'here is a cow, with her'

etat te rudrāvasam tena (VSK † *etena rudrāvasena*) *paro mūjavato 'tīh* VS VSK ŚB 'This is thy food, O Rudra; with it depart' 'with this food, O Rudra, depart'

7 Miscellaneous

§419. The remaining nom-instr variants are scarcely classifiable They mostly involve various reconstructions of the material, in sense at least, and usually in form, extending far beyond the mere change in case-form

vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (AV MS † *sūrih*, KS † *sūrah*, TS. ŚvetU *sūrah*) RV AV

- VS TS MS KS. ŚB. ŚvetU. In RV VS. ŚB *pathyā* may be taken as nom, with Grassmann and Oldenberg: 'as the path of the suri'. In all the others, at any rate, we have an instr.: 'like the lord on his path'. Cf. §284.
- gaṇair mā mā vi tīrṣata* MS : *gaṇā me mā vi tīrṣan* VS. TS. ŚB.: *ganān me mā vi tīrṣah* (MŚ °ṣat) TS MŚ See §§380, 459.
- jajñānam* (SV. °nah) *sapta mātaraḥ* (SV *mātrbhūh*) RV. SV. Followed by *vedhām aśāsata* (SV. *medhām āśā°*) *brūye*. 'The seven mothers instructed their holy child unto fortune': 'the child of seven mothers prayed to the wise one unto fortune'
- yajñam hinvanti adribhūh* RV *yajñāya santu adrayaḥ* SV. Preceded by *tam duroṣam abhī narah, somam viśvācyā dhūyā* In RV *narah* is subject of *hinvanti* and *somam* its object In SV. it seems that *narah* must be taken with Benfey as voc, with no verb expressed, and that *pāda c* must be completely detached from the preceding *tan nau samvānanam kṛtam* MG : *tena samvānināu svake* HG 'That concord has been made for us': 'thereby we are concordant'
- taṃ devāḥ sutam ā babhūvuh* TS KSA. TB : *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS MS 'Therewith the gods mastered the libation': 'it is present for us at this libation.' See Keith on TS 4. 1 2 1, n-6
- prthivīm bhasmanāprna* (MS. KS. *bhasma*) *svāhā* VS MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ. 'Fill the earth with (thy) ashes.' In MS KS. *sc gachatu*: 'let (thy) ashes (go) to earth.'
- ya indreṇa saratham yāti devaḥ* AV.: *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ
- maṇḍūkya su sam gamah* (TA *gamaya*) RV.† TA.: *maṇḍūky apsu sam bhuvah* AV. (corrupt)
- āptam manah* TS MS KS TB MŚ. ApŚ.: *āpāma manasā* VS ŚB. 'Mind has been obtained': 'may we obtain by mind'. Ritualistic rigmarole
- ārohātmaṭmānam* (MŚ *ārohātmanātmānam*) *achā* TB. AŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'Mount as self (with thy self) upon (my) self.' TB. Bibl. Ind. reads *ārohātyātmānam*, text and comm.; Poona ed. like the others. *mūrā* (SV *mūrāv*) *amūram purām darmāṇam* RV. SV. Benfey: 'den durch Thoren unbethörten'. Obscure.
- tam devās sam acikṣan* KS.: *tām devāḥ sam ajāgamam* TS The sense is radically altered 'Him the gods have fashioned': 'her I have united with the gods.' Both preceded by *aṅgāny ahṛutā yasya* (TS *yasyai*).
- sam indro viśvadevebhīr aṅktām* VS. ŚB.: *sam indreṇa viśvebhīr devebhīr aṅktām* TB. ApŚ In the latter the barhis is the subject

sam aryamā sam bhago no ninīyāt RV ApMB . *sam bhagena sam aryamnā* (followed by *sam dhātā sṛjatu varcasā*) AV See Whitney on AV. 14.1.34, which doubtless understands *bhagena* and *aryamnā* as parallel with *varcasā*

kālena bhūtam bhavyam ca AV *kāle ha bhūtam bhavyam ca* AV vulgate, but by emend for *kālo* of most mss, kept by SPP *kālena* of the other form is also an emendation for *kāle ha*, which SPP keeps. This last emendation seems justified and is supported by Ppp (JAOS 46.37f). In the other, while the loc would be possible, there seems no reason to reject the well attested nom form, which is adopted by Bloomfield and Whitney. The contexts are different tho related (found in the same hymn), and the variant could be called 'Phrase Inflection'

[*krānā* (SV *prānā*, AV *prānah*) *sindhūnām kalaśān avīvaśat* (SV AV *acikradat*) RV. SV AV *krānā* is problematic; Oldenberg takes it with Lanman as instr, see RVRep 136 for a different view. In SV we have a phonetic shift (VV 2 §152) which defies interpretation; in AV an attempt at rationalization of SV, which is grammatical ('the breath of the rivers has made the jars resound') but silly.]

CHAPTER XVI

NOMINATIVE AND DATIVE

1 Dative of purpose varying with nominative

§420. Since the dative of purpose often denotes something attributed to or desired for the logical subject of the sentence, it may vary with a nominative form, of the same or a related word. This nominative may be an epithet of the entity to which the dative of purpose relates, as in: *mandrā dhanasya sātaye* (KS. °yah) TS MS. KS TB. KŚ MŚ ŚG

Waters are referred to 'Fair ones, unto the winning of wealth': 'fair winnings of wealth'. All mss of KS. agree on the form

pade-pade pāśinah santi setavah (AV. °ve) RV. AV KS. ApŚ. 'On every spot are snare-bearing bonds (snare-bearers for a bond).'

agner apunann usīyo amṛtyavah RV.: *agner akṛṇvann usīyo amṛtyave* MS : *devā akṛṇvann usīyo amṛtyave* ApŚ In RV. *amṛtyavah* is adj., 'immortal ones', agreeing with the subject; in MS a noun, 'unto immortality', meaning about the same thing ApŚ doubtless intends the same meaning as MS ; cf. VV 2 §650.

prajāvatīr (MŚ °varīr, v 1 °vatīr) *yaśaso* (MŚ. °se) *viśvarūpāḥ* TB ApŚ. MŚ In TB ApŚ *yaśaso* is adjective: 'here come the cows) with many calves, renowned, varied in appearance.' In MŚ. *yaśase* is evidently the noun, 'unto renown', the ultimate meaning is substantially the same

āgyam uktham avyathāyai (TS *avyathayat*, KS *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS °notu) VS TS. MS KS ŚB Comm on TS. *tvām avyathayad vyathārahitam kurvat*, which is practically the meaning of the datives of purpose of the other texts—The same with *prāṅgam uktham, marutvatīyam u°, nṣkevalyam u°, vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe* aso *yathā no 'vītā vṛdhe ca* (SV *vṛdhaś cat*) RV. SV. 'That thou mayst be our helper, and for (our) increase', RV. In SV. the dat of purpose becomes a nom of a nomen agentis, being assimilated to *avītā* ' and (mayst be our) increaser.'

ayam sahasram ā no dṛṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharmani AV.: *ayam sahasram ānavo* (Benfey and Caland assume *sahasramānavo*) *dṛśah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ °mā) SV. ApŚ MŚ Comm.

on SV takes *dr̥śah* as nom (= *draṣṭā*), 'seer' or 'eye'. If this be accepted the variant would belong here, *dr̥śe* is a dat (infinitive). But Caland apparently assumes an infinitive as meant in ApŚ. (perhaps abl-gen in form?).

sajātānām madhyamesthā edhī (AV *madhyameṣṭhāh*, MS KS *madhyameṣṭheyāya*) AV VS TS. MS KS : *sajātānām madhyameṣṭhā yathāsānī* AV.

§421. Slightly different are a couple of cases in which the nom form of the variant is the subject of an independent statement attributing the quality denoted to the person referred to:

tava praśastayo mahīh (SV *praśastaye mahe*) RV. SV Preceded by *tam tvā madāya ghr̥ṣvaye, u lokakṛtnum imāhe*. In RV our pāda is an independent statement: 'great are thy praisings' In SV, it is assimilated to the datives of pāda a: 'unto great praising of thee' *rāyaspoṣā* (MŚ °*poṣāya*) *yajamānam viśantu* KS ApŚ MŚ Preceded by *imām devā ajuṣanta viśve* 'Let increase of wealth dwell with the sacrificer' In MŚ the subject *devāh* of the preceding clause holds over: 'let them (the gods) dwell with the sacrificer unto increase of wealth' The psychological difference between such variants and those of the preceding paragraph is slight, since the gods are logically the subject even in the reading of KS ApŚ; it is thru them that the desired result is expected Cf *rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām*, in a similar context, for which one ms of MŚ also reads *rāyaspoṣāya* Such variants remind us of the quite similar use of the associative instrumental in variation with the nominative, §412.

ā yāhīma indavah RV. AŚ : *ā yāhy ayam indave* SV. This clearly belongs here, even tho the dative of SV may not be quite properly described as one of purpose. 'Come! Here are the soma-drops': 'come, thou here, to (for) the soma.'

§422. We may record here a variant in which the logical object of an infinitive is in the original version nom, subject of a nominal clause (copula 'understood'), while in the secondary version it is assimilated to the dative infinitive, in accordance with familiar usage (cf Delbrück, AIS. 89, where it is suggested that 'case-attraction' does not properly describe this dative):

mayah patibhyo janayah (AV. °*ye*) *pariṣvaje* RV. AV. ApMB. 'A joy to husbands (are) wives to embrace': 'a joy to husbands (it is) to embrace a wife'

§423. In the only other variant involving this dative 'object' of a dative infinitive, the nominative form is attracted to agreement with a preceding nominative (in a relative clause):

brahmadvīṣe (RV. also *°dvīṣah*) *śarave hanlavā u* RV. (both) AV. The nom form is preceded by *tapurmūrdhā tapatu rakṣaso* *yc.* 'may he whose head is flame burn those (that are) brahman-hating ogres, so that his arrow may slay (them)' See *RVRep* on 10 125. 6.

2 Dative varies with nom of secondary adjective in dedications

§424. In dedicatory expressions (cf §126), the deity may be expressed either by the dative or by the nominative of a secondary adjective, these variants resemble some of those quoted above in §420, except that the dative is not one of purpose:

kapota (MS *°tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyai* (TA KSA. *nairṛtāh*) VS. TS MS KSA 'These are for Nirṛti (Nirṛti's)'

vāyusavitr̥bhyām āgomugbhyām payah MS : *vāyosāmtra āgo° caruh* TS. KSA P p of TS *vāyosāmtrah* On the formation see VV 2 §716.

ātīr (TS KSA *āti*) *vāhaso darvidā te vāyave* (TS. KSA. *vāyavyāh*) VS. TS MS KSA

3 Dative varying with nominative of independent statement

§425. Like other cases (cf §§32-8), a dative may be replaced by a nominative of independent statement, or vice versa:

tasmā etam bharata tadvaśāya (and, *tadvaśo dadāh*) RV. (both). 'Bring this to him who desires it': 'bring this to him—he desires it and is generous'

§426. Elsewhere the independent nominative is thrown into a relative clause, and is resumed by a dative of a demonstrative pronoun in the main clause—

agninetrebhyo devebhyah purahsadbhyah svāhā VS ŚB.: *ye devā agninetrah purahsadas tebhyah svāhā* VS ŚB : *ye devāh purahsado agninetrah* (KS. 'gn̥²) *rakṣoḥaṇas tebhyah svāhā* MS KS : *ye devāh purahsado 'gninetrah tebhyo namas tebhyah svāhā* TS Others similar (VS 9 35-6, MS. 2 6 3, KS. 15 2)

namo vah pīlaro ghorāya (VSK. adds *manyave*) VS VSK. TS. TB AŚ ŚŚ SMB GG. KhG : *namo vah pīlaro yad ghoram tasmāi* AV. MS. And, in same passage. *namo vah pīlaro jīvāya* VS TS. KS. TB AŚ ŚŚ. SMB GG. KhG.. *namo vah pīlaro yaj jīvam tasmāi* VSK. MS Note the difference in phraseology in VSK.

4 Phrase inflection

§427. There are a few cases of repetition of a whole clause or pāda in a different context, requiring shift of case between nom and dat, in short, of what we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2):

patir (VS ŚB *patye*) *viśvasya bhūmanah* RV SV VS KS ŚB Followed in RV SV KS by *vy akhyad rodasī ubhe*, in VS. ŚB by *juhomi viśvakarmaṇe*

sahasrākṣāyāmartya AV : *sahasrākṣo amartyah* AV Preceded respectively by *namas te rudra kṛnamah*, and *anyatrāsman ny ucyatu*

prācī diḡ agnir adhipatir asito rakṣitādityā iva AV. : *prācyai tvā dīṣe 'gnaye 'dhipataye 'stāya rakṣitra ādityāyeṣumate* AV. The first is followed by *tebhyo namo 'dhipatibhyas* etc, the second by *etam pari dadmah* Similar variants in the five following verses; see Conc under *dakṣiṇāyai tvā*, *prācyai tvā*, *udīcyai tvā*, *dhruvāyai tvā*, *ūrdhvāyai tvā*.

janāya vṛktabarhiṣe RV : *janāso vṛktabarhiṣah* RV. Different contexts *stotāra indra girvanah* RV SV.. *stotṛbhya indra girvanah* RV. The nom is preceded by *vayam ghā te api śmasi*, the dat by *yad dītsasi stuto magham*

5 Transfer of epithet

§428. The general nature of such variants differs in no wise from those concerning other cases (§14) We quote first those which show shift in case alone, not in number or gender. But it must be noted that not one of them is quite strictly a case of typical 'transfer of epithet' In the first three an original dative of independent construction, not an 'epithet' of any other word, is attracted into agreement with the subject in a secondary text In the fourth the dative (probably secondary) also does not agree syntactically with any expressed noun or pronoun Cf §15.

tasmā u brahmaṇas patih RV. KS : *ayam ca brahmaṇas patih* AV. VS TS MS KS TB. ApŚ Preceded by *tasmai somo (devā) adhi bravat (bruvan)* The pronoun is transferred from the recipient of blessing to the god: 'And him (may) Brahmanaspati (bless)': 'and (may) B. here (bless him)'

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. **patih*, KB ŚŚ **pateh*, TB **patyuh*) TS MS KB. GB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ In all preceded by *juṣṭo vāco (vāce) bhūyāsam* 'May I be pleasing to speech, pleasing to the lord of speech': in MS, 'may I be pleasing to speech, (may I be) a pleasing lord of speech'

vyam te rāṇ mitrāya (KS *mitro*) *yantāsi* *ṛyamanah* VS. KS ŚB. 'Thou art a guiding controller for thy friend (KS, a guiding friendly controller).' We suspect that KS is secondary, since it has what looks like form-assimilation to the following noms.

pitarah pitāmāhāḥ pare 'vare (KS *'varebhyas*) *te nah pāntu* (MS. omits *te nah p'*) *te no 'vantu* TS MS KS 'Let the fathers . the earlier and the later, guard us ' In KS. *avarebhyas* is made to refer to the petitioners. 'Let the fathers, the earlier ones, for (us) the later ones, guard us ' Note however that we should expect an acc agreeing with the following *nah*

§429. Transfers of epithet involving change of gender or number as well as case are:

suprāṇye (AV. *'vyā*) *yajamānāya sunvate* RV AV Preceded by *aham dadhāmi dravinam* (AV *'nā*) *haviṣmate* RV. makes *su°* go with *yaja° sunvate*: 'I (Vāc) give riches to the giver of oblations, to the zealous sacrificer who presses the soma' Whitney adopts the RV reading following the AV comm and one ms., but notes that AVPr. 4. 11 proves that the Atharvan reading was *suprāṇyā* It may be taken either as acc pl neut with *dravnā*, or better as nom sg fem with the subject In any case it must be derived not from the stem *suprāvī* but from its equivalent *suprāṇyā* (RV.).

ūrṇamradā yuvatīr (AV. *'mrādāḥ prthivī*) *dakṣiṇāvate* (TA *'vatī*) RV AV. TA 'The maiden (earth, this is what RV. TA also mean) soft as wool to him that gives *dakṣiṇā*', in TA. the epithet 'possessed of *dakṣiṇā*' is applied to the earth, doubtless implying 'bounteous' *vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī* (ArS *'se*) *śuciḥ* RV ArS In ArS the epithet is transferred from *matir* to *vaiśvā°*.

te asmā (KS. *'smā*) *agnaye* (ApŚ and v. 1 of MS *'yo*) *dravnam* (KS *'nāni*) *dativā* MS. KS ApŚ 'They, giving wealth to this Agni': 'these Agnis, giving wealth to him (the sacrificer)' The subject *te* refers to Agnis just mentioned, hence the secondary *agnayo* by attraction.

nābhā samdāyi navyasī (SV. *'dāya navyase*) RV SV Preceded by *yad dha krāṇā vvasvati* (SV. *'te*) In RV. *navyasī* agrees with the subject of *samdāyi*. (Oldenberg understands *nābhīḥ*), in SV. with *vvasvate*. The stanza is somewhat problematic in both.

§430. Only one form of the variant shows a proper 'epithet' in the following; in the other appears a word of independent construction (in one case with change of meaning, a nomen actionis instead of an adjective). Cf. §15

āre te goghnām uta pūruṣaḡhnām RV . *ārūt te goghna uta pūruṣaḡhne* TS
See under *kṣayadvīra* (TS °vīrāya) *sumnam asme te astu* (which follows this), §359 'Far off be thy cattle-killing, and thy man-killing' (RV.). In TS the nomina actionis are made adjectives going with *te* (Rudra)

rāyas poṣam cikituṣe (AV °ṣi) *dadhātu* (ŚŚ. *dadātu*) AV. TS MS KS ŚŚ. 'Let her (Kuhū), the wise, grant increase of wealth': 'let her grant to the wise' Possibly the dative is secondarily attracted into parallelism with *dāsuṣe* of the preceding pāda (in Ppp and all others but not in AVŚ, which has a quite different pāda c)

rātri (KS v. 1 *rātrih*, TB *rātri*) *stomam na jigyuṣe* (KS † TB °ṣi) RV KS TB The epithet (in RV referring to some unspecified 'conqueror') is transferred to Night

6 Miscellaneous

§431. The remaining nominative-dative variants are unclassifiable.
ādityās (MS °yebhyas) *tvā prabr̥hantu* (MS *pravṛhāmi*) *jāgatenā chandāsā* TS. MS 'Let the Ādityas pluck thee forth': 'I pluck thee forth for the Ādityas'

yathānam jarase nayāt AV.: *athānam jarimā nayet* HG The latter is evidently poor; perhaps 'then may old age lead him'? Or is it felt as *jarim ānayet*, as if involving a stem **jar-*? Note lingual *n* in *nayet*!

īyam (AV MS *yā*) *teṣām avayā durīṣṭyai* (AV MS *durīṣṭih*) AV TS MS Followed by *sviṣṭm nas tām* (AV. wrongly *tām*) *kr̥notu* (AV *kr̥navad*) *viśvakarmā* (MS *vi° kr̥notu*) Ppp has *yā durīṣṭā*, *sviṣṭam tad vi° kr̥* TS: 'this is their expiatory sacrifice for a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it for us a perfect sacrifice' AV MS could apparently only mean 'that expiatory sacrifice of theirs which is a vitiated sacrifice, may V make it' This does not fit the requirements, it seems to be due to some sort of misunderstanding or corruption Whitney emends to *durīṣṭeh* Ppp *durīṣṭā* might be interpreted as a loc. of *durīṣṭi*, 'in case of an imperfect sacrifice', conceivably this might have been the middle stage which (misunderstood as nom sg fem of *durīṣṭā*) led to the further change to *durīṣṭih*.

yathā pr̥thivyām agnaye samanāman evā mahyam samnamah sam namantu AV . *yathāgnih pr̥thivyā samanāmad evam mahyam bhadrāh samnatayah samnamantu* TS KS † 5 20 And others in the same passage

vāk patamgāya dhīyate (TS *śīśriye*, MS. *hūyate*) RV. AV. SV. ArS VS.

TS MS. ŚB · *vāk patamgo aśīśriyat* (KS. °*gā aśīśrayuh*) AV. KS.

The verse is desperately obscure, we can contribute nothing to its elucidation

eka eva rudro 'va tasthe na dvitīyah N.. eka eva rudro (ŚvetU. *eko hi ru°*,

ŚirasU *eko ru°*) *na dvitīyāya tasthe* (ŚvetU. *tasthuh*, ŚirasU *tasmai*,

but Poona ed. with comm *tasthau*) TS. ApŚ ŚvetU ŚirasU In

N 'one only is Rudra, there is no second existent', in the others,

'one is Rudra, he does not (or they, indefinite, do not) tolerate

('stand for', Hume) a second' Add to VV 1 §§76, 359

[*kanyakumārya*] (TA. °*māri*, Poona ed. °*māri*) *dhīmahi* TA. MahānU.

See §361]

[*jyēṣṭhāya* (ŚŚ *jyēṣṭho*) *yad apracetāh* AV. ŚŚ. But AV. mss. *jyēṣṭho*]

CHAPTER XVII

NOMINATIVE AND ABLATIVE OR GENITIVE

A Nominative and ablative

1. Ablative of source and subject nominative (passive : active)

§432. Variations between these two cases are few and scattering. Rarely do they fall into typical pattern-groups, and yet more rarely do they illustrate typical syntactic relations of the two cases. In the following an ablative of source with passive forms of the root *jan* 'beget, bear' varies with subject nominative of an active form of the same root. The two expressions are virtual equivalents, and the variation is of the same sort as the much commoner shift between instrumental and nominative with passive and active verbs (cf §40).

ayam var tvām ajanayad ŚS : *asmād var tvām ajāyathā*. JB AG
Kauś : *asmāt tvam adhi jāto 'si* VS ŚB TA KŚ Karmap. 'He has begotten thee': 'thou wast produced from him'

2 Independent nominative and dependent ablative

§433. The variants found here belong to §§32-8. In the first the relative pronoun justifies construction of the nom. as independent, tho it is really equivalent in sense to the dependent abl., cf §32, end. This meaning is probably more likely to be right than the alternative interpretation which would make the nom. correlative with the subject of *chumbhantu*, a construction impossible in the locative form of the variant. Cf. §§450, 669.

(*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasulāc ca yat* (Ppp. *agnih samkusikāś ca yah*) AV Ppp. (sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp. as before) AV. Ppp. 'May the waters purify me from that and (from) (him who is) Agni S'

viṣṇoḥ, viṣṇos *sthānam asī* (MS MŚ *sthāmāsi*, KS *sthāmnah*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ MŚ. In KS construed with the following, *ita indro vīryam akṛnot*. According to ApŚ also the two are connected in sense; see Keith, *HOS* 18 p. 14 n. 2

3 Phrase inflection

§434. We have noted only one variant which seems to belong to this category (cf §§21-2), in that a pāda is repeated in a different context which requires change of construction of the noun:

pāpebhyaś ca pratigrahaḥ (RVKh. °hāt) RVKh. TA. MahānU. BDh.

The contexts are different tho similar

4 Transfer of epithet

§435. This occurs a few times; in some instances, as usual, number or gender varies along with case:

pra skannāḥ (KS *skannam*, v. 1 °nāñ) *jāyatām havih* KS KŚ ApŚ

Probably the abl. is original: 'let oblation be born from the (part of the offering that has) fallen (on the ground).' If KS really intends a nom., it would agree with *havih*: 'let the oblation that has fallen be born.'

ud asya śuśmād bhānur nārta (MS *bhānor nāvyaḥ*) RV. MS TA ApŚ

In the original *bhānu* is applied in the simile to Agni, subject of the verb. In MS it seems to apply to *śuśmād*. (Understand doubtless *na avyāḥ*, despite p p which does not divide.)

pāpāt (KŚ *pāpah*) *svapnyād* (KŚ °nād) *abhūtyāḥ* (KŚ °yat) AV KŚ

Preceded by *paryāvarie duḥsvapnyāt*. In KŚ *pāpa* seems to be transferred to the subject

apahalo 'raruḥ prthivyā adevayajanaḥ (*prthivyai devayajanyai*) TS ApŚ

(both in each) The epithet is (altered and) transferred from *araru* to *prthivī*, or vice versa

§436. In another case the original, and perhaps only correct, form of the variant shows an ablative which is independently construed, while the nominative form (if textually sound) is attracted into agreement with the subject. Cf §15

parāmṛtāḥ (TA °mṛtāi) *parimucyanti sarve* TA MahānU MundU

KaivU The ablative seems to be original, and is read by Deussen in MahānU, and by the Poona ed (*Upaniṣadām Samuccayaḥ*) in KaivU. Deussen understands 'the immortal' from which 'all are freed' as *prakṛti*, 'material nature'. If the nom. is read it would apply to the subject in a pregnant sense '(so as to be) immortal'

5. Miscellaneous

§437. The rest are unclassifiable; some are under suspicion of corruption.

adbhyaḥ sambhṛtaḥ (TA ApŚ. *sambhṛtāḥ*) *prthivyai* (KS † MS °vyā)

rasāc ca (KS *rasah*) VS KS MS. TA ApŚ. Followed by *ritāt ar-
manuh samavartatādhi* (VS **lāgr*). Comm. on VS. supplies *yo*
rasah as subject; the KS reading is double secondary (certainly
unmetrical), and seems to have been suggested by a like under-
standing of the passage. In fact, however, the original subject
must have been the *puruṣa*, understood from the original context
gārhapatyah (ŚŚ **tyāt*) *prayajā* (VSK *prajñān*) *rasam itamah* VS VSK.
SB. AŚ ŚŚ. Preceded by *ayam agniḥ gṛhapatiḥ*. Original: 'he,
Agni Gārhapatya, is the house-lord, most liberal in good things to
our offspring' ŚŚ seems to mean 'he, Agni, is house-lord, most
liberal dispenser of good things from the gārhapatya-fire to our
offspring' This is barely intelligible

madhu rito (KS *madhur ato*, TS *madhur ato*) *mādhavah patr a-mān*
TS. MS KS AŚ. KS has the simplest and, in this case, probably
the original reading: 'let Madhu and Mādhava (the two spring
months) protect me.' TS: 'let Mādhava protect us after (or,
from) Madhu.' MS. AŚ seem likely to contain a corruption, MS
p p. *madhuh, antah*, pointing towards the KS reading. As it stands
the reading may be rendered: 'let the sweet seed and Mādhava
protect us', or 'let Mādhava protect the sweet seed and us'. Either
is bathetic, but perhaps no worse than many Yajus passages

nakṣatrānām sakāśān mā yaṣam MS. *nakṣatrānām mā sakāśāś ca*
pratikāśāś cāvalām Vait Kauś 'May I not be cut off from the
presence of the nakṣatras': 'may the presence and the gleam of the
nakṣatras aid me'

satyā tā dharmaṇas patī ApŚ: *satyād ā (satyādā?) dharmaṇas patī* (ŚŚ
dharmanā, Vait MS *dharmaṇas* [but MS mss *dharmaṇā*] *pari*) AŚ
ŚŚ. Vait MS. See VV 2 §65

apāraram adevayajanam pṛthivyū ddevayajanāḥ (ApŚ *adevayajano*) *jahi*
KS. ApŚ Caland would read *adevayajanān* (acc. pl masc) in
both. We too find ApŚ. uninterpretable, since *adevayajano* can
scarcely fit the subject of *jahi*. But KS could mean: 'Smite away
Araru, that sacrifices not to the gods, from the earth, from the
sacrifice to the gods' Caland, like the Conc., misquotes KS as
adevayajanāḥ.

mṛtyor (I) *me pāhi* TAA: *mṛtyor mā pāhi* TS MS KS TB AŚ Comm
on TAA says that *mṛtyor* is for *mṛtyor, vyatyayena*. The variant
should doubtless be added to VV 2 §716.

satyā cṣām (AŚ *etā*) *āstīṣah santu kāmāḥ* (ApMB HG *kāmāḥ*, SMB
Jorgensen *kāmūḥ*, one ms *kāmāḥ*, AG *santu sarve*, VS *sannaman-*

tām) VS VSK AG. SMB. Kauś ApMB HG See §412 The abl could mean 'according to their desire', like the instr.

B. Nominative and genitive

1 Partitive genitive and nominative

§438. First among the nominative-genitive variants may be put a group of cases where the two forms are virtual synonyms. Namely: in one form is used a partitive genitive (almost appositional at times), depending on a nominative, while in the other the two words are both nominatives, in syntactic agreement (See §84). Most simply this appears in formulaic lists such as *dakṣiṇā* (and *prācī*, *ūrdhvā*, *pratīcī*, *udīcī*) *dik*, 'the southern (etc.) quarter', AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. ApMB. Besides this list, TS. also has one with the variant *dīsām* in each case: 'the southern (etc.) one of the quarters'. Quite similarly in a list of the seasons, VS. MS. KS. ŚB. have *vasanta* (and *grīṣma*, *varṣā*, *śarad*) *ṛtuh*, and *hemantaśiśīrṣv* (°*rā*) *ṛtū*, 'the spring (etc.) season', while TS. in each instance reads *ṛtūnām*, 'the spring (etc.) of the seasons.'

§439. Less formulaic, but of the same character, are the following:
subhūr asī (ŚŚ *subhūr nāmāsi*) *śreṣṭho raśmīr* PB. ŚŚ. *subhūr asī śreṣṭho raśmīnām* TS. ApŚ: *svayambhūr asī śreṣṭho raśmīh*.
 VS. MS. ŚB. ŚŚ. MS. 'The best ray'. 'the best of rays'.

yathāmī (RVKh *yathāmīśām*, AV *yathaiśām*, SV *yathaiśeśām*) *anyo anyam na jānan* (KVKh AV SV *jānāt*) RVKh AV SV. VS. 'That those may not know the one the other': 'that of those one may not know the other'.

trivṛd bhuvanam yad rathavṛt KS †: *trivṛd yad bhuvanasya rathavṛt* TB. ApŚ *yad bhuvanasya* must mean the same as *bhuvanam yad*, 'what land'.

yās (TS. *yeśām*) *tsrah prathamajāh* (TS. KS. TA. *paramajāh*) TS. MS. KS. TA. In TS. preceded by *ye grahāḥ pañcaganīnāḥ*. 'what cups pertain to the five peoples (i.e. are five in number, cf. Keith's note), of which three are first-born'. Followed by *teṣām* (*tāsām*) *iṣam ūṛjam sam agraḥmī*. The other texts vary considerably, and do not mention the number 'five'. On the fem. gender see §835.

amṛtasya nidhūr hitah RV. TB. TA. *amṛtam nidhītam guhā* SV. Preceded by *yad ado vāta te grhe*. 'What store of nectar is placed in thy house': 'what nectar is placed in secret in thy house.'

mitrah satyānām (VS. ŚB. *satyah*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. PG. Parallel formulas have gen. even in VS. It is not certain that they are partitives; cf. *mitra satyānām pate* (°*nām adhipate*) TB. ŚŚ. (in different contexts, to be sure)

Here we place also the following, tho the TS. is poor and less close in meaning to the original:

yad enaś cakṛvān baddha ṛṣa AV : *eno mahac cakṛvān baddha ṛṣa* MS : *enaś cakṛvān mahi baddha eṣām* TS The last seems to mean 'the one of them who, having committed a great sin, is bound', otherwise Keith Undoubtedly *eṣa* is the proper form.

2 Possessive or descriptive genitive and nominative

§440. Not very different from these are a group in which the genitive is no longer partitive but rather descriptive or possessive, and so substantially equivalent to a nominative epithet of the subject, which may vary with it (cf §85):

vr̥ṣāsy ūrmih TS. TB : *vr̥ṣormir asi* MS KS MŚ : *vr̥ṣṇa ūrmir asi* *rāṣṭradāh* VS ŚB 'Thou art a bull-wave (a bull's wave) .'

martānām (AV *martāsaś*) *cid urvaśir akṛpran* RV. AV 'Even of (or, for) mortals Urvaśis (even mortal Urvaśis) have been fashioned' See Bloomfield, JAOS 20 183

pratiṣṭhe stho devate (MG *devate dyāvāprthivī*, ApMB *devatānām*) *mā mā samtāptam* HG ApMB MG 'You (a pair of shoes) are standing-places, deities (of the deities)'

mā no rakṣo abhi nad yātumāvatām (AV **māvat*) RV AV The variation accompanies a change in the meaning of *rakṣas* (abstract in RV, but in AV used in its later concrete sense): 'Let not the injury of the sorcerous ones (the sorcerous ogre, *rakṣas*) get at us' *apām sakhā* (GB *yonih*) *prathamajā ṛtāvā* (GB. *ṛtasya*) RV GB Here the nom. of an adjective derivative varies with a genitive: 'first-born, rta-full' or 'first-born of the rta'. GB quite naturally falls into the familiar rignmarole expression *prathamajā ṛtasya* instead of the RV phrase, which is more recherché, so much so, indeed, that Grassmann was moved to suggest that *ṛtasya* should be read for *ṛtāvā* in the two places where the phrase occurs

§441. In a different way the two variants result in the same meaning when the possessive genitive with an abstract noun varies with a nominative plus the nominative of a corresponding concrete, in predicate relationship:

yavāś cāyavāś cādhipataya āsan VS MS KS ŚB : *yāvānām cāyāvānām cādhipatyam āsīt* TS 'The Y and A were overlords': 'the overlordship belonged to the Y and A'

ta (MS *ta u*) *evādhipataya āsan* VS MS KS ŚB : *teṣām ādhipatyam āsīt* TS 'These same were overlords' 'theirs was the overlordship'

§442. In the remaining cases there is a more substantial difference of meaning between the two forms of the variant. Still fairly close to each other, and hence to be mentioned next, are a few cases in which the genitive depends upon a word which, in the other form, is a complementary subject or predicate, parallel with the nominative which replaces the genitive:

yaśo bhagaś ca mā vdat (MG. *riṣat*, mss mostly *riṣak*) PG. MG.: *yaśo bhagasya vndatu* ArS. 'Let glory and fortune find me', PG., doubtless original. ArS. makes *yaśo* object, and *bhagaś ca* is then changed (with phonetic shift, VV 2 §189) to a gen : 'let him find glory of fortune'. The real sense, in spite of all this, is not very different. *parīmam yajamānam rāyo manuṣyāṇām* VS. ŚB : *parīmaṁ rāyas poṣo yajamānam manuṣyāḥ* TS : *parīmaṁ yajamānam manuṣyāḥ saha rāyas poṣeṇa prajāyā ca vyayanāṁ* MS : *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS. Only the relations of VS and TS. concern us here (for MS. see §412, for KS §402). The former: 'riches (subject) of humans'. The latter: 'increase of riches (and) humans' (both subjects; §402). *āpah prajāpatir yajño* (ApŚ. *prajāpateh prānā*) *yajñasya bheṣajam asi* (ApŚ. omits *asi*) KŚ ApŚ. 'Thou art the waters, Prajāpati, sacrifice, .': 'the waters are Prajāpati's life-breaths .'. Here ApŚ substitutes a different word for the correlative nominative in its extensive reconstruction.

ahorātrayor vṛṣṭyā (VS. *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭhīve*, MS *ahorātre ūrvaṣṭīve*) *bṛhadraṭhamtare ca me yajñena kalpetām* (VS.† *kalpanāṁ*) VS. TS. MS In all preceded by a long list of noms, parallel subjects of the verb. By a clearly secondary distortion (with phonetic aspects, VV 2 §§803, 840) TS allows a discordant phrase to intrude, changing the following word to a different one. Original: 'May the vrata, day and night, thighs and knees, the Bṛhat and Rathamāntara sāmāns, prosper for me thru the sacrifice.' TS.: 'May the vrata by the rain of day and night, the Bṛhat' etc.

§443. Such cases shade off into a rather miscellaneous group in which the genitive (possessive or vaguely descriptive) no longer depends on the nominative with which, in the other form of the variant, the other nominative (replacing the genitive) is somehow correlated. The only connecting link in this group is this: of two nominatives, correlative subjects or subject and predicate, in one form of the variant, one is replaced in the other form by a genitive dependent on some other word than the remaining nominative. Thus:

[dyutānas (MS. KS. *nītānas*) *tvā māruto minotu* (MS. KS. *nhantu*)]

mitrāvarunau (TS KS °*varunayor*) *dhruveṇa dharmanā* VS TS MS KS ŚB.: [*varunas tvā dhṛtāvato dhūpayatu* (TA °*vratā ādhūpayatu*)] *mitrāvarunau* (TA °*varunayor*) *dhru° dhar°* MS. TA [Conc fails to divide these sentences properly] 'Let Dyutāna (Nītāna) fix thee (or the like), (and) Mitra-Varuna with firm ordinance (or, with the firm ordinance of M-V)'

vi śloka etu (et, śloka yaṅtu) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*) *sūreh* (sūrih, sūrah, sūrāh) RV AV TS MS KS ŚB SvetU See §419

agnir hotā vetu (ŚB and TB Poona ed *vettu*) *agnir* (ŚB AŚ *agner*) *hotram vetu* (*vettu*) *prāvitram* ŚB. TB AŚ. ŚŚ 'Let Agni the hotar enjoy (know), let Agni enjoy (know) the office of hotar' 'let Agni the hotar enjoy (know) Agni's office of hotar'

dawe vede ca gāthīnām (ŚŚ. °*nāh*) AB ŚŚ Preceded by *adhiyate* (ŚŚ °*te*) *devarāto, rikhayor ubhayor ṛṣih, jahnūnām cādhrpatye* (ŚŚ *cādhrilasthre*) See Keith, *HOS* 25. 308 n 8 In ŚŚ what was originally possessive gen ('and in the divine sacred lore of the Gāthīn[a]s') is turned into a complementary subject

pitaro nārāśansāh sannah (VSK. *sādyamānah*) VS. VSK : *pitaro nārāśansāh* KS : *pitrām nārāśansāh* TS Soma is referred to, it is 'when settled, the Nārāśansa fathers' (VS VSK); 'the fathers, as Nārāśansa' (KS), 'Nārāśansa, as belonging to the fathers' (TS) All are banal rubbish without intelligent sense

vāyuh pūtah pavitrena VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB. *vāyoh* AV VS VSK MS ŚB Kauś The contexts are the same; *pūtah* applies to Soma, with which in the first variant (doubtless original) Vāyu is identified. 'Soma, (who is) Vāyu, purified by the strainer' The other reading looks like a rationalizing lect fac; it turns *vāyuh* into a gen, 'purified by Vāyu's strainer.'

§444. Sometimes this change of case-form seems to be due to formal attraction to the case of an adjoining word:

śivā no astv adīter (TS. KS °*tir*) *upasthe* TS MS KS AŚ *adīter upasthe* is a standard cadence (see e.g. *RVRep* 659), and *upasthe* without a dependent gen. is scarcely conceivable The orig must have meant 'may she (the Viṣṇupatnī referred to in a preceding pāda) be favorable to us in the lap of Aditī' In TS KS there is felt to be need of a specific name of the deity referred to by the preceding series of nom epithets; hence *adītir* is substituted for *adīter*, by a sort of case attraction

yena dhītā brhaspateh (ŚG °*tih*) VSK AG (1 17 12a) ŚG : *yena pūṣā brhaspateh* SMB GG ApMB HG. MG Followed by *indrasya*

cāvapac churah; the *ca* here confirms the obvious secondariness of ŚG, which clearly has assimilated *bṛhaspateḥ* to the case of *dhātā*. *mātā* (MS *mātur*) *mātari mātā* MS KS. ApŚ. Preceded by *prthivi prthivyām sīda*, with which the first *mātā* doubtless goes in sense: 'Earth, sit on earth as mother, mother on mother' In MS.: 'Earth, sit on earth, mother on mother's mother' If MS. is original, the other form may have assimilated *mātur* to *mātā*; but anything is possible in such rigmarole.

cakṣur yad eṣām manasaś ca satyam AV.: *cakṣuṣa eṣām manasaś ca samdhau* TS *cakṣuṣa* in TS.'s lect fac. may be partly due to formal assimilation to *manasaś*

dyumattamā supratikasya sūhoh (AV. *supratikah sasūnuh*) AV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. The gen. of the YV texts agrees with the preceding *agneh* In AV. (but not in Ppp, which agrees with the rest) a closer connection is sought with the following noms (*tanūnapāt* etc), beginning a new sentence and also referring to Agni. See Whitney on 5 27. 1.

3 Independent nominative varying with dependent genitive

§445. As with other cases (§§32-8), so with the genitive, a nominative out of syntactic relation (generally as subject or predicate of a separate nominal sentence) may vary with another case in dependent relationship of any kind. Where the nominative occurs, it is generally, but not always, resumed by a genitive pronoun referring to it. Thus:

agner aham svīṣṭakṛto devayajyayāyuh pratiṣṭhām gameyam KS : *agneh svīṣṭakṛto 'ham devayajyayāyuyūsmān yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* TS : *agnih svīṣṭakṛd yajñasya pratiṣṭhā tasyāham devayajyayā yajñena pratiṣṭhām gameyam* MŚ. Note *tasya* in MŚ., resuming *agnih*.

agnīṣomayor aham devayajyayā cakṣuṣmān (and, *vṛtrahā*) *bhūyāsam* TS ApŚ : *agnīṣomau vṛtrahaṇau tayor* (MŚ. *vṛtrahaṇāv agnīṣomayor*) *aḥam devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam* KS. MŚ

somasāham devayajyayā reto dhiṣṭya (dhe°) TS. ApŚ. MŚ.: *somo retodhās tasyāham devayajyayā. reto dhiṣṭya* KS.

catuspāda uta ye dvipādah KS. MŚ.: *catuspadām uta yo* (TS. *ca*) *dvipādām* AV. TS Preceded by *yeṣām* (AV. *ya*) *īṣe paśupatiḥ paśūnām* AV. looks original; the gen depends on *īṣe* In ultimate sense KS MŚ. mean the same

devānām patrīr agnīr gṛhapatir yajñasya mithunām (KS. *°patir mithunam yajamānasya*) *tayor aham devayajyayā* TS. KS : *devānām patrīnām aham devayajyayā. MŚ*

vikṛtī yā (and, *vikṛtyā*) *brhaspate* AV (both) In two near-by stanzas which are otherwise practically identical Whitney would emend *vikṛtyā(s)* to *vikṛtī yā*, but it is quite construable as partitive gen depending on *aśnīyāt* of pāda c 'of the *vikṛtī* (cow) he shall not eat' The relative clause paraphrases the same sense The variation has phonetic aspects VV 2 §791a

4 Transfer of epithet

§446. The usual group of variants due to 'transfer of epithet' (§14) appears here also We begin with examples where neither number nor gender, but only case, varies:

na vaṣ śvetasyādhhyācāre (AG *śvetas cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG HG ApMB MG Followed by *ahir jaghāna* (PG *dadarṣa*) *kaṁ* (AG MG *kim*) *cana* Most texts 'In the domain of the white one (the serpent-demon) a serpent has killed no one' or the like AG (by a phonetic shift, VV 2 §188) makes *śveta* an epithet of *ahir* 'In the house (?) the whiteserpent has killed nothing' The original genitive is, strictly, no 'epithet' of any expressed word, so that the variant perhaps belongs in §448 *adhvanām adhvaṇate śreṣṭhah svastyasyādhvanah* (ApMB *śreṣṭhasyādhvanah*, MG † *śraṣṭhyasya svastyasyādhvanah*, see VV 2 §707) *pāram aṣṭya* AŚ ApMB MG. In AŚ *śreṣṭhah* is an epithet of the subject, in ApMB it becomes an epithet of *adhvanah*

viprasya dhārayā kavīh RV: *viprah sa dhārayā sulaḥ* SV In RV *viprasya* is the human priest, SV transfers it to Soma (cf VV 2 §189).

pibā sulasya matir na (AV *mater iha*) AV. SV AŚ ŚŚ In either reading the meaning is obscure, if there is no corruption, this much is certain, that *matir* must refer to the subject of *pibā*, and *mater* to *sulasya*

viprā viprasya bṛhato vpaścītaḥ RV VS TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU: *vipro viprasya sahaso vpaścī* AV In the original 'The priests of the great wise priest' (Savitar, so if *vpaś*° be taken with Grassmann and Ludwig as gen sg, the alternative would be to take it as nom pl with *viprah*) In AV. the context is different, the pāda describes the goat that is being sacrificed: 'The sage (was born from) the sage's (heat), acquainted with power' or the like.

viśām kavīm viśpatīm mānuṣīnām (and, *mānuṣīr iṣah*) RV. (both) The gen goes with *viśām*, the nom. with *iṣah*

mahāns te mahato mahimā AV.: *mahas te sato mahimā panasyate* (SV.

paṇiṣ(ama) RV. AV SV. VS. In RV etc *mahas* agrees with *te*; in the AV. variant it is attracted to *mahimā*.

§447. The rest involve change of number or gender as well as case—*śrātūs ta indra somā vātāpayo* (KB. TA. °*per*, KS ŚŚ °*pc*) *havanaśrutah* MS KB. (fragment) TA. ŚŚ Add KS. 9 8 in Conc. In MS the epithet *vāt°* goes with *somā(h)*, in KB. TA. with *te* (= Indra), in KS ŚŚ with *indra* directly.

yeṣām (AV Kauś. *ya*) *iṣe paśupatih paśūnām* AV. TS. KS MŚ. Kauś *vasuh* (TS ApMB. *vasoh*) *sūnuh sahaso apsu rājā* RV. VS. TS. KS MS ApMB In TS ApMB *vasoh* is attracted into agreement with *sahas*, instead of *sūnuh*

mahaś (TS MS. KS. *mahī*) *cid yasya* (TS. *hy asya*, KS *devasya*) *mādhūṣo yavyā* (KS † °*vayāh*) RV. VS. VSK TS. MS KS ŚB. The adjective is transferred from *yasya mādhūṣo* to *yavyā* (*avayāh*)

garbho yas te yajñnyah KS : *yasyar* (VSK. °*yās*) *te yajñnyo garbhah* VS. VSK ŚB.: *yasyās te harito garbhah* TS ApŚ The relative agrees in KS. with *garbhas*, elsewhere with *te* (the cow). Followed by: *yasyar* (VSK. *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayī* VS. VSK ŚB : *yonir yas te hiraṇyayah* KS. Same conditions

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā (MS *ahann ojasine*, KS † *śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ °*hany ojasinām*) TS. MS. KS. AŚ. If *ojasinām* is not a mere corruption or misprint in the (imperfect) edition, it seems to be a gen pl fem. of a stem °*ojasa*, going with *dīśām* in the preceding *pāda*

maho gotrasya kṣayati svarājah (AV.* °*jā*) RV. AV (both). In RV. *svarājah* is gen (from *svarāj*), epithet of (neut) *gotrasya*. AV, doubtless stumbling over the less familiar form, substitutes the nom. of *svarājan*, making it an epithet of the subject.

asya prānād apānatī (AV.* MS °*lah*) RV. AV. SV VS. ArS TS MS. KS ŚB *apānatī* apparently goes with *rocana* in the preceding *pāda*, as nom sg fem, *apānatah* with *asya*. See Oldenberg, RVNoten on 10. 189 2, and Whitney on AV. 6 31. 2

mahām (SV. *mahān*) *avīnām anu pūrvyah* RV. SV. The adjective is transferred in SV. from *avīnām* to the subject

imau te pakṣāv (VSK MS. KS *pakṣā*) *ajarau palatrinau* (VSK. TS † KS °*nah*) VS. VSK TS. MS. KS. ŚB : *rau te pakṣāv ajarau palatrinau* Kauś The nom agrees with *pakṣau*, the gen. with *te*. The variant is really phonetic, for the actual reading is *palatrinou*, before a sonant: see VV 2 §732

§448. Cases in which one or the other form of the variant word is in strictness not an 'epithet', but construed independently (§15), are:

juṣṣo vācaspataye (MS °tsh, KB ŚŚ °leh, JB °tyuh) TS MS KB GB JB. AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ. See §428 Here is no variation of number or gender; the rest show change of one or the other.

yayo rathah satyavartmarjuraśmih AV : *yo vām ratha rjuraśmih satya-dharmā* TS. MS KS The relative is resumed in all texts (with slight anacolouthon except in AV.) by *mitrāvaruna(u)*.

agner apunann usijo amṛtyavah RV : *agner akr̥nann usijo amṛtyave* MS.. *devā akr̥nann usijo amartyave* ApŚ In ApŚ *devā(h)*, substituted for *agner*, goes with *usijo*

visvā devānām (TS *visvān devo*) *janimā vivakti* AV. TS KS. 'He declares all the births of the gods' becomes in TS 'he, the god, declares all births'. Ppp *visvām devā*, looking perhaps a little in the direction of the TS reading—which however is certainly secondary.

yaj (TS MS KS *yasya*) *jātaṁ janitavyam* (TS MS KS *janamānam*, *ca kevalam* AV TS MS KS Preceded in AV by *yasyedam pradīṣṭi yad virocate*: 'In whose direction is what is born and to be born' In the YV. texts *yasya* refers to the following *agnim*: 'whose is what is born and being born'

āvir bhuvad (ArS *bhuwann*) *arunīr yaśasā goh* (ArS *gāvah*) RV. ArS In RV *goh* (gen sg) depends on a noun (something like 'milk') understood with *yaśasā* (adj), as Oldenberg shows, *RVNoten* on 4 1 16 In ArS it is attracted to *arunīr*, felt now as nom. pl.; the two words are interpreted as 'ruddy rays' The starting-point of the change is the ambiguous form *arunīr*, which in RV. is nom. sg

5 Miscellaneous

§449. The remaining nominative-genitive variants are hardly classifiable. For the most part they concern rather radical reconstructions of very varied character. In the first two the 2d personal pronoun forms *tvam* and *tava* interchange, without essential difference of sense in the first at least

tam u tvam (SV *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV. SV Preceded by *yad dha tyan māyīnam mṛgam* *tava*, of course, goes with *māyayā*

hastagrābhasya didhūṣos (AV *da°*) *tavedam* (TA *tvam etat*) RV. AV. TA Followed by *patyur janitvam abhi sambabhūtha* (TA °bhūva). 'Thou hast entered into this spouseship with thy second husband who takes thy hand.' On the verb form of TA cf. VV 1 p 178 It is there suggested that the 3d person may be due to thought of

forms with subject *bhavān* (*bhavatī*), which would be in effect 2d person (comm. glosses as a 2d person). If this be held too violent an assumption with *tvam* preceding as subject, the preceding pāda may be taken as a separate sentence: 'thou belongest to a second husband who takes thy hand'

vayam te rudrā syāma RV : *vayam vām mītrā syāma* SV. 'May we be such (yours)', *tē*, n pl

ayah(h)sthūṇam (TS °*ṇāv*) *uditā* (TS MS KS °*tau*) *sūryasya* RV TS MS KS : *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udithah sūryas ca* VS ŚB. See VV 2 §188

vider agner nabho nāma VSK ŚBK.: *vider* (*vded*) *agnir* (*agne*) .., see §333

upasthāsānām mītravad astv ojah TS MS AŚ : *upasthāsā mītravatīdam ojah* KS. Both TS and MS accent *upasthā'sānām*, i.e. *upasthā' ā'sā*, but MS p p. apparently misunderstands and reads *upāsthe ā'sā*. KS has no accents. The meaning of *upasthā'* is obscure, on AV. 12.1.62 Whitney renders *upasthā's te* by 'standers upon thee', which is purely etymological; Ludwig and Bloomfield, 'thy laps', which would imply *upāsthās*. Keith on TS renders 'the stay of the earth', implying that this phrase is equivalent to *dhartṛi dīśām*, the subject in the preceding pāda. Whatever the meaning, in MS TS AŚ *upasthāsānām* goes with the preceding, while in KS *āsā* is to be taken either as a further epithet of *dhartṛi* in the preceding, or as subject of an independent sentence

anu sūrya uśaso anu rāsmīn AV : *anu sūryasya purutrā ca rāsmīn* VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB '(Agni 'has looked) as a sun, along the dawns, along the rays': '(Agni has looked) many times along the rays of the sun'

garbham aśvatary asahāsau PG : *garbham aśvataryā va* ApMB HG.

prathamachad (KS *parama*°) *avarān* (TS *paramachado vara*) *ā viveśa* RV. VS TS MS KS The nom is an epithet of the subject (*Viśvakarman*). Keith on TS. 'hath entered into the boon of the first of coverers', a purely mechanical rendering, which may be quite right in suggesting that the passage is nonsense.

brahma varma mamāntaram RV AV. SV. ApŚ.: *brahmāham antaram kṛnve* (KS *karave*) AV KS

yā (MS *ya*) *uśavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB. NilarU. ApMB : *yeṣu vā yātudhānāh* KS 'What (serpents) are the arrows of sorcerers': '(serpents) in which are sorcerers' On KS cf. VV 2 §990. *stomo yajñas ca* (TB *yajñasya*) *rādhyo haṇṣmatā* (TB °*tah*) RV TB See VV 2 §188

śṛṇvantu (TS ŚvetU °ti) *viśve amṛtasya putrāḥ* (AV *amṛtāsa etat*) RV.
AV VS TS. MS KS ŚB ŚvetU.

dhyā martah śaśamate (SV. *martasya śamataḥ*) RV SV Preceded by
ṛdhad yas te sudānave RV , *sa ghā yas te divo narah* SV. See VV 2
§189

yasya śrutarvā bṛhann [ārṣo anīka edhata] RV : *ya sma śrutarvann
ārṣye [bṛhadanīka idhyate]* SV.

nedīya ut sṛnyah (TS † *sṛnyā*) *pakvam eyāt* (AV. *ā yavan*, TS MS KS
āyat) RV. AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB N See §589 Without
change of form, AV reinterprets the originally genitive sg form
(‘may the ripe fruit of the sickle come nearer’) as a nom pl : ‘may
the sickles draw the ripe grain nearer’

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA : *apsarasām
anu dattānṛnāni* MS The latter is a phonetic corruption; VV 2
§237

pādo 'syehābhavat (AV *pādasye°*, TA † *°bhavāt*, both edd , add to VV 1
§137) *punah* RV AV ArS VS TA Whitney adopts the nom
with comm and a few mss The gen seems not construable
somah prathamō vivide RV. PG HG ApMB . *somasya jāyā prathamam*
AV. See §404

[*tasya mṛtyuś* (KS *mṛtyoś*, but read *mṛtyuś* with two mss , TB. *mṛtyau*)
carati rājasūyam AV KS TB.]

[*agnīḥ tad dhotā kratunā vijānan* RV KB TB ApŚ Conc wrongly
janānām for *vijānan* in KB]

CHAPTER XVIII

NOMINATIVE AND LOCATIVE

1. Independent nominative and dependent locative

§450. Variations between nominative and locative are fairly numerous, but quite miscellaneous. Except for the usual group of 'transfers of epithet', few of them fall into recognizable categories. A couple of cases occur in which a nominative of independent statement varies with a dependent locative, the first example is particularly simple and clear, in it the independent nominative is obviously secondary:

kr̥te yonau (KS *kr̥to yonir*) *vapateha bījam* (VS ŚB *vījam*) RV. AV. VS.

TS MS KS ŚB 'In the prepared womb scatter here the seed':
'the womb is prepared, scatter' etc

nābhā pṛthivyāḥ samīdhāne agnau (MS. KS *samīdhāno agnim*, TS. *samīdhānam agnim*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. See §393.

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* (Ppp *agnih samkusikaś ca yah*) AV. Ppp.: (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneh samkasukāc ca yat* (Ppp as before) AV. Ppp. On the interpretation of AV see §§433, 669 Whitney considers Ppp. the correct reading. The same sense must be intended in both: 'and (wipe off) on Agni S.'

§451. Once a locative of a noun varies with a nominative of a secondary adjective from the same noun, yielding the same meaning ('in the atmosphere, in the earth': 'atmospheric, earthly'):

antarikṣa uta vā pṛthivyām AV.: *yā antarikṣa uta pāṛthwīr yāḥ* TB.

ApS : *yā antarikṣyā uta pāṛthivāsah* (AG *pāṛthwīr yāḥ*) KS. AG.

The ms of Ppp has *āntarikṣa uta pāṛthwā yāḥ*, for the first word we may read *āntarikṣa* with Barret, or perhaps better *āntarikṣā* (adjective)

2 Phrase-inflection

§452. One case may be called an instance of 'phrase-inflection'; the pāda is repeated in (here three) different contexts, requiring change in the case-form:

sutāsa indra girvanah RV 8 95 2b: *suteṣu indra girvanah* RV SV.

3 Case attraction

§453. A few variants may be grouped together in that the motive for the shift seems to have been a more or less mechanical assimilation of one word to the case of a neighboring word. Other instances, as usual, will be found among the cases of 'transfer of epithet'

gahanam (ŚB. °ne) *yad inahṣat* RV VS. ŚB Vait. ApŚ. MŚ. Preceded by *dūre cattāya chantaṣat* 'To him hidden afar may the hiding-place which he has reached be pleasing': 'may it be pleasing to him hidden in the distant hiding-place which he has reached'. Apparently ŚB assimilates to the case of *dūre*. Remarkable is the divergence of ŚB from even VS as well as all other texts.

rūpam indre (MS *indro*) *hiranyayam* VS. MS TB. The subjects in the original are Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhārati, who are to put *rūpam hiranyayam* upon Indra. In MS, Indra is attracted to the case of the subject nouns and treated as a supplementary subject, no loc being expressed.

atthā hi soma in made (SV. *madah*) RV SV AB. KB ŚB AA. AŚ ŚŚ. Followed in RV SV by *brahmā* (SV °ma) *caḥāra vardhanam*. In RV the subject is *brahmā* alone, *soma* (= *some*) and *made* locs, in SV *soma* (= *somal*) and *madah* are coordinate subjects.

vardhamāno (TS °nam) *mahān* (TS MS *maha*) *ā ca puṣkare* (TS °ram) VS TS MS KS ŚB. The loc is clearly original; it is apparently to be construed with *ā*, 'on the lotus leaf', altho *ā* regularly follows a loc. In TS both *vardha*° and *puṣ*° are made noms; this and the next pāda are now felt as addressed to the lotus leaf (see §837), undoubtedly the noms of the preceding half line have helped in the change. It is not clear how TS understands *ā*.

4 Transfer of epithet

§454. The following cases of simple transfer of epithet (§14) occur; in all but the first two there is change of number or gender, or both, as well as case.

ā haryato arjune (SV °no) *atke avyata* RV SV. In RV, the adjective agrees with *atke*, in SV, it is transferred to the subject, *Soma*. *tatrāpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśoḥaḥ* (TA comm and Poona ed text with v. 1 °lam) TA MahānU [TAA 10 12 3, Poona ed, reads *viśoḥaḥ* in text and comm, the latter calmly refers it to *brahma* without explanation]. In TA *dahre* goes with *tatra*, which refers back to *dahram* in the preceding 'in that small place'. In MahānU *dahram* is an epithet of *gaganam*.

śarman (MS °mans) *te syāma* (VS *tava syāma śarmanś*, TS. *tava syām śarman*) *trivarūṭha udbhau* (TS *udbhit*) VS TS MS. KS TA. In TS. *udbhit* is an epithet of the subject; in the others *udbhau* is loc with *śarman* (Comm on VS understands it as from a stem *ud-bhū*! He interprets it, however, as if from *ud-bhū* The stem is of course *udbhū*, declined as a short *u* stem) In all but TS. *trivarūṭha* stands for °the and goes with *śarman* In TS it might also be so interpreted, but p p °thah, nom, and so Keith

tvam śsamudram prathamō vi dhārayaḥ (SV *samudrah prathame vidharmān*) RV SV See §402, end.

asūrte (MS KS °lā, KapS °lāh) *sūrte rajasī niṣatle* (MS °lā, KS *na sattā*) RV. VS MS KS KapS N · *asūrtā sūrtā rajasō vimāne* TS. See Oldenberg, *Prol* 313, and *RVNolen* on 10 82 4 Certainly both *asūrte* and *sūrte*, and perhaps also *niṣatle*, go with *rajasī*; *asūrtā* is transferred to *bhūtāni*, *asūrtāh* to *ṛṣayah*, either *niṣattā* or °lāh is possible, referring to either of these nouns

priyo (TB ApŚ *priye*) *devānām parame janitre* (AV. TA *sadhasthe*) RV. AV SV. KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ. Addressed to the spirit of the dead man; *edhi* precedes The original *priyo* agrees with the subject, *priye* with *janitre*

dhruvadhī poṣyā (PG. *īpoṣye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB 'Be thou steadfast with me, prosperous' We take *poṣye* as loc with *mayi*, contrary to Stenzler and Oldenberg, who understand it as voc. fem addressed to the bride (which is also possible; in that case this variant would belong in §334)

arepasah sacetasah (etc) *svasare manyumatāmās* (SV. ApŚ *manyumantās*) *cite goh* (SV. *citā goh*, ApŚ *citākoh*) AV SV. ApŚ. MŚ. A very obscure verse, in AV. *cite* must clearly go with *svasare*, in SV. with *arepasah* etc (here nom masc., tho in AV. apparently acc fem.) On ApŚ see VV 2 §§47, 61.

vyrtlacakrā āśināh HG ApMB (epithets of *prajāh*): *anmuktacakra* (v 1 °rā) *āśiran* PG · *nviṣṭlacakrāsau* AG (here an independent sentence, with *nadi* understood; in Conc under *somo no*) If °*cakra* is the true reading of PG, it may be a voc fem agreeing with the name of a river to be supplied for the following, *asau* (so Oldenberg), or it may be loc with the following *tīre*.

viśve devā anśusu nyuplah (VSK *nyupyamāneṣu*) VS VSK 'He (soma) is the All-gods, when he is offered in the anśus (when the *ankus* are offered)' Reference is made to the *graha* called *anśu* (ŚB. 4 6 1. 1 ff). Probably VSK is original

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojasinā (MS *ahann ojasine*, KS *†śukro ahany ojasye*, AŚ *'hany ojasinām*) TS MS KS AŚ *ojasinā* is nom fem agreeing with *ugrā* (sc *dik*) of the preceding, *ojasine* and *°sye* go with *ahann* (*ahany*) *śukre* goes with the latter; *śukro* of KS (and presumably *śuciḥ* which in the others goes with *ugrā*) apparently goes with *indra* of the following (*indrādhipatyah piprtāt*)

samsr̥ṣṭāsu yutsu indro ganeṣu MS . *samsr̥ṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena* RV AV SV VS TS KS See §548

§455. The rest of the cases grouped under the heading 'transfer of epithet' can be so described only by stretching the term (§15) We find first a group in which an independent locative noun, not the epithet of anything else, is changed into a nominative, becoming then an epithet of the subject The nom seems to be always secondary in this group All but the first few show shift of number or gender as well as case.

uruṣayāḥ saganā mānuṣāḥ (TS *°ṣeṣu*) AV TS We take it that TS is original 'widely dwelling with their troops among men' The AV assimilates to the preceding noms, making *mān°* an epithet of the subject, the Maruts

na yonā (TS. *yonāv*, KS *yonir*) *uśāsānaktā* (KS *°naktāgneḥ*) VS TS MS. KS The verse deals with Agni 'Dawn and night, as in his native place' In KS *yonī* is made to agree with *uśāsānaktā*, called 'the native place' of Agni

sūr asī suvanasya relah (MS *relā iṣṭakā svargo lokah*) MS ApŚ *sūr asī svar aṣṭiṣṭakā svarge loke* KS 'Thou art the brick, the world of heaven (in the world.)' Probably KS. is orig, and MS has attracted to the case of *iṣṭakā*

ayam sahasram ā no dr̥ṣe kavīnām matir jyotir vidharman AV . *ayam sahasram ānavo dr̥ṣah kavīnām matir jyotir vidharma* (ApŚ *°mā*) SV. ApŚ MŚ Mystically obscure in both versions, but we believe AV comes closer to the orig (cf VV 2 §833) The nom of SV etc. may be due to attraction into agreement with the subject

vājnam tvā vājno 'vanayāmah (MS *vājiny avanayāmi*) MS TA ApŚ 'Thee, the whey, we, the strong ones, pour' 'thee, the whey, I pour into the strong (*mahāvīra*-vessel)' MS is doubtless orig *yā* (MS *ya*) *iṣavo yātudhānānām* VS TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB *yeṣu vā yātudhānāḥ* KS See §449

mahī vīspatnī sadane (KS *°nt*) *ṛtasya* KS TB ApŚ MŚ Addressed to the firesticks 'Ye that are two mighty queens, (come hither) to the seat of the *ṛta*'. ' that are two seats of the *ṛta*, (come hither)' *devānām sumne bṛhate* (TB ApŚ *sumno mahate*) *ranāya* VS MS KS

ŚB TB ApŚ. Preceded by *svair dakṣair* (TB. ApŚ *sve dakṣe*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* The loc, 'in the favor of the gods', is made an epithet of the subject, 'agreeable to the gods' Caland adopts *sumne* in ApŚ, but thus needlessly violates the clear intent of the Tait school

saṃveśane (noun, 'at entrance') *tanvaś* (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV.: *saṃveśanas* (epithet of subject, understood as 'entering?') *tanvai* (tanve) *cārur edhi* SV. KS TB. TA. ApŚ. MŚ

yāh parastāt rocane (MS. °nāh) *sūryasya* TS. MS : *yā rocane parastāt sūryasya* RV VS. KS ŚB 'Which, in the light-space beyond the sun': in MS., 'which bright ones, beyond the sun.' Refers to waters

gyotirjarāyū rajaso vimāne (KS °nah) RV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB N. Preceded by *ayam venaś codayat pr̥nagarbhāh*. KS. is secondary but by no means 'absurd' (Keith on TS); it takes the word as an epithet of the subject, meaning 'traverser' or the like, a sense familiar in RV (see e.g. 3. 26. 7). No need to emend KS with Raghu Vira KapS. p. 27, n. 2, Oertel 5.

§456. In a few cases, contrariwise, an original nom. epithet is changed in a secondary version to an independent locative:

pūrvam devebhyo amṛtasya nābhīh (ArS *nāma*, TA. TU. NrpU *nābhāyī*) ArS TB TA. TU NrpU N Preceded by *aham asmi prathamaajā ṛtasya* The nom is original: 'I am the nave of immortality.' The loc is rationalizing.

ukṣā samudro (MS. KS °dre) *aruṇah* (RV. *aruṣah*) *suparṇah* RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB In the original *samudra* is an epithet of the sun This seems quite recherché to the redactors of MS KS., which understand it of the real ocean; the loc is rationalizing and secondary but perfectly sensible (the verb *ānveśa* follows), and by no means to be described as a 'mere blunder' (Keith on TS)

āpīr no bodhi sadhamādyo (SV. °dye) *vr̥dhe* RV. SV. In RV the word is an epithet of *āpīr*: 'be our friend, convivial, unto increase' In SV it may be felt as agreeing with *vr̥dhe*, conceived as loc; but Benfey takes it as an independent noun, = *sadhamāde*, 'in dem Göttermahl'

5 Miscellaneous

§457. The remaining nom.-loc variants seem hardly capable of classification, though many of them are interesting individually:

pumān putro jāyatām (ApMB ŚG *dhīyatām*) *garbho* (ŚG *garbhe*) *antah*

HG ŚG. ApMB The double meaning of *garbha*, 'womb' and 'embryo', is responsible for this change Similarly:

garbhe (MS. *garbhah*) *sañ* (*san*, *sam-*) *jāyase punah* RV VS TS MS. KS ŚB As prec.

yac ca kincij jagat sarvam (MahānU and TA comm *jagaty asmin*) TA MahānU. 'Whatever (in) this whole world is seen or heard' (followed by *drśyate śrūyate 'pi vā*) The loc seems to be rationalizing and secondary.

yatrādhi sūra udito vibhāti (TS. *udītau vyeti*) RV VS VSK TS Different words; cf VV 2 §732

viśvān yo amartyo, *havyā marṣeṣu ranyati* RV : *viśve yasminn amartye*, *havyam marṣā indhate* SV. 'What immortal (Agni) rejoices in all offerings among mortals': 'in what immortal all mortals kindle oblation'

pibāt somam mamadad (AŚ. ŚŚ *somam amadann*) *enam iṣṭe* (AŚ ŚŚ *iṣṭayah*) AV AŚ ŚŚ Cf VV 2 §746

vṛṣā vanam (ApŚ *vane*) *vṛṣā madah* (ApŚ *made*, SV *sutah*) RV. SV. ApŚ. 'A bull (is) the wooden (soma-vessel), a bull the exhilaration'. Addressed to soma. ApŚ has a natural rationalization: ('thou art) a bull in the vessel, a bull in the intoxication'

tasya mṛtyuś (KS *mṛtyoś*, read with v. 1 *mṛtyuś*, TB *mṛtyau*) *carati rājasūyam* AV. KS. TB Perhaps TB means something like 'his coronation walks in the presence of death', i.e. proceeds in spite of the powers of destruction? Comm. *tasya rājño mṛtyau duṣṭaśikṣā-rūpamarananamittabhūte satī rājasūyam carati*

vājasya hi prasave (TS *vo*) *nannamīti* (TS *namna*) TS MS KS Keith: 'the instigation of strength is propitious' Better perhaps with active meaning (well established for *namati*): 'the impulse of strength bows (causes to bend)' MS. KS perhaps, with intransitive meaning and indefinite subject: 'on the impulse of strength one bows' This and the next belong to a series of mantras which show continuous play on various meanings of *vāja*

viśvam astu dravnam vājo (KS. *vāje*) *asme* (KS. *ṭasmīn*) RV BS TS MS KS Original: 'let all riches and wealth (or, strength) be ours' KS. takes *vāja* as 'struggle': 'let all wealth be (mine) in this conflict' Cf. prec

apriyah prati muñcatām AV.: *apriye prati muñca tat* (Kauś *ṭmuñcatām*) AV. Kauś Contexts somewhat different, and voice of verb varies (VV 1 §30).

viṣṇum agan varuṇam pūrvahūtīh AV.: *viṣṇū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtāu*

(MS. °hūtim) VS MS ŚB. ŚB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ. See §399. The loc might here be the equivalent of the acc of goal But Mahidhara takes it, probably rightly, as true loc, 'at the morning prayer', and so Griffith and Eggeling. A still different interpretation is found in the comms. on ŚB and TB, which make it not loc. but a dual adjective going with *viṣṇu varunā*

agnir jyotir jyotir agnih SV. VS MS KS. etc : *agnau jyotir jyotir agnau* KS The contexts are different

ūrdhvo adhvare asthāt (VS ŚB 'dhvara asthāt, KS. 'dhvare sthāh, ApŚ. *adhvare sthāt*) VS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ 'He (Agni) stood upright at the sacrifice': 'the sacrifice stood upright'

ṛtasya garbhah (MS *dhāman*, KS. *dhāma*) *prathamā vyūṣuṣi* TS MS. KS PG 'She who first lighted up (i.e. Uṣas) was the child (abode, or the like) of the *ṛta*': 'first lighting up in the abode of the *ṛta*'

ya sma śrutarvann ārkṣye SV : *yasya śrutarvā brhan* RV. See §449

yat te susime hṛdaye (SMB PG ApMB HG. °yam) KBU. AG SMB PG ApMB HG. 'What in thy heart' : 'what heart is thine' KBU 2 8 has the version *yat te susimam hṛdayam*; see §340

yo antarikṣe rajaso vimānah RV. VS. VSK TS. *yad antarikṣam rajaso vimānam* AV. Different contexts; AV. has used a vague reminiscence of RV 10 121 5c in a quite secondary way 'He who measures out the space in the atmosphere': 'what atmosphere measures out space'

atha viśve arapā edhate gr̥hah TS : *adhā viśvāhārapa edhate gr̥he* VS The latter: 'he (the child) flourishes unharmed at all times in the house' TS corrupt; *viśve* translatable only as nom sg, cf §731; *gr̥hah* seems to have been attracted to the case of the subject: 'all (?) the house flourishes unharmed.'

prapitāmahan bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °maham bibharat pinvamāne) AV. TA : *svarge loke pinvamāno bibhartu* ApŚ Preceded by *sa bibharti pitarām pitāmahan* AV, *sa nah* (TA. *tasminn eṣa*) *pitarām pitāmahan* TA ApŚ Both *sa* and *tasminn* (with which *pinvamāne* agrees) refer to *utsa* of the preceding, while *eṣa* refers to *Vaiśvānara* The loc. of TA is almost 'absolute'.

§458. There remain a few corruptions and errors:

vasūni jāte janamāna (SV *jāto janimāny*) *oṣasā* RV. AV. SV. VS. N Followed by *prati bhāgam na dīdhima* (SV. °mah) The SV reading seems hopeless

tarī mandrāsu prayakṣu AV. *stanī mandras suprayakṣuh* KS : *sa im*

(TS *ī*) *mandrā suprayasah* (TS *mandrāsu prayasah*, MS *mandrā suprayasā starīman*) VS TS MS Very dubious, and likely to be corrupt in all. Cf VV 2 §839

[*varṣma divah, nābhā pṛthivyāh* TB : *varṣman divo nābhā pṛthivyāh* ApŚ Poona ed of TB correctly *varṣman*, a loc is necessary]

[*uta vām uṣaso budhi* (GB. *budhih*, but Gaastra with all mss but one *budhi*) RV GB.]

CHAPTER XIX

ACCUSATIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL

1 Associative instrumental complementary accusative

§459. Among variations of the accusative and instrumental we find first a group of cases in which an associative instrumental varies with an accusative which is parallel with and complementary to another accusative. Such variants occur also between the instrumental and other cases (§§55-7). The meaning is virtually the same. Thus:

asthi majjānam māsaraṁ (MS °ram) VS MS KS. TB Followed by *kāṭareṇa dadhato gavāṁ tvaci* 'Putting upon the cattle's hide his (soma's) bone and marrow, with (the drink) *māsara* and the straining-cloth' In MS there is no real difference of meaning, tho *māsara* is there made an additional direct object, parallel with *asthi* and *majjānam*

tapūṣy (MS *tapobhir*) *agne juhvā palamgān* RV VS TS MS. KS Followed by *asamdito vi sṛja viśvag ulkāḥ* The original correlates *tapūṣy*, *palamgān* and *ulkāḥ* as objects of *vi sṛja* MS substitutes *tapobhir* for the first, probably as an associative instr., tho it might also be one of means, correlated with *juhvā*.

rūpam apinśad (TB * *rūpāṁ pinśan*) *bhuvanāni viśvā* RV. AV. VS MS KS TB (both) N 'He shaped all beings along with their forms' 'shaping all forms and beings'

svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °jakh),

svāhā somam indriyam (MS °yakh);

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (MS °jakh), all VS. MS TB. The words *hotā yakṣad*, 'let the hotar worship', are understood with all, and it seems that the instrs. of MS must be understood as associative. Without the comparison of the two forms of the variant, we might be tempted to interpret them differently, as instrs. of means or cause ('with' or 'by reason of' . .)

hastyaśvāṣvatarāḥ ratharḥ RVKh Conc (Auf.) *hastyaśvāḍigave ratham* RVKh Scheft : *bahvaśvājagavedakam* MG

sapta ca mānuṣīr (AG ŚG MG *vārunīr*, PG. *vārunair*, v̄ 1 °nīr) *imāḥ* (PG MG *imāḥ prajāḥ*) ApMB HG AG. ŚG PG. MG Followed by.

sarvās (ApMB HG. *tisraś*) *ca rūjabāndhavīh* (PG °*vai*h, MG °*vyah*, ApMB °*bandhavīh*, HG °*bandhavai*h) ApMB HG AG ŚG † PG. MG (Cone puts *prajāh* with the second pāda in PG MG) The preceding verb is *apa jah* in all but the plainly corrupt MG (see Knauer's note) The instrs are associative, equivalent to correlative objects

māsarena pariśrutā (TB. *pariśkr̥tā*, KS *pariśrutam*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *gobhir na somam aśvinā*, and followed by *sam adhātām sarasvatyā*, *svāhendre sutam madhu* *Pariśrut* is the name of a kind of liquor, and is one of a series of gifts made by the Aśvins to Indra Some (*somam*, *sutam*, *madhu*) are made direct objects in all, others associative instrs; *pariśrut* is treated in both ways in different texts In TB *pariśkr̥tā* must be meant as nom dual with *aśvinā*; this is a reminiscence of *māsarena pariśkr̥tāh* (so VS TB, in MS *pariśrutā*), which shortly precedes in the text

vi kumāram jarāyunā AV : *vi garbham ca jarāyu ca* TS KS The verb, continued from pāda 2, is *bhīnadmi* 'the child with (that is, here, 'from') the afterbirth'. 'the embryo and the afterbirth (I separate)' *īdam aham rakṣo 'bh* (MS * *rakṣobh*ih) *sam dahāmi* (MS KS MŚ *sam ūhāmi*) TS MS (bis) KS MŚ The instr occurs in the brāhmana passage corresponding to the mantra *rakṣo 'bh*, it seems as if this latter must be intended both times (VV 2 §383). Yet it is strange that, to judge from the editor's silence, there is no *v* 1 At a pinch *rakṣobh*ih could be associative, with *īdam* felt as the direct object

gaṇān me mā vi tūrṣah (MŚ °*ṣat*, Vait *vy arīṣah*) TS Vait MŚ *ganair mā mā vi tūrṣata* MS 'Cause not my troops (me with my troops) to thirst.'

§460. Peculiar are the following two cases; it seems doubtful whether the acc in them is of quite the same character as in the preceding.

sam mā sṛjāmy adbhīr (TS. *apa*) *oṣadhībhih* VS TS MS KS If TS means 'I unite myself, [unite] the waters, with the plants,' as it seems to on its face, it is rather bathetic Keith, both here and in the following, seems to understand *apah* as a secondary acc., as if of goal (cf the use of the locative in §462), at least he renders 'I united [unite?] myself with waters and plants', which is the meaning of VS. MS KS Is it, literally, 'I unite myself unto waters, with plants'? Cf §59

sam tvā nahyāmy adbhīr (TS *apa*) *oṣadhībhih* TS MŚ MG As prec

§461. Sometimes, especially where a verb of joining occurs in the

phrase, there is an interchange of acc. with instr. and of instr. with acc., the two case-forms changing places:

tvaṣṭā rūpena samanaktu yajñam AŚ.: *tvaṣṭā rūpāni samanaktu yajñaiḥ*
 ŚB TB ŚŚ. KŚ 'Let Tvaṣṭar unite the sacrifice with form' or
 'forms with sacrifices'

§462. In at least two such cases a locative appears to be involved. In the first it, rather than the instr., varies with the one acc. after a verb of joining, while the other variant has instr. plus acc.:

aṅgāny ālman (MS *aṅgair ālmānam*) *bhiṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS.
 TB. 'The physician Aśvins joined his limbs upon his body (self)',
 or 'his body with his limbs.' MS. is evidently influenced by
 the following pāda: *ālmānam aṅgair samadhāt sarasvatī* (in all).

§463. In the other, where there is no verb of joining, the locative nevertheless is bracketed with the acc. in one form, while in the other we have acc. plus instr.:

samudre yasya rasām id āhuh AV.: *yasya samudram* (MS. KS. Ppp.
samudram yasya) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV. Ppp VS. TS MS KS.
 'Whose, they say, is the ocean, together with the (stream) Rasā.'
 AV. as it stands would mean 'the Rasā in the ocean', which
 may be defended; but note that the meter needs an extra syllable,
 which the instr. *samudrena* would furnish. If we dared emend AV.
 thus, we should have a double interchange exactly like that of §461.

2. Other accs and instrs, substantially equivalent

§464. The associative instrumental, as we have seen, may in theory vary with any other case as a correlative to another form in that case. We now come to other variants in which, in one way or another, an acc. and an instr. may be nearly or quite equivalent in meaning. We here approach a sphere in which the uses of these two cases converge more specifically, to be sure, among the variants last quoted, especially those containing expressions of joining two entities, we already entered a more restricted region where we should scarcely expect to find, normally, other cases than these two (altho curiously we found the locative also cropping up).

§465. We now take up, first, some cases in which what is sometimes called a 'cognate' or 'inner' accusative varies with an instrumental of means or manner, both meaning much the same thing. The type is exemplified by such expressions as 'sing songs' or 'sing with songs', 'walk a path' or 'walk on (in Sanskrit, 'by') a path'. Thus:
ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *tam arkair abhy arcanti vatsam*

TB 'They sing with ghee a song unto the young' 'they sing with songs unto the young'

yam putrina ākramante viśokāh AB.. *yenākramante putrino (ye) viśokāh* ŚŚ Preceded by *eṣa pañihā urugāyah suśevah* (ŚŚ *vitato devayānah*) '(The path) which they tread' or 'by which they tread'

tantum tatam peśasā samvayanī VS *peśasvatī tantunā samvayanī* (KS TB *samvayayanī*) MS KS TB Dawn and Night are referred to as 'weaving a thread' or 'weaving (rolling up) with a thread.'

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *mā*², TS ApMB * *yam abadhnāta*, MŚ MG *yaj jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV °*vāh*, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG '(the bond) with which he bound thee' or 'which he bound.' Note that the 'inner' acc is not used with the acc of the person

§466. Quite close to the preceding are cases of a sort of 'resultative' accusative, varying with an instrumental, of the offering made, after forms of roots *hu* and *yaj*

tasmā indrāya sutam ā juhota (TB. ApŚ *juhomī*) VS VSK MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ MŚ.. *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB *havr ā*) *juhota* MS TB 'Offer (with) the drink (oblation) to Indra here'

srucājyānī juhvatah AV *srucājyena juhvatah* TB (so Poona ed for the corrupt *srucānyena juhvata* of Bibl Ind ed) 'Offering (with) ghee with a spoon' Preceded by *medasvatā yajamānāh*, the instr *medasvatā* (which because of gender cannot agree with *srucā*, and seems to need a noun) may have caused the change to *ājyena*, which we believe is clearly secondary

§467. With a verb of motion an acc of goal is a very natural construction. If however there is contained in the verb also the notion of joining, that is if it means something like 'go to join', an instrumental is equally admissible.

marya iva yuvatibhīh sam arṣatī (AV *iva yoṣāh sam arṣase*) RV AV SV 'He rushes as a male to join the maidens', RV (Grassmann, 'mit jemand eilend zusammenkommen') The AV comm reads *yoṣā*, instr, and Whitney calls the construction with *yoṣāh* 'lame', which seems to us unjust. The acc of goal is surely quite natural, indeed with this verb the instr strikes us as more recherché, tho comprehensible (suggested by the associative idea in *sam*)

śunam kīnāśā abhī (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhaḥ* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV AV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Prosperously let the plowmen (plowman) go along with (after) the draft-animals'

trayo għarmā anu relā āguh AV : *trayo għarmāso anu jyotiṣāguh* (MS

KS. *relasāguh*) TS MS. KS ApMB. 'Three cauldrons have followed (with) the seed (light)' In a mystical passage; the real meaning is obscure

achāyam et śavasā ghr̥tena (AV. *ghr̥tā cit*) AV. Ppp. VS MS. TS : *achāyam yanti śavasā ghr̥tācīh* KS. In the sequel, as we have shown §399, both AV and KS seem to be secondary. In VV 2 §824 we have treated AV *ghr̥tā cit* as secondary to KS. *ghr̥tācīh*. We now think, however, that *ghr̥tā cit* may well be the original reading: 'here comes (Agni) with might unto the ghees (offerings)' It is perhaps easiest on this basis to explain both *ghr̥tācīh* (agreeing with *sruco* which is made the subject in KS, 'the ghee-filled ladles,' see §403) and *ghr̥tena*, which would be at least partly due to form-assimilation to the case of *śavasā*. It would be harder to understand the change from either of these to *ghr̥tā cit*, a lectio difficilior

§468. To these may be appended the following, in which the verb is not one of motion but one of speech, we may however remember that such verbs in Sanskrit have constructions parallel to verbs of motion, taking an acc of the goal of speech. In this variant that case varies with an associative instr., if the reading is acceptable:

grāvā vaded (KS Conc with v. 1 *grāvāvādīd*) *abhi somasyānsum* (ApŚ. °*ṣunā*) KS ApŚ. Followed by *indram* (KS. ed. *endram*, Conc. with v 1 *indram*) *śikṣemendunā sūtena*. Caland assumes the KS reading for ApŚ : 'may the pressing-stone cry out in greeting to the shoot of soma, may we present Indra with the pressed drink' But it seems that the instr. can stand: 'may the pressing-stone cry out along with the shoot of soma,' etc

§469. Other instances, in which the associative idea of 'joining' is hardly felt in the instr., which nevertheless interchanges with an acc., are: *devair uktā* (Ppp *sr̥ṣṭā*, KS *nuṭtā*, ApŚ MŚ *nyuptā*) *vyasarpo mahitvam* (Ppp KS ApŚ. MŚ °*tvā*) AV Ppp KS ApŚ MŚ. In AV., 'thou didst expand unto might' In the others, with quasi-adverbial instr., 'thou didst expand with might (mightily)'

ye śapraṭhetām (AV ArŚ °*tām*) *amitebhur ojobhūh* (AV. *amitā yojanāni*, ArŚ *amitam abhi yojanam*) AV. ArŚ TS MS KS. 'Who have spread out unto unmeasured leagues': 'who have spread out with unmeasured strengths' The change in the noun is connected with the change of case. Add to VV 1 §331

pra rādhasā (SV *rādhānsi*) *codayāte* (SV °*yate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV. 'Let him promote (he promotes) us with favor (unto favors), with might,' or, SV might mean 'he sends favors unto us with might'

See Oldenberg, *Proleg.* 287 f., against Grassmann's suggestion that SV. is original.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhīr*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvalhā bhūt* (SV. *°dhā bhuvat*) RV. SV. 'Shaking (with) his beard.'

sa virājam (KS. *°jā*) *pary eti* (MS. *etu*, KS *pari yāti*) *prajānan* TS MS KS. 'He goes about knowing majesty': 'he goes about with majesty, intelligent' or 'intelligent with majesty'. The VS parallel has *sanemī rājā pari yāti vidvān*, which is evidently based on a misunderstanding of KS., taking *virājā* as nominative

aham (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS *tam*) *asya manasā śivena* (MS * *ghṛtena*) VS. MS (his) KS. AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApS. *tenāham adya manasā sulasya* KS. The contexts are the same; both are followed by *somam rājānam iha bhakṣayāmi*. The pronouns *tad* (*tam*, *tena*) refer back to the preceding '(what is left over of the juicy draft, of which Indra drank mightily,) that (with that) of him with auspicious mind—I here partake of King Soma' KS *tena* seems to be a rationalizing reading, avoiding the harshness of *tad* followed by *somam*, both really referring to the same thing. For a similar reason MS changes *tad* to *tam*, to agree with *somam*

[*vanema pūrvīr aryo manīṣāh* (p.p. *°jā*) RV. The s p. has *manīṣā agnīh*, implying *manīṣāh*, which is vigorously defended by Oldenberg *Proleg.* 385, *SBE* 46 71, *RVNoten* on 1 70 1: 'may we, the poor, succeed in many pious thoughts' The p p must understand an instr.; it is followed by Geldner *Ved. St.* 3 87, 89]

3. Acc. of bahuvrīhis : instr of karmadhārayas (or separate instr)

§470. The nature of the instr is such that in a karmadhāraya cpd it may express the same idea which may be elsewhere expressed by a bahuvrīhi cpd agreeing with a noun, which might in theory be in any case at all We found above (§413) such variations between instr and nom. forms; here we record one of instr. and acc., as well as another somewhat similar case in which instead of the instr karmadhāraya we have the cpd broken up into its parts, an adjective (acc.) with dependent instrumental:

rākām aham suhavam (AV. *°vā*) *suṣṭutī huve* RV AV TS MS KS SMB ApMB. N. Comm on AV. and Ppp read *°vām*; if *°vā* can stand, it has been attracted to the case of *suṣṭutī* 'I call upon Rākā of good call (with good call), with fair praise.'

adhṛṣṭam dhṛṣṇvajasam (SV. *dhṛṣṇum ojasā*) RV AV SV. Epithets of Indra; 'endowed with resistless might' or 'resistless with might.' The meaning is practically identical Cf. VV 2 §818

4. Adverbial accusatives and instrumentals

§471. The adverbial accusative, called 'accusative of specification', is precisely equivalent to the instrumental of the same meaning, and varies with it sometimes without difference of meaning:

juhūr, upabhr̥d, dhruvāsi ghṛtācī nāmnā TS (intending *juhūr asi ghṛtācī nāmnā, upabhr̥d asi* , etc.): *ghṛtācy asy upabhr̥n nāmnā* (VSK *nāma*) VS. VSK. ŚB. (also with *dhruvā* and *juhūr* for *upabhr̥d*): *juhūr asi ghṛtācī nāmnā* TB.: *dyaur asi janmanā juhūr nāma*. MS. (also with *pṛthivy dhruvā* , and *antarikṣam. upabhr̥n*)
pra hansāsas tṛpalam (SV. *lā*) *manyum* (SV. *vagnum*) *acha* RV. SV
 The RV *tṛpalam* is apparently an adverb, 'joyfully'. In SV. if the p p is correct it must also be considered an (instr.) adverb (but *tṛpalāh*, 'joyful,' n. pl. adjective, may be intended by the s p.).

§472. In other cases only one of the varying case forms is adverbial, while the other has various non-adverbial constructions:

yad vo 'suddhāh (VSK † °*dhah*) *parā jaghnur* (VSK. *jaghānataḍ*) *idam vas tac chundhāmi* VS. VSK. ŚB.: *yad āsuddhah parā jaghāna tad va etena sundhanitām* KS In the latter *etena* is hardly adverbial: 'by this (procedure).' In VS. etc it seems to be represented by *idam*, which is apparently an out-and-out adverb: 'Whatever of yours the impure have (has) defiled, that here do I now (*idam*) purify': 'whatever the impure has defiled, as to that for you thru this let them purify themselves (or, let them purify that for you thru this).' In MS *yad vo 'suddha ālebhe tañ sundhadhvum* there is no such pronoun.

yas te rājan varuna deveṣu pāśas tam ta etenāvayaje (KS. *ta etad avayaje*) MS. KS. In KS. *etad* is a pure adverb: 'I now (or, here) sacrifice that (fetter) of thine away.' In MS *etena* (as in the preceding) means 'by this (rite).' See also the similar entries surrounding this in the Conc , and those beginning *yas te deva varuna*, which occur in TB. and have *etena*

priyena dhāmnā (TS. TB. ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK. *nāma*) *priyam sada āsida* (VSK TS TB ApŚ.* *priye sadasi sīda*) VS. VSK. TS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. (bis)· *sedam priyena dhāmnā priyam sada īāsida* (VSK *priyena nāma priye sadasi sīda*) VS VSK. ŚB. In TS etc. texts *priyeṇa nāmnā* = 'with thy dear name', associative instr. Conc. suggests reading *nāmnā* in VSK., but this is unnecessary; 'with that which is dear by name' is good Vedic thought.

yad ahañ dhanena prapananś carāmi ApMB.: *yad vo devāḥ prapanam carāma* HG : *yena dhanena prapanam carāmi* AV. *yad* is used as a conjunction; *yena* with *dhanena*.

5. Case attraction

§473. We come now to cases in which there is a more pronounced reinterpretation of the variant passage, and first to instances in which the change seems to be due to more or less external attraction to the case-form of an adjoining word (a motive which, as we have seen, is frequently perceptible in the variants listed above)

vyaciṣṭham annai (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS † KS. *vidānam*) RV. VS. TS MS KS ŚB In the original *annaiḥ* is instr. of means with either *vyaciṣṭham* or *rabhasam*, which refer to Agni: 'broadly extended by food, impetuous, beautiful' In TS MS KS it seems to be mechanically assimilated to the case of these adjectives, becoming thus a complementary object along with *agnim* of pāda 2 Keith takes *annam* as object of *vidānam*; but the position seems to be against this, and certainly in MS no such construction is possible

haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS MS KS TB Preceded by *tam indram paśavaḥ sacā, aśvinobhū sarasvatī, dadhānā abhyanūṣata* In most texts *indriyam* is a collateral object: ' (praised Indra), his heroism, with oblation, at the sacrifice ' In VS it is attracted to the case of *haviṣā*: ' with oblation, at the sacrifice, for his heroic deeds ' In TB. in a similar way the loc *yajñe* is attracted to the case of *indriyam* '(praised Indra) with oblation, (praised) the sacrifice, his heroism ' In such ritualistic rigmarole it makes little difference how the words are construed; this is a striking example, and proves little about the use of cases, but much about ritualistic psychology and style

agner jihvām abhi (MS *jihvābhi*, p p *jihvām, abhi*, AV. KS. *jihvayābhi*) *ṣṣṇām* (AV. *ṣṣṇata*) AV VS TS MS KS Preceded by *daivyā* (AV. *daivā*) *hotārā* (AV. °*ra*) *ūrdhvam* (KS *hotārordhvam imam*, MS *ūrdhvam imam*) *adhvaram nah* The instr. of AV KS is original: 'greet our high oblation with the tongue of Agni' In the others the preceding accs. have attracted *jihvayā* into their case: 'greet the tongue of Agni, our high oblation ' On MS see §174

6 Other miscellaneous variants

§474. The rest contain miscellaneous reinterpretations, sometimes accompanied by rather radical reconstructions of the material:

vidhes tvam asmākam nāma (AB AŚ *nāmnā*) MS KS AB TA. AŚ ŚŚ Preceded by *vidhema te nāma*, in AB AŚ the words *dyām gacha* are added, and with this phrase the instr. is construed. 'Let us

reverence thy name; do thou reverence our name': (in AB. AŚ.)
'...do thou do reverence, with our name go to heaven'

taved u stomaiḥ (SV. *stomaiḥ ciketa* RV. AV. SV. The root *cit* governs either acc. or gen., so that it is permissible for SV. to reinterpret *tava* (originally possessive) as object of *ciketa* 'I have thought only on thy praise': 'I have thought only on thee with praises.'

caḥṣuś cit sūrye sacā RV.: *caḥṣuśā sūryam dṛṣe* SV. In RV. *caḥṣuś* is governed by *ā dade* of the preceding: 'he unites our eye to the sun,' cf. Bergaigne, *Rel. véd.* 1. 184. The SV. has a lect. fac.: 'that we may see the sun with our eye.'

pratiprasthātāḥ paṣunehi KŚ. ApŚ.: *pratiprasthātāḥ paśum upakalpa-yaśva* MŚ. 'Come with the cow': 'bring the cow near.' Change of verb.

yajñam yad yajñavāhasaḥ AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB. *vo*) *yajñavāhasaḥ* RV. TS TB. The context of RV. TS. is wholly different from that of AV. TB. In RV. TS followed by *viprasya vā matinām, marutah śrutā havam*; for the interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 86. 2. In AV. TB. followed by *śikṣanto nopa* (TB. *āśikṣanto na*) *śekma* AV. makes *yajñam* object: 'in so far as we, O sacrifice-bearers, desiring to effect the sacrifice, have not been able to effect it' TB. is variously interpreted; the comm. is worthless To us it seems to mean, if anything: 'seeking power by sacrifice to you, O sacrifice-bearers, we have not succeeded.' But the real explanation is that TB., in repeating the AV. stanza, has contaminated it with the similar pāda from a totally different context, which is remembered from RV., or more likely from TS

stomair (gīro) vardhantī atrayah, gīrbhūh (gīrah) śumbhantī atrayah RV. (both). 'The Atris increase (the god) with praises, the Atris decorate (him) with songs': 'the Atris increase songs (for the god), .. decorate (i.e. fashion) songs (for him).' The first is preceded by an acc. referring to the god, the second by a dat

dīvyam suparnam vāyasam (AV. *payasam*, VS. TS.* KS ŚB. *vayasā*, TS.* MS *vayasam*) *bṛhantam* RV. AV. VS. TS. (bis) MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ. Suparn. The original *vāyasam* 'bird' is changed into the instr. *vayasā* 'with strength', from a wholly different stem.

pra tad viṣnu (*viṣnuh, viṣnus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV. *vīryāṇi*, TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*) RV. AV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ. NṛpU. The original means: 'Viṣnu is praised here for his deed of heroism', *stavate* having passive force. In AV, unless *pra stavate* is understood in its later sense of 'begins' (which seems unlikely), it must

apparently be taken with active force. 'V. here praises his (own) heroic deeds' Instead of this foolish perversion, TB ApŚ. have another one, with a dative of result: 'V. is praised unto (so as to perform) heroism' Cf §558

ghṛtēna tvam tanvam (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayaśva* RV. VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ N : *ghṛtasyāgne tanvā sam bhava* KS MŚ Kauś MG
Parallels rather than true variants, tho the contexts are in some texts the same

nīcād uccā svadhayābhī pra tasthau Ppp TS KS : *nīcār uccār svadhā abhī pra tasthau* AV The meaning of the always troublesome word *svadhā* is doubly doubtful in this obscure verse of an obscure hymn AV. *svadhā* is generally taken as acc : 'he set forth unto the sacrificial drinks (? cf *gharmam* of the preceding verse)' The others: 'he set forth according to his own will (?)' Bloomfield in a note suggests that *svadhā* may be nom sg in spite of the sandhi, which in more than one connexion is problematic Macdonell, *Ved Gr.* 251, notes that this word, originally apparently a stem in radical *ā*, sometimes appears in the nom sg without *s* in the p p. but with hiatus in the s p, and refers to RPr 2 29 TPr 10 13 teaches the sandhi *svadhā as* If nom, the word would mean here '(the first-born's) will set forth' The variant may be partly phonetic in character, it suggests the use of *y* as 'Hiatus-tilger' (VV 2 §§338 ff; this might have been mentioned in §342)

viśvā āśāh pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhūyah VS TS : *viśvā* (MS *vy*) *amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS °*sebhyah*, MS °*śānām*) AV. MS KS
See §573 The VS TS reading has all the earmarks of a lect fac, with *mānuṣīr* understand *kṛṣṭis*. 'freeing men from fear'. Cf VV 2 §§783, 832

udagrābhasya namayan vadhasnāh (SV °*snum*) RV SV There seems to be no object for *namayan* in RV, SV feels it necessary to specify who is 'brought low', and makes it 'the weapon-bearer', doubtless thinking vaguely of demonic enemies

dame-dame suṣṭutir (°*tyā*, °*tīr*, °*tī*) *vām iṣṇā* (°*vārdhānā*, °*nau*), see §413 The instr is clearly original, acc secondary.

[*mā me 'vān nābhīm atigāh* TS KŚ MŚ · *mām evā gnābhīr abhigāh* Vait
Read in Vait *mā me 'vāg nābhīm*]

7 Phrase inflection

§476. We find a single case which seems to belong in this group (§§21-2):

tuvidyumna yasasvataḥ (RV.* °*vatā*) RV (both) AV. See *RVRep.* on 1. 9 6.

8. Transfer of epithet

§476. Of the instances of transfer of epithet (§14) causing a shift between acc. and instr., all but the first involve change of number or gender, or both, as well as case:

īha tvā goparīnasā (SV. °*sam*) RV AV SV. Followed by *mahe mandantu rādhasē*. 'Here thee with (soma-juice, supplying *sutena* with Grassmann) rich in milk': 'here thee rich in milk'. Oldenberg suggests as an alternative *goparīnasāḥ* (sc. *somāḥ*), nom. pl., implying that RV p p is incorrect

yam nīrmanthato aśvinā RV. ApMB. HG. MG : *yābhyām nīrmanthatām aśvinau devau* ŚB. BṛhU. Preceded by *hranyayī aranī*, and followed by *īam te garbham havāmahe (dadhāmahe)*. In the first *yam* refers to *garbham*, in the latter *yābhyām* to *aranī*.

pathā madhumatā bharan (MS. *madhumad ābharan*) VS. MS. TB. Followed by *aśvinendrāya vīryam*. The adjective goes alternatively with *pathā* or *vīryam*.

yebhūr vācam viśvarūpebhīr (TB °*rūpām*) *avyayan* (TB. *samavyayat*) KS. TB The adjective is transferred from *yebhūr* (TB comm *yaiḥ karmakauśalāḥ*) to *vācam*

ava bādhe pṛtanyauḥ (ApŚ. °*īā*) MS. ApŚ. And others, see Conc Preceded by *indreṇa manyunā yujā*. In MS *pṛt°* means 'enemies'; in ApŚ. '(friendly) champion', agreeing with *indreṇa*. Caland translates the MS reading without comment; we see no reason to abandon the text of ApŚ, tho it is of course secondary and based on MS. For *pṛtanyau* with Indra as subject and a hostile object cf. RV. 1. 54 4 The next following word in both is *ghnatā*, agreeing with *indreṇa*.

yayāśīṣā dampatī vāmam aśnutah AV : *yam āśīrā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* TS.: *yad āśīrdā dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS. The original *yayā* is transferred to agree with *vāmam*; on the gender-change of §809.

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV. ApMB.: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasām* AV Preceded by *upa* (AV *abhi*) *te 'dhām sahamānām*. 'I have laid under (AV. over) thee the strong (plant), I have covered thee with the stronger (thing; AV I have laid under thee the stronger [plant])' The instr. in the original does not go with the plant, as the gender shows (§808); by a natural shift it is transferred to it in AV.

§477. There are also a couple of instances of the type described in §15,

in which a word which in the original is not properly an 'epithet' at all is altered in form so as to become a true 'epithet' of another entity: *hastacyuti* (SV. °*cyutam*) *janayanta* (SV. † °*yata*) *praśastam* RV. SV. KS.

KB. ApŚ. MŚ. N. The original form is a Vedic instr., 'by hand-motion'; like the parallel *didhūtibhiḥ* in the preceding, it goes with *janayanta*, whose object, Agni, is modified by a series of acc epithets (of which *praśastam* is one). In SV. *hasta*° is made into another epithet of Agni.

savātarau na tejasā (TB. °*sī*) VS. TB. The word *savātarau* (said by the scholars to mean 'having a common calf', with *dhenū* preceding) is one of a series of epithets of *uṣe* 'dawn and night' (in *hotā yakṣad uṣe...*). VS *tejasā* is an instr. of means with the following verb (*vaśsam indram avardhatām*), of which *savātarau* may also be considered the subject: 'they two have increased Indra with splendor'. It can hardly be doubted that TB. *tējasī* is a simple case of form-assimilation to the fem. dual; the comm takes it as an adjective (*tejasvinau*), but the accent shows that it is rather a noun, 'the two brilliances'.

CHAPTER XX

ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

1. After verbs of motion and the like

§478. Among the cases in which accusative and dative constructions approach one another, doubtless the most striking and familiar are those in which after a verb of motion an accusative of goal may vary with a dative. In the Veda, this dative is, as a rule, perhaps not to be regarded as a psychological equivalent of the accusative, Delbrück (AIS. 143) has made out a plausible case for the theory that it regularly contains a suggestion of the interested party, rather than the goal of motion, pointing out that it generally occurs with persons. Or, in other cases, the dative may be final in character (Delbrück 147 f.), approaching, or even attaining, the status of an infinitive. We shall not enter into these questions, contenting ourselves with recording the variants which occur *kāmena mā* (TA *me*) *kāma āgan* (TA *āgāt*) AV TA. 'By love love has come to (for) me'

ado māgachatu MS. KS. MŚ : *ado ma āgachatu* ApŚ. (Delete ApŚ. 4. 13. 8 under the former heading in Conc. and add it under the latter.)

If ApŚ. has anything other than a peculiar sandhi variation (cf VV 2 §990), it would belong here

§479. Examples of a more strictly final dative varying with an accusative of goal after a verb of motion are:

sā paprathe prithvī pāṛthivān (KS. MŚ °*vāya*) KS. TB. ApŚ. MŚ.

'This earth spread out unto the earthly (regions)' or 'so as to reach the earthly (region)'

sindhur avabhṛtham avaprayan TS : *sindhur avabhṛthāyodyatah* VS. 'Sindhu going down into the purification-bath': 'Sindhu lifted up for the p b' The verbal expression is changed in VS. to one which more naturally goes with a dative.

śubham yātām (MS. *śubhe kam*) *anu rathā avṛtsata* RV. TS MS. KS.

Here both *śubham* and *śubhe* may be classed as infinitives.

§480. Here may be mentioned the following, in which *svasti* is rather ambiguous; Keith takes it as an independent interjection ('hail!'), to us it seems most likely to be an adverbial acc.:

tam (TS *tad*) *āśvinā pari dhātam svasti* (MŚ °*taye*) TS KS. MŚ 'O Āśvins, encompass this one comfortably (unto well-being).'

§481. After a verb of sending, a dative of 'indirect object' varies with an acc of goal tagged with the postposition *upa*:

athem enam (AV. *athemam enam*) *pra hinuāt pītṛbhyah* (AV † *pītṛn upa*)

RV.† 10 16 1d, AV TA. 'Then send him forward unto the fathers' AV. comm reads *pītṛbhyah* but also comments upon *upa*! (as if blending the two readings)

§482. Verbs of placing, especially *dhā*, may be construed with either acc. or dat of person, with (we may suppose) different psychological turns (see §72).

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehi Vait : *suvarge loka yajamānam hi dhehi* (and, *dhehi mām*) TB ApŚ (both in each). 'Grant the world of heaven to me the sacrificer': 'place (me) the sacrificer in the world of heaven.'

§483. Verbs of revering or the like are also found with either dat or acc of person:

yajñasya tvā (MŚ *te*) *yajñapate sūktoktau* (TS *hamrbhah*, KS *saha*) VS.

TS MS KS ŚB. Followed by *sūktavāke* (omitted in VS MS ŚB) *namovāke vidhema* (VS ŚB add *yai svāhā*, MS adds *svāhā*)

tvaṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri*°, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu*°) *tvā sapema* VS MS. KS. ŚB ApŚ : *tvaṣṭrīmātī* (TS ApŚ. *tvaṣṭri*°, and so TA Poona ed with v. 1 °*ṛi*°) *te sapeya* TS. TA ApŚ. We need not accept Pischel's improbable theory that *te* is acc (see Oldenberg's judicious critique, *RVNoten* 1 25 ff.). The construction of *sap* 'devote oneself to (a god)' with dat is exceptional, but may easily have been suggested by this construction with *sac* (see e.g. RV 8 60 18)

§484. Other verbs:

ābhūśantas te (TB *tvā*) *samutau navāyām* RV. AV. TB The usual interpretation makes *te* a gen with *sumatau*, which is dependent on the participle: 'presenting ourselves to thy fresh favor' Without denying this possibility we suggest that *te* may be a dat depending directly on the participle, used in the same sense as the simple *bhūṣ* with dat (BR *studere*, *colere*). For this in TB an acc is substituted (comm. on TB *sarvataḥ praśansantah*): 'attending thee in a new song of praise'

tam indram abhi gāyata RV. 8 32 13: *tasmā indrāya gāyata* RV. 1. 4 10, 5 4; AV Both: 'sing praises to this Indra' The compound *abhi-ga* takes acc, the simple *ga* dat RV 8 32 13 = 1. 4 10 entire.

2 Dedicatory expressions

§485. In formulae of dedication, accusatives and datives are variously used in substantially equivalent phrases (see §126):

dighbhyah śrotam (sc. *ālabhate*) TB † 3 4. 18 1: *diśah śrotam* (sc. *anva-vasrjatāt*) AB TB. AŚ ŚŚ '(He takes) the ear for the directions'. '(send) the ear to the directions.'

agnim svāhā MS : *agnim agnau svāhā* (here a verb of placing is understood) ApŚ MŚ. ApMB : *svāhāgnim* KS ŚB. TB ŚŚ : *agnaye svāhā* AV. etc. Likewise: *svāhā prajāpataye* (TB. °*patim*) TS KSA TB : *svāhā sarasvatyar* (KS °*tim*) TS KS etc ; *svāhā viśvān devān* KS : *svāhā viśvebhyo devebhyah* VS. TS KSA ŚB. And many other similar phrases. The contexts are often quite different. The dat. is felt as governed by *svāhā*, 'hail to. .' The acc. is sometimes dependent on some verb supplied from the context, but at times no such verb is clearly suppliable, and then the acc. is commonly understood in a sort of interjectional fashion, however, one may always understand, if one wishes, a verb such as 'we worship'. Cf. next, and §377. The TB comm. supplies *uddiśya*. Cf. also §459, *svāhāgnim*.

ākūtim (MS MŚ MG °*tam*) *agnim prayujam svāhā* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ. MG : *ākūtyai prayuje 'gnaye* (MS. KS *agnaye*) *svāhā* VS. TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ. Cf. prec., and see especially TS. 4. 1. 9. 1, where the acc. form occurs in a list of several such acc. formulae, followed by two in the dat.

3 Dative of purpose : accusative (object or goal)

§486. The dative of purpose is sometimes used to express the same idea which is otherwise expressed by the same word in the accusative, either felt as immediate object or goal, or in apposition to another word so used. Theoretically the dative in this use might, indeed, vary with any other case, see §70. Thus:

rāyas poṣam vi śyatu (RV. MS TB * *śyatām*, AV. MS * *śya*) *nābhīm asme* (AV *asya*) RV AV VS TS MS (bis) TB. (bis) ApŚ.: *tvaṣṭah poṣāya viśya nābhīm asme* KS '(Our seminal fluid, *turīpam*) release (let him release, etc.) for increase (as increase of wealth) ..for us (etc.)'

mahyam sūro abharaj jyotiṣe ham AV.: *mahyam jyotir abharat sūryas tat* KS 'The sun brought (it) to me in order to light': 'to me the sun brought that light.' The AV. (probably original) understands the object from the preceding pāda; KS. by a lect. fac. makes *jyotis* the object

asamātim gr̥heṣu nah AV : *gr̥hāṇām asamarīyaḥ* TS In AV the acc is governed by the preceding *abhi rakṣatu*; Bloomfield, following Sāyaṇa: 'preserve for us (possessions) without measure [literally, unmeasuredness] in our house' In TS is added another pāda, *bahavo no gr̥hā asan*, the two constituting an independent sentence: 'may our houses be many, for unharmedness of our house' *tam te gr̥hṇāmi yajñīyāḥ ketubhāḥ saha* KS : *tam te* (AŚ *tvā*) *harāmi brahmanā* TB Vait AŚ ApŚ MŚ The preceding pādas are *yo aśvatthāḥ śamāgarbha āruroha tve sacā* (KS *twayy api*) 'The aśvatthā ... that has grown up by thee (TB comm *twayy nimittabhūtāyām satyām*), that for thee I take' In AŚ the meaning is essentially the same, but instead of the dative (TB. comm *tvadartham*), referring to the firestick, we have an appositional acc. 'that I take as thee (the firestick)' The firestick of course is made from the *aśvatthā*

vṛṣane śuṣmāyāyuṣe varcase TS *vṛṣaṇam śuṣmam āyuṣe varcase kṛdhī* MŚ Preceded by *mā mā rājan vibībhīṣo mā me hārdi* (MŚ *°dim*) *tvīṣā* (MŚ. *dvīṣā*) *vadhīh* 'Terrify me not, O king, smite not my heart unto (i.e. so that I may have) manly fury, life, splendor' 'make (for me) manly fury, unto life, splendor.' It is hard to say which is original, if MŚ be considered so, TS could be explained by case-attraction to the accompanying datives [*pra tad vṛṣnu* (*vṛṣnuh*) *stavate vīryena* (*vīryān*, *vīryāya*), see §§474, 558 The instr. is the original form]

4 Miscellaneous final dative : accusative

§487. There remain a few miscellaneous cases in which a final dative varies with an accusative, variously construed, other changes in the phraseology unite with this to produce a rather extensive reconstruction of the variant.

śukrām vayanīy asurāya nīrñyam RV : *śukrā vayanīy asurāya nīrñye* SV 'They weave a bright garment for the Asura' 'the bright (soma-drops) stream variously to adorn the Asura' The noun of RV becomes an infinitive in SV, perhaps by case-attraction to the adjoining *asurāya*; but cf. also *nīrñye* in RV 10 49 7 *am* (MS *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāya* (MS *°yī*) TS MS TA 'May the gods aid me unto splendor' The MS form seems to be neut. acc. of a stem **śobhāyn*, doubtless adverbial, 'splendidly' *pr̥chāmi tvā citaye* (LŚ *°yam*) *devasakha* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ The dat. *citaye* may be considered an infinitive 'I ask thee for

understanding (i.e. that I may understand).’ LŚ. *citayam* (repeated in the comm.) would seem to be fr. an unrecorded **citaya*, an adjective agreeing with *tvā*: ‘thee that understandest’. Cf. next

kavīn prchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvāno*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. ‘I ask the sages, I ignorant, to one that knows (those that know)’ The AV. is a lect. fac., attracting the adjective into agreement with *kavīn*. The change resembles that in the last.

5. Miscellaneous dative of interest : accusative

§488. Similarly a dative of the interested party varies in miscellaneous ways with an accusative; usually there is extensive reconstruction of the passage, involving sweeping changes in other forms also:

dyaus ca ma idam prthivī ca pracetasau AV.: *dyaus ca nah* (KS TB *tvā*) *prthivī ca pracetasā* RV. KS TB. The RV. passage is in a different context from all the others. In KS TB the pronoun is object of *pipartu* ‘protect’ Ppp. according to Roth ap. Whitney has *mā*, acc., for AV. *ma idam*, this latter Whitney finds ‘embarrassing’, but without reason as it seems to us, *idam* is object of *pipartu*, *me* dative of interest. We may render with Ludwig ‘Dyaus und Pṛthivī fördern mir dies’, or we may take *pipartu* from *pr* ‘fill’ in the sense of ‘fulfil, grant’.

ajīyapalendram vājam VS ŚB: (*ajīyapata*) *indram vājam* (MS MŚ. *indrāya vācam*) *vimucyadhvam* TS. MS. KS TB. MŚ ‘Ye have caused Indra to win the prize; (be released).’ So essentially all but MS MŚ, which mean ‘ye have caused Speech to win for Indra’.

vanaspatīn vānaspatyān, oṣadhīr uta vīrudhah AV. 8.8.14ab, 11.9.24ab; *devān punyajanān pitṛn* AV. 8.8.15b, 11.9.24d: *vanaspatībhyo vānaspatyebhyaḥ oṣadhībhyo vīrudbhyah sarvebhyo devebhyo devajanebhyah punyajanebhyah* Kauś. In Kauś. a dedicatory formula, based on vaguely remembered fragments of AV. passages (used in AV. in quite other, and mutually different, contexts)

yajñam hinwanti adribhūh RV.: *yajñāya santv adrayah* SV. ‘They promote the sacrifice with stones’: ‘let the stones be for the sacrifice’ See §419; same context, loosely rephrased.

madhu tvā madhulā cakāra (Ppp. *karat*, MS. *kr̥notu*, TA. ApŚ. *karotu*) RV. Ppp. MS. TA. ApŚ.: *madhu me madhulā karah* AV. Change of person in pronoun; ‘the honeyed one has made (shall make) thee into honey’: ‘mayst thou, honeyed, make honey for me.’

pāvamānyah (SV. MG °nāh) *punantu mā* (SV *nah*, MS *tvā*, YDh *te*) RVKh SV TB MG YDh 'May they purify me (us, thee)' 'may they purify for thee', with indefinite and unexpressed object Cf. next

sa tvā (Kauś *no*, ViDh *me*) *raḥṣatu sarvataḥ* AV Kauś ViDh In ViDh no object is expressed, unless *me* be taken as acc. as Jolly seems to take it (cf above, §483; we take no stock in *me*, *te* as accs) As in the preceding 'may he protect for me on all sides' *kas te yunakti*, and *kas te vimuñcati*, MG *kas tvā yunakti*, and *kas tvā vimuñcati*, VS TS KSA ŚB TB ApŚ *ko vo yunakti*, and *ko vo vimuñcati*, ApŚ MŚ. MG On the 'yoking' and 'unyoking' of a rite see Caland on ApŚ 4. 16 10, it is simply a mystically grandiose expression for 'beginning' and 'ending'. In most texts *tvā* is used referring to the rite In MG twice *te* is used referring to the *devatā*, the object (the rite, as in the others) being understood MG. 'Who yokes (unyokes) [the rite] for thee?'

asmin yaḥṇe yaḥamānāya sūrim AV. *imam yaḥṇam yaḥamānam ca sūrau* ApŚ Preceded by *indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi* AV, *indrasya bhāgaḥ sume dadhātana* ApŚ Both unintelligent and scarcely translatable, *yaḥamāna* and *sūri* ought to refer to the same person, but only Ppp (as reported by Roth ap Whitney, *yaḥṇapatiś ca sūrih*) has them in the same case (the nominative, in other respects Ppp is hardly more intelligent)

tanā (SV *tmanā*) *kṛnvanto arvate* (SV °*tah*) RV SV Preceded by *sugā tokāya vājnah* Subject is the soma-drops, with which *vājnah* agrees in RV. 'creating welfare uninterruptedly for the offspring, they the swift ones, and for the steed.' SV 'the swift ones, creating welfare and horses for the offspring by themselves', or 'creating welfare and swift horses' ?

amā ma edhi mā mṛdhā na (AŚ ī*ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG *apāma edhi mā mṛthā na indra* SMB 'Do not abandon us (me)' 'do not die for us' (!) See VV 2 §78

abhi tvādhām sahāyasā RV ApMB *upa te 'dhām sahāyasīm* AV See §476

agnau vā tvā gārhapatyē 'bhiceruh AV *yām te cakrur gārhapatyē* AV The latter 'what (spell) they have made for (against) thee', while in the former *tvā* is object of *abhicerur* 'bewitched'

samudhah (ApŚ MŚ *samudbhyah*) *preṣya* ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ In all texts addressed by the adhvaryu to the maitrāvaruna 'order (the hotar to recite the formula) for the firesticks' The dative is usual with

the stereotyped *preṣya* to denote the *devatā* to which offering or prayer is made, the acc. to denote the rite or action ordered (e.g. *sāma* or the like, see BR. s. v. *iṣ + pra*). Here *samidbhyaḥ* is originally the proper form, the kindling sticks being the *devatā* of the formula which the hotar is commanded to recite. But by figurative transference *samidhah* is treated as the name of the rite: 'order (the recitation of the formula for) the firesticks.' See on this sort of 'name' Edgerton, *Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa*, §§204, 300.

tan mā (Vait. *mā*) *āpyāyatām punah* GB. Vart. In GB.: 'let that be strong for me again.' Note hiatus in Vait. If it really intends *mā*, it must understand the verb in an active sense, as in Mbh. 5. 508: 'let that make me strong again.'

[*yatra vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG.: *yatrāṣṛkṣat tanvo yac ca vāsasaḥ* (ApMB *tanvam yatra vāsah*) AV. ApMB. *tanuvai* might be gen. with ending *ai* (§144), cf. the AV. reading which is certainly gen. But since HG. is otherwise corrupt (Oldenberg adopts the AV. reading), little reliance can be placed upon it.]

6 Transfer of epithet

§489. Transfer of epithet (§14) between dative and accusative forms appears in the following cases. First, some in which number and gender are not changed:

dakṣāya dakṣavrdham (TS °dhe) TS MS KS. Preceded by *prajāpataye tvā jyotiṣmate jyotiṣmantam grhṇāmi*. In MS. KS the adjective agrees with *tvā*, carried over from the preceding; in TS. it is attracted into agreement with *dakṣāya*.

dyaus te (AŚ. PG. *tvā*) *dadātu prthivī* (PG. adds *tvā*) *pratiḡgrhṇātu* AŚ. PG. HG. The dative refers to the recipient of the gift, the acc. to the gift; 'may heaven give (to) thee'. The next two are similar.

śukram te śukrena grhṇāmi TS. KS ApŚ.: *śukram tvā śukra śukrāya grhṇāmi* MS MŚ: *śukram tvā śukra ādhunomi* VS ŚB. As in prec. and next, the pronouns refer to different things.

śukram te (MS. *te śukra*) *śukreṇa krīṇāmi* (MS omits *krī*) *candram candrenāmṛtam amṛtena* (MS. adds *krīṇāmi* .) TS. MS KS.: *śukram tvā śukrena krīṇāmi* VS ŚB. *te* refers to the seller of the soma, *tvā* to the soma; cf. preceding two.

athatān aṣṭau virūpān (TB † 3. 4. 19. 1 *athatān arūpēbhya*) *ālabhate* VS VSK TB. In VS. VSK. the adjective refers to the eight 'malformed' men who are dedicated (in these texts) to Prajāpati; in TB the same eight are dedicated to *devatās* called 'formless'.

dhātām rayīm sahavīram (ApMB *daśavīram*) *vacasyave* RV ApMB *rayīm dhehī sarvavīram vacasyam* AV. The epithet *vacasya* is attracted in AV. into agreement with *rayīm*; in the original it referred to the recipient of the gift

yajñāya stīrnabarhiṣe vi vo made RV. AŚ · *yajñeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vvak-ṣase* SV In the original the adjective agrees with *yajñāya*, in SV with *tvā* of the preceding (*hotūram tvā vṛnīmahe*)

indrāya tvā bṛhadvate vayasvata ukthāyuvē (VSK MS °*yuvam*, VS ŚB KS † *ukthāvyam*, VS VSK ŚB °*am grhnāmi*) VS VSK. TS MS KS. ŚB. The acc goes with *tvā*, the dat with *indrāya* Add to VV 2 §805 (stems *ukthāyu* : *ukthā-vī*)

§490. With change of number and gender as well as case:

īdīṣvā hī mahe (ApŚ *mahī*, v. 1 *mahe*) *vṛṣan* SV ApŚ Followed by *dyāvā hotrāya pṛthivī* (ApŚ °*vīm*, see §746) In SV the adj agrees with *hotrāya*, in ApŚ (if *mahī* be read) with *dyāvā*.

§491. In the following an originally independent noun seems to be attracted into functioning as epithet of another word, if we are right in taking KS TB ApŚ as secondary Cf §15:

ayakṣmāya tvā samsrjāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS. KS ŚB · *ayahṣmā vah prajāyā samsrjāmi* KS TB ApŚ 'I unite thee unto health, unto progeny': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with progeny'

§492. Contrariwise, in the next what is in the original form an epithet is made into an independently construed noun (here, a dative of purpose) in the following:

ūrjasvatī rājasvāś (MS KS *rājasūyāś*, TS *rājasūyāya*) *cītānāh* VS TS MS KS ŚB The waters are originally described as 'king-creating', in TS. this adjective is replaced by the noun 'for king-crowning', which depends on *cītānāh* ('caring for, having regard to'), cf. BR s v 4 *cīt*, 2 See next

svāhā rājasūyāi MS MŚ : *svāhā rājasūyāya cītānāh* TS · *svāhā rājasvah* VS ŚB Supply *apah* in all, we have here a reminiscence of the formula just quoted, q v

CHAPTER XXI

ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

1. With verbs of separation, guarding, etc.

§493. The accusative and ablative approach interchangeability chiefly in connexion with certain verbs and certain prepositions. Thus, first, verbs of separation, guarding, purifying, or the like, since they suggest separation of two things or of a thing and a quality, may in principle put either of the two separated entities in either the acc or the abl. Hence the following variants:

īyam duruktāt (PG. 'īam) *paribādhamānā* ŚG. SMB PG. ApMB. MG
'This (girdle), guarding (its wearer) from slander' or 'warding off slander (from its wearer).'

āpas tvā tasmāj jīvalāh AV · *āpas tat sarvām jīvalāh* ApŚ. Followed by *ṃnāntu* (ApŚ *śundhantu*) *śucayah śucim* 'May the pure living waters purify thee pure from that' or 'purify (thee) pure as to that all', in ApŚ *tat sarvām* may either be understood as a quasi-adverbial acc, or as a second direct object, so that we should then have in ApŚ a blend of the two constructions, 'purify that (thing which is impure)' and 'purify thee (from that).'

sakhyam te mā yoṣāh sakhyam te mā yoṣhāh SMB.: *sakhyāt te mā yoṣam sakhyān me mā yoṣhāh* TB ApŚ. ApMB HG The root *yu* is either transitive, 'separate', or intransitive, 'be separated'. In SMB the two clauses, one with active and one with middle verb, seem to be equivalent in meaning (transitive in both): 'Withhold not thy friendship.' The others. 'may I not be separated from thy friendship, nor thou from mine.'

2. With prepositions

§494. Similarly both cases are used after various prepositions, with or without difference of meaning. Notably *ā* in the meaning 'up to, until' may take either acc or abl., while in the meaning 'from' it takes only the abl., never the acc. Also *pari* is used with both cases, tho with different meanings.

ūrjo mā pāhy oḍṛcam MŚ : *ūrdhvo mā pāhy oḍṛcaḥ* TS : *ūrdhvo mā pāhy*

añhasah, āsya yajñasyodṛcah VS ŚB *ā-udṛcah* (°cam) in all means 'until the end (of this sacrifice)' The variant *ūrjo* for *ūrdhvo* (obviously a silly blunder if not a misprint) should be added to VV 2 §160.

orv antarikṣam ŚŚ . *āsmāt sadhasthād oror antarikṣāt* TB ApŚ Here the contexts are quite different, and the preposition has different meanings, 'to' with acc, 'from' with abl Probably not true variants

ye jātās tanvas (PB. °vam) *pari* RV. MS PB. ŚB TA 'Who are born from the body (of Aditi)'. 'who are born about (near) [her] body' But Caland is doubtless right in assuming that PB has a mere corruption of the RV. reading

3 Miscellaneous

§495. Of the rest—barring those classified under 'transfer of epithet'—there is little to be said They concern miscellaneous reinterpretations of the passages, usually with other changes besides the one with which we are concerned, and oftener than not yielding very poor sense in the secondary version, so that the term 'corruption' begins to apply. In not a few cases the variation is between *n* and *t*, suggesting possible graphic variation (VV 2 §871)

rūpam varnam paśūnām mā nirmṛkṣam ApŚ : *rūpād varnam mā nirmṛkṣat* MŚ 'May I not wipe out the form, the color of the cattle': 'may he not wipe away the color from the form.' ApŚ is a little less banal than MŚ

yakṣmā yanti janād (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV ApMB In RV abl of source: 'from the (malicious) folk;' *anu yanti*, 'follow' AV ApMB. construe *anu* as postposition with acc *janān*. Altho Bloomfield (*The Atharvaveda* 50) mentioned this as an instance of a superior AV. reading as compared with RV., we think he would perhaps retract this opinion now; see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 10 85 31. If there is a single case in which AV shows itself superior to RV. in a variant reading, we do not know of it.

ūvadyam vātam (MS *vātāt*) *sabvam* (TB Poona ed *sabuvam*) *tad ārāt* VS. MS. KS TB Preceded by *apāmatim durmatim bādhamānāh* 'Driving away undigested food, wind, and digested food' (? but *sabvam* is quite uncertain) Does MS *vātāt* mean '(arising) from wind,' referring to *ūvadyam* and *sabvam*? Or is it to be taken as abl. with *bādhamānāh*, or with *ārāt* felt as an adjective (a sort of 'case attraction')? In any event it is secondary and poor.

dwaṣ cid antāḍ upamām (TA *†upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *ud ānaḥ* RV. AV. SV TA Some AV mss read *upa mām* with TA., and Whitney adopts this Benfey, Glossar, defines *upamām* as 'nahe' (adverb), but he translates 'zu allen Himmelsenden drang er aufwärts,' which seems to imply *antān*. The RV. alone is easily interpretable: 'he has attained unto the utmost bounds of very heaven.' The others perhaps: 'even from the bounds of heaven he has attained unto me (? unto the highest)'

ta āvavṛtran sadanād ṛtasya (TS *sadanānṛ kṛtvā*, KS * *sadanānṛ rātvā*) RV AV. TS. MS KS (bis) N 'They have turned hither from the abode of the *ṛta* (having established their abodes, etc.)' Add to VV 2 §§421, 665

rudrasya gānapatyān (VS ŚB. °yam, KS. °ye) *mayobhūr eḥ* VS TS MS. KS ŚB In TS. °patyāt is certainly intended; this is read not only in the p.p. but in the pratika 5 1. 2 3, which see for the rather forced interpretation required by the form But for this we should assume that °patyān is acc pl., which is probably the intention of MS (whose p.p. would seem to read so, judging from the silence of von Schroeder; see §§526, 705)

antān pṛthivyā divah TB. ApŚ : *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MŚ. Preceded by *yad gharmah paryavartayat* (MŚ *paryāv°*). *pari-vṛt* caus probably = 'has brought hither.' The TB ApŚ stanza is very obscure; its last half is different from that of MŚ.

ālebhanād ṛṣṭbhir yātudhānāt RV. : *utārebhānān ṛṣṭbhir yātudhānān* AV. Preceded by *utālabdham* (AV. *utārabdhān*) *spṛnuḥ jātavedah* 'Win away, O J, him who is seized from the sorcerer who has seized him with spears' So RV. The secondary AV. takes *spṛnuḥ* zeugmatically as meaning 'win away' = 'set free' in a, but 'win' = 'conquer' in b: 'win away both those who are seized, and (conquer) the sorcerers who have seized (them) with spears'

nduh pṛthivyā dwo jantram (PB °trāt) RV. PB. Followed by *śṛnavaty* (PB °tv) *āpo adha* (PB. °dhaḥ) *kṣarantīḥ* RV. : 'they know the birthplace of earth and heaven' In PB. *jantrād* would seem to be felt as abl of source with *kṣarantīḥ*, 'flowing from the birthplace' But this leaves *nduh* apparently without object Caland calls it incomprehensible and adopts the RV. reading.

yato (KS *yad id*, TS. *yadī*) *bhumim janayan viśvakarmā* RV. VS. TS MS KS On KapS cf Oertel 16 For the abl pronoun KS. (and TS) have adverbial forms used as conjunctions.

§496. Yet more dubious, or certainly corrupt, or based on misunderstandings or misquotations, are the following:

atrā (AV. *tatra*) *yamah sādānā* (TA. °*nāt*) *te minotu* (AV. *kr̥notu*) RV. AV.† TA. 'Here let Yama fix a resting-place for thee' The TA reading (conim *sthāpananimullam*) can hardly be anything but a phonetic blunder (VV 2 §405).

jāmim utvā mā vivitsi lokān TA.: *jāmim r̥tvā māva patsi lokāt* AV. The latter is original: 'having gone to my relatives let me not fall from heaven' TA Poonā ed *jāmī, utvā . lokāt* (v 1 *lokān*). The comm, tho he reads *lokāt*, seems to understand an acc: *lokam naiva la-syasi*. In any case TA. is scarcely interpretable See VV 2 §198 (besides §871).

yat tuemahe (SMB *te mahe*) *prati tan no* (Kauś *prati nas taj*) *juṣasva* RV. TS MS Kauś SMB. PG. ApMB On SMB see VV 2 §§365, 835, where three different commentarial explanations of its seemingly impossible reading are quoted

[*yamād aham vavasvatāt* RV.. *yan me yamam vavasvatam* PB So Conc; but the facts are obscured both by this comparison and by Caland's remarks on PB 1 5 18, which Caland identifies with RV. 10 60 10. The truth is that PB. 1. 5 18 is a combination of RV. 10. 58 lab with 10. 60. 10cd, when this is realized it will be seen that there is no case variation]

[*pañcadaśāt prasūtāt p̥tryāvatah* KBU: *tam ardhamāsam prasūtāt p̥tryāvatah* JB Conc, but read *ardhamāsyam prasūtāt p̥itr°*, Oertel, JAOS 19 (2) 112, 115]

[*devānām vakṣe priyam ā sadḥastham* VS TS. MS KSA Conc *sadhas-thāt* for KSA]

4. Transfer of epithet

§497. Transfer of epithet involving change between accusative and ablative forms (sometimes also shift of gender) has been noted mainly in cases where one of the variant forms cannot properly be called an 'epithet' but is rather a form of independent construction The following is perhaps the only case of true 'transfer of epithet', and even in it this term perhaps requires stretching It is in any case clear that the acc forms of VS MS KS. ŚB. are original, and that they are correlative with, if not exactly 'epithets' of, the accs of the preceding *pāda*; also that the abl forms of TS. have been drawn into agreement with the preceding *utās*:

rtasya dhāmno amṛtasya yoneh TS.: *rtasya yonim mahiṣasya dhārām* VS KS ŚB: *ghṛtasya dhārām mahiṣasya yonim* MS Preceded in all by *īṣam ūryam aham ita ādam* (*ādade, ādī*)

§498. In the next group a word originally of independent construction has been drawn into agreement with another word (§15):

prākto apācīm anayam tad enām AV : prācīm avācīm ava yann ariṣṭyay

TA. The adverbial *prākto* of the original AV. is attracted to the case of *avācīm*, which in both texts agrees with *yuvahm* of *pāda* a

imam adhvānam yam agāma dūrāt (LŚ dūram) RV. LŚ.: yam adhvānam agāma dūram AV. Again the adverbial form of the original RV. is

made in AV. LŚ. into an adjective agreeing with *adhvānam*.

anamitram no adharāt AV.: anamitram me tadharāk (KS no adharāk)

VSK KS.: followed by:

anamitram na uttarāt AV : anamitram udak krdh VSK. KS. Again the

original has ablative adverbs This time the acc forms might also be regarded as adverbs, but it is at least as likely that they are adjectives going with *anamitram*. 'Freedom from enemies ..

(from) below, (from) above'

yakṣmam śronibhyām (ApMB. śronī) bhāsadāt RV. AV. ApMB.: yakṣ-*

mam bhasadyam śronibhyām bhāsadam AV. The original 'from the

rump' is turned into an adjective agreeing with *yakṣmam*, 'of the

rump'. The verb is *vi vrhām*. In the text of AV. there are in

fact two such adjectives, synonyms; one is doubtless an ancient

gloss (Whitney ad loc., and Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda*, 47)

§499. We have noted only two instances, closely parallel and in the

same context, of the reverse of this, in which what is originally an

epithet is changed into a noun of independent construction (§15):

avatān mā vyathitam (VS ŚB °iāt) VS TS ŚB. ApŚ.: avatād vyathitam

MS KS. ŚB. 'Protect me distressed' or 'from distress'.

avatān mā nāthitam (VS. ŚB. °iāt), same texts.

CHAPTER XXII

ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE

1. With verbs governing both cases

§500. Accusative and genitive touch each other most closely with certain verbs which may be construed with both cases. See in general Delbrück *AIS.* 158 ff ; our variants supplement and modify slightly, at certain points, his treatment. We shall refrain from discussing, as Delbrück does, possible differences of connotation between the two interchanged cases after these verbs, since in the nature of things there can be no proof of such distinctions, any one is at liberty to assume them subjectively if he desires.

§501. Verbs of eating and drinking and the like (partaking) constitute the largest group among the variants. Here there is, of course, no doubt that the genitive is partitive in character. Yet the accusative may also be used in cases where the partitive idea would seem to us to be especially demanded, as in the first variant, where KŚ ApŚ. certainly cannot mean that the whole of the River Sarasvatī was drunk!

papuh sarasvatīyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*tīm nadīm*)

Vait KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'They drank (of, or MŚ in) the River Sarasvatī'

sa bhādrām ahar yo nah somam (AŚ *somasya*) *pāyayisyati* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ.
indra piba sūtānām RV . *imam indra sutam piba* RV SV PB AŚ ŚŚ
ApŚ

yad indro apibac chacibhik VS KS AB ŚB AŚ ApŚ . *yasyendro apibac
chacibhik* KS : *yam asyendro apibati śacibhik* MS

vācaspataye tvā hulam prāśnāmi TS ApŚ *vācaspatinū te hulasyaṣe prā-
nāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hulasya prāśnāmīṣe prānāya*, ŚB *hulasyaś-
nāmy*) ŚB AŚ ŚŚ

vasumadganasya upahūtasyopahūto bhaḥṣayāmi (MŚ *upahūta upa-
hūtam bhaḥṣ*) TS MŚ

tan me 'śīya HG : *tasya te bhaḥṣīya* (ApMB 'śīya) TS ApŚ ApMB
mano jyatir (VS ŚB LŚ *jūtir*) *juṣatām ājyasya* (TS TB *ājyam*, AŚ
ājyam me) VS VSK. TS MS KS TB ŚB AŚ Vait LŚ KŚ

The texts that have acc. and those that have *jyatir* with gen. must

mean 'may mind and light enjoy (partake of) the butter' Those with *jūtr* and gen. may be construed in the same way (so Mahidhara and Hillebrandt), but other interpretations have been suggested; see Eggeling, *SBE.* 12. 215 n. 1.

lekāḥ salekāḥ sulekas te na ādityā ājyam juṣāṇā vyanṭu TS : *salilāḥ saligāḥ sagaras te na ādityā haviṣo juṣāṇā vyantu svāhā* MS. KS
In the same context also passages beginning *ketaḥ saketaḥ*. , see Conc

§502. Verbs of offering; cf. Delbruck 160, where the gen construction with *hu* is noted for Brāhmana prose but not for RV, altho the RV version of the first variant seems a clear instance:

tasmā indrāya sulam ā juhota (TB ApŚ *juhomi*) VS VSK MS. KS
ŚB. TB ApŚ. MŚ : *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV : *tasmā indrāya haviṣā* (TB. *haviṣ ā*) *juhota* MS. TB. See also §466, etc

indrāgnibhyām chāgasya haviḥ (ApŚ MŚ *haviṣah*) *preṣya* KŚ ApŚ MŚ.
Also: *indrāgnibhyām chāgasya vapāyā medasah* (KŚ. *vapām medah*) *preṣya*, *indrā° purodāśasya preṣya* (KŚ *purodāśam*, supplying *preṣya*), same texts And similar items containing *anu brūhi* instead of *preṣya* We should render the first variant 'prompt (to the offering) of an oblation of a goat to Indra-Agni' The gen. seems to be dependent on an expression of offering understood, cf. Schwab, *AITheropfer* 119 Otherwise Delbruck 161.

apo (TS KS *udno*) *dattodadhīm bhīnīta* (KS * *KapŚ dehy udadhīm bhīndhi*) VS TS MS KS *KapŚ* (Oertel 76) Cf. §711; *apas* best taken as acc. of plurale tantum stem *ap*.

§503. Verbs of ruling:

indro viśvam virājati AA : *indro viśvasya rājati* SV. VS. AŚ Svidh.

§504. Verbs of 'intellectual activity' (Delbrück 158):

pra tad voced amṛtasya (Ppp VS *amṛtam nu*, TA MahānU. *voce amṛtam nu*) *indvān* AV Ppp VS TA 'Knowing immortality.' No significance can be attached to the fact that the adjectival-participle *indvān* is used; obviously it is construed just as a finite verb form would be

§505. Verbs of robbing are recognized as taking two accusatives, but we have found no recognition of their use with an acc of the person and a gen of the thing. In TB. the following variant seems to show such a use, unless we take *goh* as acc pl (!) as the TB comm seems to do: *yad amuṣṇāṃ avasam paṇim gāh* (TB *goh*) RV TB 'When you two stole the food, (robbed) the Paṇi of his cow(s)'

2. With nouns containing verbal force

§506. In several variants we find the acc varying with the gen after nominal periphrases of verbal ideas, cf Delbrück 181, Whitney 271h: *mām anuvratā bhava* HG ('be faithful to me'): cf *agner* (AV. *patyur*) *anuvratā bhūtvā* AV TS KS TB MŚ ApMB Tho in different contexts, AV. and HG both use the formula in the marriage ceremony.

apaścādaghvānnasya (MS MŚ ApŚ. *apaścādaghvānnam*) *bhūyāsam* AV. MS MŚ ApŚ 'May I not be failing of food'

śāntir no astu MS : *śāntir me astu śāntih* TA *sā mā śāntir edhī* VS
The acc seems to depend on the verbal force still felt in *śānti*;
Mahidhara *mā mām prati*

§507. With nouns of agent in *tar*, a difference of accent is said to distinguish *dātā vasūni* from *dātā' vasūnām*, and according to Pān 3 2 135 unaccented *tar* should denote a habitual condition, accented *tār* a specific act. The actual conditions are hard to reconcile with this theory; see Wackernagel, *AIGr.* 3 201, 597. We find one such variant *pāda*; the phrase refers to Aryaman, who surely must be characterized as a habitual 'giver of good things' in both texts, in our opinion it would be pedantry to try to find a distinction in meaning between the two forms of the variant:

dātā vasūnām puruhūto arhan TS. *dātā vasūni vidadhē tanūpāh* MS
TS accents the second syllable of *dātā*, MS the first, which accords with the rule of accent. The accusative cannot be taken with *vidadhē* in MS since that word is accented, and this can only mean that it begins a new sentence

3 Dedicatory expressions

§508. In many lists of dedicatory formulas we find an acc of the deity and instr of the offering varying with gen (or dat) of the deity and nom of the offering (see §126). We content ourselves here with two examples:

andhāhān (TS 'he, KSA 'heh but ms 'he) *sthūlagudayā* (TS KSA *sthūragudā*, MS *sthūragudayā*) VS † TS MS † KSA '(We gratify the blind-worms with the large intestines)' 'the large intestines are for the blind-worms'

pūṣanam vanṣṭhunā VS. MS : *pūṣno vanṣṭhuh* TS KSA.

4 Descriptive or possessive genitive : modifying accusative

§509. In a considerable number of cases we find a descriptive or possessive genitive, sometimes approaching what is called the 'apposi-

tional genitive', varying with an adjective or noun or pronoun in syntactic correlation with the other (accusative) form. Such genitives may be found in principle varying with any other case, depending on the case of the noun on which they depend; see §85. The practical meaning of the two forms of the variant is in many cases substantially the same: *avyo* (SV. PB. *avyam*) *vāram vi dhāvati* RV. SV. PB. 'He (soma) flows thru the sieve of wool (woolen sieve)'

vr̥ṣṭm divah pavasva r̥itum apām (SV. *apah*) RV. SV. 'Let stream the rain of heaven, the stream of waters (SV. the stream, the waters).' In view of the rarity of singular forms of stem *ap*, we prefer to construe *apah* thus as an acc. pl. (in apposition), rather than with Benfey as a gen. sing.

[*apāsya* (ApŚ *apāsman*) *nair̥tān pāsān*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśalam caye*, [*apāsya ye* *śināh pāsāh*,] *mṛtyor* (ApŚ *mṛtyūn*) *ekaśalam suve* KS. ApŚ. Also, in a different tho similar verse, [*apāsyaḥ satvanah pāsān*,] *mṛtyūn ekaśalam nude* Kauś. 'I remove from him the bonds of destruction, the 101 (bonds) of death (the 101 deaths).'

nāsām āmitro (TB. *nainā amtro*) *vyathir ā dadhar̥ṣati* RV. AV. TB. 'No enemy does violence to their wandering course (to them [or] to [their] wandering course).' TB. comm. takes *vyathir* (on the meaning of which see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 117. 15) as a nom. attribute of *āmitro*, which is obviously absurd.

ūrjo bhāgam pṛthivyā (KS ApŚ *°vīm*) *yāty* (KS *ety*, ApŚ. *etv*) *āpr̥nan* MS KS ApŚ. 'He (Savitar) goes filling the earth' lot with food': 'he goes (let him go) to the earth, filling it (and) its lot with food,' or the like. Here the occurrence of the verb of motion makes a complication, the acc. is doubtless felt as goal of that verb, but perhaps also as one of the objects of *āpr̥nan*.

agnim (VS ŚB. *agner*) *jyotir nīcāyya* [*pṛthivyā abhyābharat*] VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. SvetU. 'Fire (and) light' or 'Agni's light'.

somānam (SV. *°nām*) *svaranam* RV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. ŚŚ ApŚ MŚ N. The SV. is certainly worthless; on the crucial *somānam* see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on 1. 18. 1.

§510. In a couple of cases of this sort, the noun on which the genitive depends is in the other form of the variant made into an adjective agreeing with the (now accusative) form which replaces the genitive.

ava devānām yaja heda agne (KS. *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ. *yaje hedyāni*) AV. KS MŚ: *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS. *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ: *ava devān yaje hedyān* TB ApŚ. In the last variant *hedyān* is an adjective agreeing with the acc. *devān*: 'the wrathful gods' instead of 'the wrath of the gods.'

pra samrājo (SV, °*jam*) *asurasya praśastim* (SV °*tam*) RV SV KB
Here too SV. has an adjective ('the praised lord') for the acc noun
of RV ('praise of the lord')

§511. Essentially similar are the following cases involving pronominal forms.

ādityā rudrā uparīspr̥ṣo nah (KS °*śam mā*) AV KS . *vasavo rudrā ādityā uparīspr̥ṣam mā* RV. VS TS '(Make) me a king' or 'make our king'

ā te aṅna idhīmahi RV SV TS MS KS PB AŚ ŚŚ MŚ *ā tvāṅna idhīmahi* AV Kauś Followed by *dyumanītam devāḡaram* This is one of the passages cited by Pischel (ZDMG 35 714 ff) as containing acc *te*, but see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* p 28 (a word for 'flame' or the like is to be supplied with the following adjectives) AV has a lect fac, feeling the need for expression of an accusative noun or pronoun with the adjectives, it supplies the need by changing *te* to *tvā*

puṣyema (AA *puṣyanto*) *rayim dhīmahe ta* (AA *tam*) *indra* SV AA ŚŚ Keith (AA 285 n 7) would make this an instance of variation between acc and gen after a verb of 'intellectual activity' (cf §504), understanding the verb as connected with root *dhī* He follows Sāyana in this Most western scholars have taken *dhīmahe* from *dhā*, *te* is then possessive gen with *rayim*, and *tam* also refers to *rayim*

devasya te (AG MG *tvā*) *savituh prasave 'śvīnor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām hastam grhnāmy asau* AG SMB GG MG 'At the command of god Savitar I take hold of thy hand (of thee [by] the hand)'

§512. In the following the secondary reconstruction goes farther
tīro mā santam āyur mā pra hāsī (AŚ *santam mā pra hāsīh*) TB AŚ
ApŚ : *tīro me yajña āyur mā pra hāsīh* (Conc reads *hāsī* with one ms) MŚ *hāsīh* in MŚ may be kept 'desert not my life at the sacrifice'

§513. Sometimes the acc is the sole goal of the verb, either no goal is expressed in the variant containing the gen, or the goal of that variant is made into an associative instrumental (equivalent to a coordinate acc, §459) in the alternate form in which acc is substituted for gen.
etam (GB *etasya*) *tvam prajānaya* AB GB The context is the same.

The pronoun refers apparently to the yajamāna, who is to be 'generated' by the recitation of the Sukīrti (RV 10 131) and other hymns which follow (Otherwise Keith, who seems to us to mis-

understand AB) With the gen. of GB is doubtless understood an acc of *ātman* and other parts of the *yajamāna*, specified in the sequel 'Propagate him' or 'propagate his [body, etc]', or possibly 'propagate [such things] for him.' In such mystic rubbish almost anything is possible

ganān me mā vī tīrṣah (MŚ. °*ṣat*, Vait *vy arīrṣah*) TS. Vait. MŚ.: *ganair mā mā vī tīrṣata* MS : *ganā me mā vī tīrṣan* VS TS ŚB. 'Make not my troops to thirst (etc.): 'make not me with (my) troops to thirst': 'let not my troops thirst'

§514. We may append here a case in which a descriptive gen varies with a postpositional phrase containing an acc :

ye vā (MS. omits *vā*) *vanaspatīnṛ anu* (MS NīlarU *vanaspatinām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB NīlarU. ApMB. 'Or (serpents) which are of the trees (among the trees)'

5 Partitive genitive : modifying accusative

§515. Quite similarly a limiting genitive which is 'partitive' in character ('genitive of the whole', 'des geteilten Ganzes') varies with a coordinate acc, as with other cases (§84):

imam indra vardhaya kṣatriyaṁ me (TB *kṣatriyāṇām*) AV. TB. Kauś. 17 28 (only *pratīka* in Kauś 14. 24) 'Increase this kṣatriya for me': 'increase him of (all) kṣatriyas' TB. comm *kṣatriyāṇām madhye*

imam mā hīnsīr ekaśapham (also, *dvīpādām*) *paśum* (TS KS *paśūndām*) VS TS MS KS ŚB 'This whole-hoofed (two-footed) animal (one of animals)'

vīrudham (AV °*dhām*) *balavattamām* (AV * °*mah*) RV. AV. (bis) ApMB 'Most mighty herb (of herbs)'

atho jīva śaradāḥ śatām VSK : *adhā jīvema śaradām śatān* AV. Others similar, see Conc

§516. The following is in reality doubtless only a case of sandhi, or perhaps better of orthography:

oṃṣīhaś carṣanīśahām (TB °*sahām*) VS. TB. Preceded by *divo varṣman samudhyate*, and followed by *vetv ājyasya* 'Upon the height of heaven is kindled the mightiest of the rulers of men; let him taste the butter' An acc. is quite impossible; yet both edd and the comm have the same reading in TB The comm seems to regard the acc. as equivalent to a partitive gen.: *tān uddīṣya teṣām* (*devānām*) *madhye* Final *m* and *n* before *v* in the Veda might both be pronounced alike, as a nasalization (Wackernagel 1 §§281a, 283c);

thus confusion between the two may have arisen, and the TB may have incorrectly restored *n* instead of *m*. This variant might have been mentioned in VV 2 §944, tho the original final is clearly *m*, not *n*.

§517. In a few others an acc direct object varies with a partitive gen depending on a relative word:

yat tvā (KS *te*) *kruddhah parovapa* (AV. *kruddhāh pracakruh*) AV TS MS. KS ApS MS In KS: 'whatever of thee I in anger have rejected' The others: 'whatever (to whatever extent) thee I in anger (thee angry men) have rejected', or possibly with *yat* as conjunction, 'if I in anger have rejected thee'.

yat tvā (ApS. *te*) *śikvah parāvadhū* AV ApS Followed by *takṣa hastena vāsyā* 'Inasmuch as (or, to whatever extent) the skilful smith has struck thee off...': 'what of thee the skilful smith has struck off' *yatrāspṛkṣat tanwo yac ca vāsasah* (ApMB *tanuvam yatra vāsah*) AV ApMB: *yatrā vṛkṣas tanuvai yatra vāsah* HG 'Wherever on thy body, whatever of thy garment it has touched': 'wherever it has touched thy body, thy garment' On HG. see §144

6 Phrase inflection

§518. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs in the following:
bhndhi darbha sapatnānām (*sapatnān me*) AV. (both). Initial pādas of consecutive verses; different constructions required by what follows
kṛtyākṛtaṁ valagīnam AV *kṛtyākṛto valagīnaḥ* AV Different contexts
sumatīm satyādharmanah (TS ApMB *satyarādhasah*, VS *satyarādhasam*, AV *viśvarādhasah*, AŚ *vājīnīvataḥ*) AV. VS TS MS AŚ ŚŚ ŚG ApMB N The VS. form is in a different context

7 Miscellaneous

§519. There remain a considerable number of variants between acc and gen which involve miscellaneous, and often quite radical, reconstructions of thought:

indrasya vāyoh (SV. *vāyūṁ*) *sakhyāya kartave* (SV *vardhayan*) RV. SV 'For doing a friendly act for Indra (and) for Vāyu' 'increasing Vāyu unto the friendship of Indra'

sakṛd yat tvā (KS *te*) *manasā garbha* (KS *°bham*) *āśayat* TS KS The word *garbha* shifts in meaning; 'an embryo has entered into thee,' 'it has entered into thy womb.'

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradīśah* VS TS MS KS. Followed by *atasro vā parāvataḥ*, *vājo no* (MS KS *mā*) *viśvair devair, dhana-*

sātāv (**iā*) *ihāvalu* KS makes the pronoun in pāda a object of *avatu*, anticipating *mā* in pāda c, MS. makes it possessive gen with *vājo*; the others, with *nah*, are ambiguous and may be taken either way.

rāyaspoṣā yajamānam sacantām (TS **mānasya santu*) AV. TS MS. MŚ.
'Let increase of wealth attend the sacrificer (be the sacrificer's).'

[*yo adya saumyo vadho 'ghāyūnām udīratī*] *viśūkuham wa dhanvanā*
[*vyasyāh paripanthīnam sadasaspataye namah*] AŚ.: [*yo 'dya saumyo*
vadho 'ghāyūnām udīrate] *viśūkuhasya dhanvanā* [*'pa tām varuno*
dhamatī] PB The obscure word *viśūkuh(a)* seems proved to refer to some hostile power by LŚ. 3 11. 3 This makes PB (rendered by Caland 'blow them away by means of the bow of Viśūkuha') seem corrupt, as it suggests that V. is a friendly power AŚ thus seems more plausible. But the word cannot be interpreted with any confidence

tad āsata (Ppp N *atrāsata*) *ṛṣayah sapta sākam* AV Ppp N.: *tasyāsata*
ṛṣayah (TS TAA **sate harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB. BṛhU. TAA
In AV. *tad* is direct complement of *āsata*, in place of the more usual loc (cf BR s v 2 ās, 1), the loc *tīre* has this construction in the other texts, and *tasya* (substituted for *tad*) depends on it 'Sit upon it (its bank) .' Ppp and N have the loc adverb *atra* instead

apām na yanty ūrmayah RV : *apo nayanta ūrmayah* SV. Preceded by *pṛa somāso vipaścītaḥ* RV : 'the somas rush forth like waves of water' SV. by a false word-division (VV 2 §829) produces 'the somas, (as, i e in) waves, carry forth the waters.'

imam rātam (SV *asya rātau*) *sutam piba* RV SV. In RV. *imam rātam* agrees with *sutam*; in SV. *rātau* is a different word from *rātam*: 'at this man's offering'

dhīnām antaḥ sabardughah RV : *dhenām antaḥ sabardughām* SV. We take it that *dhīnām* depends on *sabardughah*, *antaḥ* being an adverb. That SV is botched is shown by the false accent of *dhenām*, on the final syllable, but doubtless *dhīnām* (dependent on *antaḥ*) was meant Even the RV. passage is obscure, for a different interpretation see Oldenberg, *RVNoten* ad loc

ṛtū jamtrī tasyā apas (GB *apasas*, but Gaastra *apas*) *pari* RV. GB See VV 2 §810.

8. Transfer of epithet

§520. Transfer of epithet (§14) between accusative and genitive forms occurs in the following In the first group there is no change of gender or number:

amanmahī mahatā (MS KS *mahad*) *ṛtasya nāma* TS MS KS TB

The gen. agrees with *ṛtasya*, the acc with *nāma*

manyum janasya dūḍhyah (SV °*yam*) RV SV. KS. 'The wrath of the evil-minded man': 'the evil-minded wrath of man.' The ed of KS has *manyam*, doubtless by misprint.

bṛhaspatīsutasya ta (KS omits *ta*) *indo (inda) indriyāvataḥ patnīvantam* (KS °*vato*) *graham gṛhṇāmi* (MS *rādhyāsam*, KS *graham ṛdhyāsam*) TS MS KS : *bṛhaspatīsutasya deva soma ta indor (inda) indriyāvataḥ patnīvato grahān ṛdhyāsam* VS VSK ŚB *patnīvant-* modifies *graham* in TS. MS, *te* (unexpressed) in KS and probably *to* in VS. VSK. ŚB. (so Eggeling; otherwise BR.).

pāñcajanyaśya bahudhā yam indhate AV ° *yam pāñcajanyam bahavah sam indhate* TS MS KS In the YV texts *pāñca*° is drawn into agreement with *yam*, which refers to Agni, in AV it agrees directly with *agner* of the preceding pāda, so that the real sense is the same *praharṣiṇam madīrasya made mṛṣāsā astu atha tvā hoṣyāmi* KS : *praharṣiṇo madīrasya made mṛṣāsāv astu* ApŚ Von Schroeder emends KS to *praharṣiṇo*; and indeed it seems scarcely possible to construe the word with *tvā*, which would be necessary if we keep the text §521. The rest involve variation of number or gender as well as

case:

vasum (SV. TS. *vasoh*) *sūnum sahaso jātavedasam* RV AV. SV VS TS MS KS. 'Good son of strength': 'son of good strength' This seems the simplest interpretation of *vasoh* The preceding pāda is *agnim hotāram manye dāsvantam*; Benfey and Keith make *vasoh* a noun depending on *dāsvantam*, despite the pāda division A third alternative would be to make it a noun correlative with *sahaso*. 'son of good(s), of strength'

vasumatāḥ (VS ŚB. °*matīm agne*) *te chāyām upastheṣam* VS MS ŚB 'May I enter the shadow of thee, the rich one (thy rich shadow, O Agni)'

śardhānsy agne ajarāni (SV. *ajarasya*) *dhakṣataḥ* (ApŚ *dhakṣyase*) RV. SV. MS. ApŚ. 'O Agni, thy ageless troops (i.e. flames) as thou burnest': 'O Agni, the troops of thee, ageless, burning' For ApŚ cf. VV 1 §27

pātho (Ppp ŚŚ *pātam*, TS *vītam*) *ghṛtasya guhyāni* (AV. *guhyasya*) *nāma* AV. Ppp TS. MS. KŚ ŚŚ 'Ye protect (etc.) the secret names of ghee'—so most texts; AV seems to take *pātho* from *pā* 'drink' (so Ludwig and Whitney), and makes *guh*° agree with *ghṛtasya*: 'ye drink of the ghee that is secret by name'

indrasya vām vīryakṛto bāhū abhyupāvaharāmī (VSK. *vām bāhū vīryakṛtā upā°*) VS VSK ŚB 'I draw you down, two arms of prowess-working Indra (two prowess-working arms of Indra).' Also: *indrasya te vīryakṛto bāhū upāvaharāmī* TB. (here the king, identified with Indra, is addressed).

parīmam yaḡamānam rāyo manuṣyāṇām VS ŚB : *parīmam rāyo manuṣyam* KS See §§402 etc

§522. There remain two cases of the sort referred to in §15, in which a word originally of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, becoming an 'epithet' thereof, in a secondary version, in both either gender or number varies as well as case:

āṅgūṣāṇām avāvaśanta vāṇīh RV. : *āṅgoṣṇam avāvaśanta vāṇīh* SV. In RV, 'the music of the hymns', in SV an epithet of Soma (*vṛṣaṇam*) has been extracted from the genitive

paramam padam ava bhātī (VS. ŚB. *bhāri*) *bhūri* (TS *bhūreḥ*) RV. VS TS MS KS ŚB N. Preceded by *atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛṣṇoḥ* (RV N. *vṛṣṇaḥ*) In the original *bhūri* is best taken as an adverb: 'The bull's (Viṣṇu's) highest footstep shines down mightily' TS makes the word an epithet of *vṛṣṇoḥ*: 'of mighty Viṣṇu'

CHAPTER XXIII

ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

Acc. and loc of goal

§523. By far the largest and most important group of variants showing syntactic contact between these two cases is that concerning the accusative and locative of goal. After verbs denoting motion (in a wide sense), both cases are familiarly used. Many interpreters try to distinguish between them. Thus Delbrück, *ALS* 122, says that the loc is used 'wenn es sich um ein Ankommen bei, ein Eindringen in u. s. w. handelt, während in den A. das Ziel tritt, dem man zustrebt, z. B. *deveṣu gachati* er geht unter die Gotter, aber *devān gachati* er geht zu den Gottern hin'. Others, whether consciously or unconsciously, seem anxious to avoid admitting the loc of goal at all. Thus Whitney on AV. 6. 48. 1-3 renders *svasti mā sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* 'carry me along to welfare at the close of this offering', whereas it obviously means 'carry me prosperously to the end of this rite' (cf. Bloomfield *JAOS* 16 3, 23), this would be clear even without the ŚŚ variant *svasti mā sampārayāsyā yajñasyodṛcam*, with acc. instead of loc. Even worse is Whitney's rendering of AV. 7. 40. 1b *yasya vrata upa-tiṣṭhanta āpah* 'in whose course stand the waters', to avoid recognizing the loc of goal (all the parallel texts *vrataṁ*). Whitney ignores the established meaning of *upa-sthā* (approach, always of motion, never 'stand'). Clearly we must render 'into whose control the waters enter'.

§524. In other cases the matter is less clear, and there is more reasonable ground for distinguishing between the two cases. Yet we feel that it is a false and specious conservatism which insists on rendering a loc by something like English *in*, or German *in* with dative, wherever the meaning can possibly be twisted in that direction. We believe that in not a few cases where at first glance this meaning seems quite plausible, a closer examination will reveal grounds for holding the loc. to be substantially equivalent to an acc. Take for instance the variant *sūryasyakā carati niṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS *niṣkṛtān*) TS MS KS. PG. We shall not stress the fact that MS. KS, generally the older and better YV texts, have the acc., after all, even if TS PG are secondary, they may

quite well have interpreted the passage in a new way. So there seems on the face of it to be no objection to the rendering 'one moves among the seats of the sun' or the like (so Stenzler, Oldenberg, and Keith, on PG and TS). But note that a preceding verse in the same context, dealing with the same situation, has the *pāda* *trīṣat svasāra upayanti niṣkṛtam*, with the acc *niṣkṛtam* in all alike. To our minds this, combined with the indubitable fact that the loc is used of the goal of motion, suggests that it is at least likely that TS PG. mean by *carati niṣkṛteṣu* about the same thing that is meant by *carati niṣkṛtān* in MS KS. Naturally, no one would claim certainty for such an interpretation.

§525. While, therefore, we should not deny that some such distinction as that suggested by Delbruck may have been concerned in the origin of the locative of goal, and while we freely admit that in some instances of shift between the two cases a distinction may, nay at times even must, have been felt, we nevertheless believe that our variants tend as a whole to indicate similarity, rather than distinction, between them. It is easy to be over-subtle in such matters, we shall for the most part try not to impose our views upon the materials, preferring to let them speak for themselves. At the same time we shall occasionally call attention to what seem to us significant features, particularly when they support the view we hold, namely that scholars have failed to recognize with sufficient clarity the close similarity between these uses of the acc and loc. Special attention may be called here to the *pāda* *vayānsi ya āviveṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS ApŚ, in which the acc *vayānsi* and the loc *mṛgeṣu* occur in two precisely parallel phrases; surely no one would suggest that there can be the slightest difference in meaning between them.

1 With verbs of going, entering, mounting, and the like

§526. We begin with verbs meaning something like 'go, enter, mount', and list first cases in which the acc and loc seem most nearly akin in meaning:

svasti mā śam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā AV : *svasti mā sampārayāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

yasya vratam (RVKh. Scheftelowitz, Ppp KS *ite*) *paśavo yañi sarve* RVKh AV Ppp TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ. 'Into whose control go all cattle' Cf next

yasya vratam (AV. *vrata*) *upaśiṣṭhanā āpah*, same texts, immediately after preceding See §523

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. *rathe*) *adhī tam* (VS ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajrahasta* (TB *ītah*) RV VS ŚB TB 'Mount upon (*adhī-sthā*) this chariot'

endrasya jathare (SV. °ram) *viśa* RV SV 'Enter the belly of Indra' *svo ruhānā adhi nākam uttamam* (TS † MS † KS *nāka uttame*) VS TS.

MS KS ŚB 'Mounting to heaven, to the highest sky' The verb is *adhi-ruh*

uttamam nākam (VS MS. KS. ŚB *uttame nāke*) *adhi rohayemam* (VS. MS KS. ŚB *rohayainam*, TA. *rohemam*) AV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. TA

akṣaram brahma sammitam TA TAA. MahānU : *akṣare brahmasammite* MG. Preceded by *āyātu varadā devī* (MG. *āyāhi viraje devī*)

ya āviṣṭo vayassu (Ppp *yo viṣṭo vayasi*) *yo mṛgeṣu* AV. Ppp.: *vayānsi ya āviveṣa yo mṛgeṣu* MS KS. ApŚ. See §525

ā mitrāvarunā bhagam RV : *ā mitre varune bhage* SV Followed by *madhvaḥ* (*madhoh*) *pavanta ūrmayah* The SV. comm reads accs like RV., and Benfey renders 'In Mitra fliessen.'

viśo-viśaḥ pravivṛśānsam īmahe AV : *viśvasyām viśi pravivṛśānsam* (KS † *pravivṛśānam*) *īmahe* TS MS KS.

prānāpānayoḥ (ŚG °nā) *uruvyacās tayā* (ŚG. *twayā*; so AG must intend, and so Stenzler translates it) *prapadye* AG. ŚG. 'I . take refuge with (flee to) prāna and apāna with thee.'

upa dyām upa velasam AV Vait : *upa ymann upa velase* VS TS MS KS ŚB. The verb *avatara* 'descend into' is found in the following pāda in all but AV Vait. TS., and in these some such verb is understood

yajñam dadhānāḥ (ApŚ *vidānāḥ*) *sukṛtasya lokam* (ApŚ *loke*) KS ApŚ Preceded by *te yantu prajānantāḥ*

purīṣam vasānāḥ sukṛtasya loke (MS KS. *lokam*) VS MS KS ŚB : *purīṣam vasānāḥ svām yonim yathāyatham* ApŚ Preceded in MS KS ApŚ, followed in VS ŚB, by *tatra gacha yatra pūrve paretāḥ* The acc is certainly one of goal of motion Mahīdhara on VS. rightly takes *loke* as loc of goal, Griffith and Eggeling construe it with *vasānāḥ* as loc. of situation They also, most violently and against Mahīdhara and all probability, detach *sukṛtasya* from *loke* and make it depend on *purīṣam*

rudrasya gānapatyān (VS. ŚB °patyam, KS °patye) *mayobhūr eḥi* VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Come, gladdening, to the lordship of Rudra's troop' VS ŚB KS, on TS MS see §§495, 705.

keṣv (LŚ *kim svad*) *antāḥ puruṣa ā viveṣa* VS ŚB AŚ ŚŚ LŚ.

sudughendre (MS °dram, p p. °dre) *ṣarasvatī* VS MS Followed by *aśvinā bhūṣajāvatam* (VS °taḥ) See Neisser's illuminating treatment of *av* (ZWBch. d. RV, s v), which establishes the fact that it

is fundamentally a verb of motion This receives new support from our variant, where the loc. can only be interpreted as equivalent to the acc. of goal: 'strive towards Indra'

§527. In the next group the loc. can be, or has been, with more plausibility interpreted as one of situation, differing psychologically from the acc. We nevertheless believe that in some of these variants, as in the preceding, there is little if any real difference between the two cases: *sūryasyaikā caratī nṣkṛteṣu* (MS KS. *nṣkṛtāni*) TS. MS KS PG. See §524.

viṣṇu agan varunā pūrvahūtau (MS °hūtm) VS MS ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. 'It has gone to Viṣṇu and Varuna, to (at) the first oblation' The generally old and primary MS may be taken as a kind of commentary on the others, yet the loc. of situation is possible A still different interpretation of *pūrvahūtau* is offered by the comms on ŚB. and TB, which take it as a dual adjective agreeing with *viṣṇu varunā*.

anāgā devāḥ śakuno grheṣu (AV *grham nah*) RV. AV Ppp. MG. Preceded by *śvab kapota iṣito no astu* 'Favorable for us be the dove, harmless the bird, sent to our home, O gods' So essentially Grassmann, taking *grheṣu* closely with *iṣito*, the AV supports this But Ludwig 'im Hause'

divas (divah) prṣṭham (PB. *prṣṭhe*) *bhandamānah* (PB *mand*°) *suman-mabhih* RV. PB TA. ApŚ Preceded by *varṣvānarah pratināhā nākam āruhat* (PB *āruha*) In the original *prṣṭham* is acc. of goal with *āruhat*, parallel with *nākam* In PB. *prṣṭhe* could be so construed, as loc. of goal, but here we incline to agree with Caland in taking it with *mandamānah*, 'rejoicing upon the back of heaven.'

satyadharmāno adhvaram (TS °re) RV TS : *vāmam prayaty adhware* VS. MS. ŚB. Preceded in RV by *ṛtadhūlaya ā gata*, in the others by *ā vo devāsa īmahe* RV : 'come to the sacrifice, O (gods) of inviolable statutes' The loc. may also be one of goal: 'we come to you...to the sacrifice' But a loc. of situation is also possible; not indeed with *satyadharmāno*, 'ye that have true ordinances at the sacrifice' (Kerth), since this would require accentless *adhware* (Whitney 314d), but rather 'we approach you at the sacrifice, O gods of true ordinance' Cf also (*karim agnim upa stuhi*) *satyadharmānam adhware*, in a different context, here the loc. is clearly one of situation

prātaryāvāno adhvaram RV VS TB : *prātaryāvabhīr adhware* SV. See the whole verse, quoted §415. The acc. is certainly one of goal

with *prāṭaryāvāṇo*: 'coming betimes to the offering' The loc may be taken in the same way, or (with Benfey) with *ā śidatu*, and parallel with *barhiṣi*, 'at the offering'.

devasya savituh save (SV *savam*) RV AV. SV. TS etc etc This common phrase ordinarily contains a loc of situation: 'at the instigation of God Savitar' The acc *savam* occurs once in SV, in a verse found also in AŚ ŚŚ Vait, all of which read *save*, it is preceded by *āvr maryā ā vājam vājino agman*, and followed by *svargam* (AŚ ŚŚ. °gān) *arvanto jayema* (*jayatah, jayata*). Clearly SV. has acc of goal with *agman*: 'have come into the instigation (control) of Savitar' In the other texts, however, we must doubtless understand the usual sense: 'at the instigation of' Cf. next

tasya pūṣā prasave (TS °vam) *yāh vidvan* (TS. KS *devah*) RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB Similar to preceding

antarikṣe (KS °kṣam) *viṣnur* (MS *viṣnur antarikṣe*) *vyakransta* VS MS. KS ŚB ŚŚ: *traṣṭubhena chandasāntarikṣam anu vi krame* TS 'Viṣnu strode thru (durchschritt, or, strode forth in) the atmosphere' Similar formulas with *diśo* (*dikṣu*), *prithvīm* (°vyām), *dīvam* (*dīvi*), and different meter names See also *deva vṣṇa urv adyāsmīn*, §549.

§528. In another group we find different words used, either different governing verbs or different variant nouns, resulting in a shift between acc of goal and loc of situation, in these cases we no longer feel doubt that the force of the two cases is quite distinct

priyena dhāmnā (TS TB ApŚ *nāmnā*, VSK *nāma*) *priyam sada āsida* (VSK TS TB ApŚ * *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK TS ŚB TB ApŚ (bis): *sedam priyeṇa dhāmnā priyam sada āsida* (VSK *priyeṇa nāma* [for *nāmnā*?] *priye sadasī sīda*) VS VSK ŚB It seems to us impossible to consider it an accident that the simple *sad* is here construed each time with loc, the compound *ā-sad* with acc Evidently the addition of the preverb is felt as reinforcing the motion-idea in the verb sufficiently to require the acc; instead of 'sit on', it means 'take one's seat upon' It is true that both verbs are otherwise found with both cases, so that this variant might be put with §527; but the concomitant variation of case and verb-form seems to us surely significant

yāu (MS *yā*) *ātasthatur bhuvanāni vīsvā* (TB *bhuvanasya madhye*) AV. MS TB 'Who entered into all beings (took their stand in the midst of the universe)'

ukṣā bibharti bhuvanāni (SV. ArS. *mimeti bhuvaneṣu*) *vājayuh* RV. SV. ArS.

jīvam (ApMB. *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayanti adhware* (AV. *nayanīy adhvaram*) RV. AV. ApMB. The AV. clearly has a lect fac, but the original is quite obscure in meaning, cf. Bloomfield *AJP.* 21. 411-9, Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc.

antariṣṣasya tvā sāmāv avagūhāmi (KS *ṛkṣasya sāmūpeṣa*) TS. KS. ApŚ.: *divah sāmūpeṣa* MS. MŚ. The MS p p. absurdly divides *sāmū, peṣa*; von Schroeder rightly understands *sānu, upa-iṣa*, 'zu des Himmels Rücken strebe auf.'

§529. The following case is like those of the last section in that *agram* is acc of goal with *rohatah*, a verb of motion, while *agre* is loc. of situation with *kṛḍatah*; it receives separate rubrication because it leads over to the next following group:

agram ṛkṣasya rohatah VS. TS. MS. KSA ŚB. TA : *agre ṛkṣasya kṛḍatah* (VSK ŚŚ *kṛḍ*⁹) VS. VSK ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ.

2. Adverbial acc. : loc

§530. In another group of variations between these two forms *agram* and *agre*, it is possible at times to doubt whether both or either are felt as expressions of the goal. In some instances, at any rate, it seems hard to avoid construing them as vaguely adverbial, 'in the beginning' or the like:

agra imam yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim dhātā TS.: *agra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātum yajñapatim devayuvam* VS.: *agram yajñam nayatāgram yajñapatim* MS 'Lead forward this sacrifice.' But here, with the verb *ayata*, the word may be felt as 'to the front'.

ahnām ketur uṣasām ety (AV. † *esy*) *agram* (TS. *agre*) RV. AV. TS. MS. KS N. Here too, with a verb of motion, the idea of goal may be present in the acc form, at least: 'As banner of the days he goes (thou goest) at (to?) the head of the dawns'

jayantīnām maruḥo yantu agram (TS. *agre*, AV. MS. KS. *yantu madhye*) RV. AV. SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Let the Maruts go at (to?) the front of the conquering armies.'

tena devā devatām agra (VS MS. KS. *agram*) *āyan* AV. VS. KS. MS.: *tapasā* (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra āyan* TS TB. TA. MahānU. 'By this (by *tapas*) the gods attained to godhood in the beginning.' Since *devatām* expresses the goal, it seems that *agram* can hardly be anything but an adverb.

āgnir agra (SV. *agram*) *uṣasām āsuci* RV. SV. Perhaps motion is felt in the verb *ā-suc*: 'Agni was enkindled at (unto?) the beginning of the dawns'

§531. Similarly *dūram* or *dūre* may be used in a quasi-adverbial way with a verb of driving, which yet permits the idea of goal to be involved. *bādhasva* (AV. *ṭādhethām*) *dūre* (AV. *dūram*, TS Ppp *dveṣo*) *nurrtim parācah* RV. AV. Ppp TS. 'Drive perdition afar off.'

§532. We have noted one other variation of strictly adverbial acc and loc., in a pāda where the absence of any verb of motion makes it impossible to feel an idea of goal:

ye arvān madhya (TA omits *madhya*) *uta vā purānam* (TA °ne) AV. TA 'Whoever in recent times, in middling times, or in ancient times.'

3 With verbs of placing, establishing (chiefly root *dhā*)

§533. The root *dhā* and its synonyms are familiarly used either with the acc of the person and the loc of the thing ('set, establish in'), or with the dat of the person and acc of the thing ('establish for', 'give to'); see §482, where this variant is quoted showing both idioms:

svargam me lokam yajamānāya dhehī Vart.: *svarge loke yajamānam hi dhehī* (or, *dhehī mām*) TB ApS

§534. We find also several variants in which, after *dhā*, the thing 'placed' is put in either acc or loc, while the person is expressed by the pronoun *nah*, which might be either dat or acc. It is commonly, and perhaps rightly, assumed that this form is felt as a dat in the variant containing acc of the thing, and as an acc in the form with loc. of the thing. 'set us in' or 'establish for us'. It should however be noted that two accusatives may be used after such verbs, as the next paragraphs will show, tho this usage has not been generally recognized; so that *nah* with acc of the thing might be taken as an acc (something like 'set us unto '):

indrarāṣabhā dravine (MS °nam) *no dadhātu* AV MS

sa nah pāvako dravinam (AV °ne) *dadhātu* AV TS MS. KS KŚ

sā no bhūmih pūrvapeye (MS °yam) *dadhātu* AV MS

§535. As we said in the last section, there are at least a few variants in which, with verbs of placing or the like, we find two accusatives varying with an accusative and a locative. That is, instead of the loc of the remoter goal, that into which something is set, an acc is used: *sutrāmendre* (MS °ram) *sarasvatī* VS. MS TB. Followed by *balam na vācam āsya uṣābhyām dadhur indriyam*. This, it seems, can only mean 'have put strength in Indra, speech in his mouth'. It may be however that MS has been influenced by the following verse, a variant of this one, in which *avardhayan* (with acc) replaces *dadhuh*. Similarly, in the same passage:

bhūṣajendre (MS. °ram) *sarasvatī* VS MS TB. Followed by *prāṇam dadhur* See prec

ut sakthyā (ŚŚ °yor) *ava gudam* (TS. KSA ApŚ *sakthyor grdam*) *dhehi* VS TS. KSA. ŚB. ŚŚ. ApŚ.: *adhāma sakthyor ava gudam dhehi* Vait.

rathamtarā sāma (also *vairājāṁ*, *vairūpam*, and *bṛhat sāma*, and *śāk-vararawate sāmanā*) *prahṣṭhityā antarikṣe* (KS. °kṣam; TS. °ṣṭhityai, om. *antarikṣe*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. A verb like *stabhnātu* is supplied from the preceding, and it seems that KS. *antarikṣam* can only be construed as an acc. of remoter goal: 'let the Rathamtarā sāman (fix thee) for firm station in (into) the atmosphere'

ā gharne (AŚ. °mam) *siñca paya usriyāyāḥ* AV. AŚ. ŚŚ 'Pour the milk of the brindle-cow into the hot drink' *ā-sic* is here construed as a verb of placing

§536. The compound *sam-dhā*, as a verb of joining, is construed either with acc. and instr., or acc. and loc.; it is the loc. form which varies with the acc. in the following variant, on which see §462:

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānam*) *bhūṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS TB Followed by *ātmānam aṅgair samadhāt sarasvatī*.

§537. A couple of times, in ritualistic formulas, we find reciprocal shift between loc. and acc. forms:

varṣyō (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasi yajñe yajñapatim dhāḥ* VS TS ŚB.: *varṣyō varṣīyaso yajñam yajñapatau dhāḥ* MS KS. Addressed to the atmosphere. 'Being more extended, establish the patron of the sacrifice in a more extended sacrifice': 'being more extended than the more extended, establish the sacrifice in the patron of the sacrifice.' In such rîgmârole the inversion of terms makes little difference.

asmīn yajñe yajamānāya sūrim AV : *īmam yajñam yajamānam ca sūrau* ApŚ. See §488. Neither reading is intelligible; but the reciprocal interchange of the forms of *yajña* and *sūri* seems to be similar to that in the preceding. The verb (preceding) is *dadhātana* in ApŚ., *pari nayāmi* in AV.

§538. Tho the verb is a form of *dhā* in the next variant, the psychology of the variation seems to be different:

dadhad ratnam (AŚ *ratnā*) *dakṣapitr̥bhya* (AV. *dakṣam pi*°) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūn̥ṣi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ 'May he assign wealth and dexterity to the pitṛs (wealth to the Dakṣapitr̥s), and long lives (in [respect to?] their life).' Neither the acc. *āyūn̥ṣi* (complementary object), nor (apparently) the loc. *āyuni* (tho its meaning is not very clear), can here be understood as the remoter goal of *dadhad*.

4 With various prepositions

§539. There are a few variants involving acc and loc after various prepositions. In the first, with *adhī*, the verb is *dadhātī*, 'assigns', possibly the feeling that motion is involved in this verb is responsible for the secondary use of the acc in SV.:

nāma itīyam adhī rocane (SV °*nam*) *divah* RV SV '(Assigns) a third name upon the bright expanse of heaven'

§540. Similarly in the next, we find in SV an isolated use of the loc with *acha*, perhaps owing to the fact that the RV. verb of motion (*ajanti*) is replaced in SV by *mṛjanti* 'purify', which was felt as requiring a loc:

ajanti vahnim sadanāny aha RV.: *mṛjanti vahnim sadaneṣv aha* SV.

'They drive (purify) the carrier unto (upon?) the seats'

§541. A third variant shows *antarā* with acc and loc; only the former seems to be known to the earliest language, but the latter is familiar later:

antarā dyāvapṛthivī apah suvah (MG °*pṛthivyor apasyuh*) TB ApMB. HG. MG.

§542. Finally, one variation is due to the use of different prepositions, *anu* with acc, *adhī* with loc.

ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu (KS *pṛthivyām adhī*) RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB
Both mean 'on (or thruout) the earth'

5. With other verbs than those of motion

§543. Other verbs than those of motion may in various ways show interchange between these two cases. Thus, *sam-vad* 'converse (about), discuss' governs either. In passing we may note the absence of any variant showing acc: loc of the person spoken to ('goal' of speech), which we might have expected on the analogy of the frequent interchange of the two after verbs of motion. In the later language these cases are quite interchangeable in this construction, but in the Veda such a use of the loc is perhaps hardly to be found.

pratiprasthātah paśau (MŚ. *paśum*) *samvadasva* ApŚ MŚ. 'Prati-prasthātar, speak about the victim (with the slaughterer)'

§544. Also verbs of eating and drinking show, besides the gen (§501), the loc varying with the acc:

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ. °*īm nadīm*)

Vart KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. See §501

prajāvatīh sūyavasam (AV. °*se*) *ruśantīh* (RV and TB comm *ṛś°*) RV.

AV. TB See VV 2 §627 on *ruśantīh* TB comm explains by

bhākṣayantīh; so also AV comm., tho it reads *ruś*°. 'Grazing (shining?) on good pasturage.'

§545. A verb of beating:

āghnānāh paññorasi AV.: *urah paññaurāv āghnānāh* AV. 'Beating upon their breasts with their hands': 'beating their breasts and thighs (?)'.

§546. A verb of conquering is construed with a loc. or with (a sort of 'inner') accusative:

tvayā (omitted in VSK. TS. KS. TB.) *vayam samghālam-samghālam* (VSK. *samghāte-samghāte*; TS TB omit one *samghālam*) *jeṣma* (KS **jayema*, and *†*samjayema*) VS VSK TS. MS KS. (bis) ŚB. TB 'May we (by thee) conquer (in) every fight'

§547. The root *ruc* (*rocae*, *ruruce*) is normally middle and intransitive, taking no accus except a 'cognate' or 'inner' acc. ('shine forth light' or the like) The original form of the following variant accordingly has a loc., 'on the earth', but KS. substitutes an acc (elliptic) dual, and must understand *ruruce* as transitive (equivalent to the causative): 'He (Agni) has illumined heaven and earth as with the light of dawn.'

kṣāman (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uśaso na bhānunā* (MS. KS. *ketunā*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

6. Locative absolute and accusative

§548. Several times an accusative in regular syntactic relationship varies with a loc. so loosely construed that it may not unfairly be called a locative absolute:

nābhā prithvyāh samidhāne agnau (TS. *samidhānam agnim*, MS. KS. °*no agnim*) VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. Followed by *rāyaspoṣṭāya bṛhate havāmahe* 'When Agni is enkindled at the navel of the earth, we call upon (him) .': 'We call upon Agni enkindled etc' On MS. KS. see §§393, 450.

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV VS. TS. KS : *samsrṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS See §607; loc. abs in the secondary MS.: *yudha(h)* object of the agent noun *samsraṣṭā*.

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB. HG. '(The she-demon) who awakens the sleeper': 'who wakes while people sleep.'

7. Case attraction

§549. Most of the remaining variants are so miscellaneous as hardly to permit classification. We may group separately a few in which formal, external attraction to adjoining case-forms seems to be involved:

haviṣā yajña (TB. *yajñam*) *indriyam* (VS °*yaiḥ*) VS. MS KS TB See the passage, discussed §473 TB has assimilated *yajñe* to *indriyam*. *devāu aśvinau madhukaśayādyemam yajñam* (ApŚ °*kaśayādyāsmiṇ yajñe*) *yajamānāya mīmikṣatam* PB KŚ ApŚ MŚ 'O divine Aśvins, with the honey-whip mingle (?besprinkle) this sacrifice for the *yajamāna*' Only the acc seems sensible, ApŚ seems to leave the verb objectless, 'mingle (what?) at this sacrifice' It is no doubt influenced by some of the parallel formulas in the same passage, which have similar expressions with intransitive verbs and locative nouns. Most perversely, in some of these ApŚ uses acc forms instead of the locs of the other texts! Thus:

deva viṣṇa urv adyāsmiṇ yajñe (ApŚ *viṣṇav urv adyemam yajñam*) *yajamānāyādhi* (ApŚ °*yānu*) *vikramasva* (MŚ *yajamānāya vikramasva*), same texts Here, to be sure, the loc as well as the acc may be defended, with *vi-kram*; cf. §530 above But in the next the acc. seems as impossible as the loc in the preceding, and is doubtless to be explained in the same way.

devy adile svādityam adyāsmiṇ yajñe yajamānāyāsuvasva (ApŚ *adile 'nv adyemam yajñam yajamānāyaidhi*), same texts

8 Miscellaneous

§550. The rest are miscellaneous, and generally involve rather radical reorganization of the passages:

dyumnam vrn̄ta puṣyase RV VS TS MS ŚB : *dyumnam* (and *dyumne*) *vareta puṣyatu* KS (both) 'Let him choose glory, that he may prosper': 'let him choose glory, let him prosper'. 'let him choose (him, Netar) in glory, let him prosper'

vr̄ṣā punāna āyusu (SV. *āyūṅṣi*) RV ŚV The pple is intransitive in RV. but transitive in SV

lokam pitṛṣu vitvā AV. *pitṛn hy atra gachāsi* TA 'Having found a place among the fathers': 'for thou shalt go there to the fathers' *sā śamtātī* (SV. °*tā*, TB. ApŚ °*cī*) *mayas karad apa sridhah* RV SV. TB ApŚ 'She made (for me) blissful (*śamtātī*) joy (joy in bliss)' We should expect *śamtātīm*, 'bliss'.

upa tvā kāmā īmahe sasṛjmahe SV.. *upa tvā kāmān mahah sasṛjmahe* RV. AV.

niṣkā ime (AV. *ete*, MŚ *hy ete*) *yajamānasya bradhne* (MŚ °*nam*, AV *loke*) AV TB. ApŚ MŚ 'These are jewels in the sacrificer's sun (or heaven; TB. comm. the world of the Ādityas, as the fruit of sacrifice)', in MŚ preceded by *darbhah str̄n̄ta*, *bradhn̄am* being

object of this verb: 'Strew with darbha-grasses .—for these are jewels—the sun (-heaven) of the sacrificer.' Caland strangely takes *bradhne* as nom pl (adjective with *naṣkāh*!).

suṣadā yonau svāhā vā (TS TB, *yonim svāhā*) VS. TS ŚB TB.: *sudhīn yonīm suṣadām prthwīm* (ms °vī) *svāhā* KS Preceded by *aviṣam nah pitum lṛṇu* (KS. *kr̥dhī*), Conc. quotes the whole mantra of KS under this We see no way to construe *suṣadā yonim*; Keith assumes *suṣadām*, which is supported by KS (but note there also *prthwī* in the ms !). 'make our food poisonless, the lap pleasant to sit in.' On the loss of anusvāra cf VV 2 §307. It looks as if VS ŚB, starting from TS's reading, had interpreted *suṣadā* as loc. of an unknown **suṣadī*, and changed to *yonau* to match it

samudre yasya rasām id āhuh AV.: *yasya samudram* (Ppp MS KS.

sam° yasya) *rasayā sahāhuh* RV Ppp VS TS MS KS. See §463 *cakṣuḥ cit sūrye sacā* RV : *cakṣuḥ sūryam dṛṣe* SV. See §474

layā devāh sutam ā babhūvuh TS KSA. TB.: *sā no asmin suta ā babhūva* VS. MS. See §419.

dṛnhasva prthivyām VS KS ŚB : *dṛnha prthwīm* PB. 'Be firm on earth': 'make firm the earth.' Contexts are identical

āvarīṇam nivarīṇam RV AV : *āvarīṇe nivarīṇe* TB ApŚ. The forms are differently construed; cf Caland's note on ApŚ. The latter form of the verse is radically altered.

revatī predhā yajñapatim āviṣa MS KS.: *revatī yajamāne priyam dhā āviṣa* VS † ŚB.† *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhānśata* TS ApŚ. 'O rich one(s), kindly approach the sacrificer': 'give what he desires to the sacrificer, approach (him)'

upa rṣabhasya (TB LŚ *uparṣ°*) *relasī* (AV. *yad relah*), followed by: *upendra tava vīrye* (AV. °yam) RV AV. TB. LŚ The stanza is extensively altered (Whitney on AV 9 4 23). The verb is *upa prcyaṭām*, 'let be mingled', in all but AV., which reads *upa prica*; this we take as active, and hence construe *yad relah* and *vīryam* as acc., not nom with Whitney. If we are right, the acc.-loc. variation is psychologically similar to those listed §§533-8.

9. Corruptions

§551. The following seem clearly corrupt:
śiṣṇā śiro 'psasūpso ardayan AV.: *śiṣṇā śiro* (ApŚ. *girau*) *vakṣasā vakṣa ejayan* KS. ApŚ. The blunder of ApŚ, tho uninterpretable, is interesting because it is obviously a reminiscence of RV. 8. 45. 5 *girāu apo na yodhiṣat*, on which see Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV. s. v.*

apsas. The variant should be added to VV 2 §§153a (*apsas* : *vakṣas*, synonyms), 360, 732.

ya ājagma (N. °*muh*) *savane mā* (TS. KS. *savanedam*, N. *savanam idam*, VS. MS. ŚB *ājagmedam savanam*) *juṣṭānāḥ* AV VS TS MS. KS ŚB. N. Whitney renders AV. (p.p *savane, mā*) 'ye that have come enjoying me at the libation', but observes that it is a corruption of *savane 'mā* ('*nā + imā*), which the comm. reads So also Conc *ime calvāro rajaso vimānāḥ* (MŚ °*ne*) KS. MŚ Other versions of the pāda (see Conc.) all end with *devayānāḥ* All Knauer's mss read *vimāno*; for this K. emends °*ne*, 'im Dunstkreis' But it would be at least as simple, and more in accord with the parallels, to emend to *vimānāḥ*.

10. Transfer of epithet

§552. Nearly all the cases of transfer of epithet (§14) between acc and loc involve also change of number or gender:

amuṣya tvā prāṇe (ŚB. KŚ *prāṇam*) *sādayāmi* TS. ŚB TA. KŚ ApŚ : *idam aham amuṣyāmuṣyāyanasya prāṇe sādayāmi* MS. In ŚB KŚ *prāṇam* (the life of an enemy) defines *tvā*: 'I put thee down, the life-breath of so-and-so,' cf. the next mantra, *amuṣya tvā prāṇam apidadhāmi*. These texts magically identify the soma-vessel addressed with the life of an enemy, making *prāṇam* appositional to *tvā* The others: 'I set thee (this) upon the life-breath of so-and-so ...'

ni tad dadhiṣe 'varam paraṁ (AV.* Ppp °*vare pare*) *ca* RV AV (bis)

Ppp Followed by *yasmīnn āvithāvasā durone*

abhi yonim ayohatam (SV. VS. °*te*) RV. SV. VS Followed by *drone* (RV. *druṇā*) *sadhashtham āsadat* (RV. *āśnuṣe*) The adjective is switched from *yonim* to *drone*

varūthyam (SV. °*ye*) *varuṇe chandyaṁ vacaḥ* RV. SV.

[*yasyām karmāṇi kurvate* (ApŚ *kṛvate*) KS. ApŚ.: *yāni karmāṇi cakrur* AV. Preceded by *anāptā yā* (AV. *ye*) *vah prathamā* Obscure; the forms of pāda a are neut pl, going with *karmāṇi*, so that AV. *yāni* really corresponds to KS ApŚ *yā* of pāda a; AV. *ye* of pāda a of course goes with the subject What *yasyām* refers to is not evident. AV. p p mss have *anāptā* but *prathamāḥ*; the latter would be possible, going with the subject]

§553. What is originally a word of independent construction is attracted into agreement with another word, as its epithet (§15), in: *yatraimān* (AG. Kauś. EMB. HG. MG *yatraimān*) *vettha nihitān parāke*

(SMB *parācah*) VS. AG. Kauś. SMB. ApMB HG. MG. *parācah* with *etān*; *parāke* adverbial, 'far away'.

ā te vācam āsyām (HG. *āsyā*) *dade* HG. ApMB.: *tām te vācam āsya ādalle* (read *ādade*?) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG. Followed in HG. ApMB. by *ā* (HG. om.) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* Kirste suggests *āsyād*; more likely *āsyām* is intended, with one ms., as in ApMB. If PG. is original ('in the mouth'), then HG. ApMB. have made *āsye* over into an adjective, 'of the mouth', agreeing with *vācam*; cf. *manasyām* which must certainly be taken as an adjective from *manas*.
atheme anya upare vicakṣaṇam (AV. °*ne*) RV. AV. PraśU. Followed by *saptacakre śadara āhur arpitam*. In the original *vicakṣaṇam* (referring apparently to the cosmic year) is object of *āhur*. AV. stupidly attracts it into agreement with the following locatives, leaving the object (still the same entity) to be supplied from the preceding line. Ppp. as RV.

§554. Conversely, in the following what is originally an epithet is changed so as to be construed independently (§15):

imam rātam (SV. *asya rātau*) *sutaṁ mba* RV. SV. 'Drink this presented soma': 'drink the soma at this man's offering'

agnim īde pūrvacittim (TS. °*cittau*) *namobhiḥ* VS. VSK. TS MS. KS. ŚB.

'I revere with homage Agni whose is the first (ancient?) devotion (TS, at the first devotion).'

11. Phrase inflection

§555. Occurs once:

ṛtasya pade (RV. **padam*) *kavayo n pānti* RV. (both) TA. JUB. The pāda with the loc. is preceded by an object *manīṣām*; different contexts.

CHAPTER XXIV

INSTRUMENTAL AND OTHER OBLIQUE CASES

A. Instrumental and dative

1 As equivalents, with names of desirable qualities

§556. With nouns meaning something in the nature of a boon or desirable object or quality, a final dative often varies with an instrumental. Thus: *sam tam sñicatu rādhase* RV Vait, 'may he pour it (*anśu*, or the like) together unto bounty,' becomes in KS ApŚ (in a different context, yet closely modelled on the same original) *sam tai sñicatu rādhāsā*, 'may he pour it together with bounty (bounteously)' The practical meaning of the two versions is the same, and both types of expression are very common; correspondingly common are variants showing both in different passages. They constitute the one large block among the variations between these two cases. The nouns in question mean regularly something like 'strength, support, aid, sustenance, food, bounty.' The instrumental seems at times to be felt clearly as one of means, sometimes as one of accompaniment, but often it shows a rather vague and undifferentiated adverbial function.

§557. In some instances, which deserve separate rubrication, the presence of a dative of purpose in the vicinity seems to be responsible for the alteration of an original instrumental into a dative.

kratvā varīṣṭham vara āmurim uta RV AV *kratve vare sthemany āmurim uta* SV. Preceded in all by *jaganuś ca rājase*. In RV. *kratvā* seems best taken with *varīṣṭham*, 'the most extended in power (wisdom, magic power)', yet it might even there be felt as going with the preceding verb ('created [Indra] unto rule, by [magic] power, the most extended'). Certainly the dative of SV must be taken with the preceding, and evidently it is assimilated to *rājase*, 'created (Indra) unto rule, unto (magic) power'.

suvargeyāya (VSK *svar*^o, VS MŚ KS ŚB *svargyāya*) *śaktiā* (TS *°yāi*, MS *śaktaye*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB ŚvetU '(We strive) unto the heavenly, unto (by) might'.

āpa undantu jīvase (AV. *varcasā*, AG. *varcase*) AV. TS. KS. AG. ŚG

SMB GG. ApMB. HG. MG. 'Let the waters wet (the beard) unto (with) long life (splendor)' In most texts including AV. a dative phrase, *dirghāyutvāya cakṣase* or *varcase*, occurs in the vicinity. Delete in Conc the AG reference for *āpa un° jīvase*.

prajāpales tvā (°leṣ tvā) prānenābhīprānuṃ pūṣṇah poṣena (MŚ. *poṣāya*) *mahyam dirghāyutvāya* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I breathe upon thee... with (unto) Pūṣan's prosperity, unto long life.'

pra no rāyā parīnasā (SV. *rāye panīyase*) RV. SV. KB. Followed by *raśi vājāya panthām* 'Break forth a path for us by riches and plenty (unto wonderful riches), unto strength'

§558. In the rest we have not noted any special influence determining the alteration in case:

tam hi svarājam vṛṣabham tam ojase (SV. *ojasā*) RV SV. AV. Followed by *dhiṣaṇe niṣṭataḥṣatuh*. 'For the two vessels (heaven and earth) have created him (Indra), the independent bull, unto (with, by) strength.'

pra tad viṣṇu (viṣṇuh, viṣṇus) stavate vīryena (TB. ApŚ. *vīryāya*, AV. *vīryānī*) RV AV. VS MŚ KS ŚB TB. AŚ ApŚ NṛpU See §474.

saptarṣayas tapase (AV °sā) *ye mṛseduh* RV. AV.

sarasvaty asunod indriyāya (LŚ °yeṇa) VS MS. KS. ŚB. TB ŚŚ Vait LŚ 'Sarasvati pressed (the soma) for (by) strength'

varśvānaro na ūtaye (TS MS ApŚ MŚ. *ūtyā*) AV. VS TS. MS KS AB. KB. ŚB. AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait. ApŚ. MŚ Followed by *ā pra yātu parāvatah* 'Unto (with) aid'

rāye (TB ApŚ *revaḥ*) *jātaḥ sahasa* (TB ApŚ °sā) *vṛddhaḥ* KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Born unto riches (richly), increased unto (by, with) strength'

tās tvā devīr (AV om *devīr*, SMB MG *devyo*) *jarase* (SMB HG. °sā) *sam vyayantu* (PG *vyayasva*) AV SMB. PG. HG ApMB MG. 'May these goddesses wrap thee up unto (with) old age' On PG. see VV 1 §70

ā mā somo amṛtatvena (TS °tvāya) *gamyāt* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB.

anāgasam brahmaṇā (TB. HG ApMB °ṇe) *tvā kṛnomi* (TB HG ApMB *karomi*) AV TB HG ApMB. 'I make thee guiltless by my charm', AV. For *brahmane* Oldenberg on HG. says 'before the Brahman', rather something like 'unto holiness' or 'holy power'. TB comm. *parvṛdhāya jātakarmādīsamskārāya*

tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā (MG °my āyuṣe, ApMB °my asāv āyuṣā *varcasā*) VSK SMB PG ApMB. MG - *tena ta āyuṣe vapāmi* AG : *tenāsyāyuṣe vāpa* ApMB In the texts which have *āyuṣe* or *āyuṣā*, the dative is one of a series of datives, the instrumental one of a pair of instrumentals.

tenāsmat yajamānāyuru (MS. KS *yajñapatalaya uru*) *rāye* (TS *rāyā*) *krdhu*
VS TS. MS KS ŚB. 'Hereby make broad (room) for this sacrificer unto (by, with) wealth.'

apām stoko abhyapaptad rasena (ApMB °*lac chivena*, HG *abhyapatac chivāya*) AV. ApMB. HG

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV.† *praśastaye*, AV VSK °*tibhūh*) RV. AV VS VSK TS. MS KS ŚB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* ('*tha*) *vājnah* 'Unto (by, in) praising of the waters, O horses (gods), are (be) ye strong' Here the locative is also brought in, without essential difference

śataṁ bhavāsy ūtibhūh (SV VS * *ūlaye*) RV AV. SV. VS. (bis, add in Conc SV. 2 34c, VS 27 41c, with *ūlaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ

kāmena (TS MS. *kāmāya*) *tvā prati* (TS. om *prati*) *grhṇāmi* AV TS MS KS PB. TB TA. AŚ ApŚ. 'I receive thee with (unto) affection'

maghavañ ('*van*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhūh* (SV. PB TB TA ApŚ *ūlaye*) RV. AV SV PB TB TA MahānU. ApŚ

yam mīram na praśastiṣūh (SV. °*laye*) RV. SV. Followed by *martāso dadhire purah*. 'Whom like a friend mortals have magnified with (advanced unto) praise'

iha priyam prajāyā (AV. *prajāyai*) *te sam rāhyatām* RV. AV. AG ApMB *sadā pāhy abhiṣṭaye* ('*tibhūh*) RV. (both). See RVRep on I 129 9 *vanemā te abhiṣṭibhūh* (SV. °*laye*) RV SV VS ApŚ MŚ 'May we win by (unto) thy aid'

aiho ariṣṭatālaye (RV.* AV.* °*tibhūh*) RV.* AV * PB.

§559. Both the dative and the instrumental have a tendency, in the ritualistic language of the Veda, to become formulaic and rigmarole in such instances Even some of the above variants approach such a classification, which becomes more definitely applicable in the following, here little really intelligible sense can be got out of either form.

pretinā dharmanā (MS *pretyā dharmāne*) *dharmam jinvā* VS MS This is one of a long series of formulas used with the laying of the stomabhāga bricks 'With advance by righteousness (for righteousness) quicken thou righteousness' VS (and ŚB) vary between dat and instr. in different formulas of the series, MS has the dative consistently thruout To the same group belong: *samdhināntarikṣeṇāntarikṣām* (MS *samdhināntarikṣāyāntarikṣam*) *jinvā* VS MS : *viṣṭambhena vṛṣṭyā* (MS *vṛṣṭyai*) *vṛṣṭim jinvā* VS. MS : *anvityā dvā* (MS. *dive*) *dvam jinvā* VS. MS ŚB. : *pravayāhnā* (MS *pravāyāhne*) 'har *jinvā* VS. MS . *pratidhina prthivyā* (MS °*vai*) *prthivim jinvā*

VS. MS ; and others. Cf. *anvitar asi diva tvā divam jinva* TS. KS GB. TB. Vait., and other formulas in these texts corresponding to those of VS MS ; they seem to confirm the originality of the datives of MS.

śukraṁ te śukrena grhṇāmi TS KS ApŚ : *śukraṁ tvā śukra śukrāya grhṇāmi* MS. MŚ. 'I take thy bright one (thy brightness?) with brightness (with a bright one?)': 'I take thee, the bright one, O bright one, unto brightness (unto a bright one?)'

svāhā marudbhīh (MS. °*bhyah*) *pariśrayasva* (VS ŚB. °*śriyasva*) VS. MS. ŚB. 'Hail! be encompassed by (for) the Maruts' The comms on VS and ŚB., where the verse is addressed to the chief cauldron (*mahāvīra*), say that 'by the Maruts' means 'by us, the people', having in mind the proportion Indra : Maruts = king : *viśah*.

2. With expressions of uniting

§560. A special case of this interchange which seems to deserve separate mention, tho it is not essentially different from the variants quoted above, concerns passages containing expressions of union, where the final dative varies with the associative instrumental (cf §59):

susambhṛtā (MŚ. °*te*) *tvā sam bharāmi* TS. TB. ApŚ MŚ. 'I unite thee with (unto) good union.'

ayakṣmāya tvā samśrjāmi prajābhyah VS. TS. MS KS. ŚB.: *ayakṣmā vah prajāyā samśrjāmi* KS TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I unite thee unto diseaselessness, unto offspring': 'I unite you, diseaseless, with offspring'

samveśanas (RV. AV. °*ne*) *tanuvar* (AV. *tanvā*, SV KS MŚ. *tanve*, RV. *tanvaś*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV SV. KS. TB. TA. ApŚ MŚ 'Be happy in union (or, as a uniter) with (of, to) thy body.' Of course the RV., with an objective genitive, is the original (see §617); but it is interesting that either an instr. (AV.) or a dat. (most texts) may be substituted for this rather unusual form. There seems no objection to taking *samveśanas* as a nom. agentis, with comms. on TB. and TA. (*samyojayitā*); this would not alter the construction.

samjñānam nah svebhyah (AV. *svebhīh*, TB *svaīh*), followed by:

samjñānam arañebhyah (AV. °*nebhīh*, TB. °*ṇaīh*) RVKh. AV MS KS. TB. In AV. TB, 'harmony for us with our own men.. with strangers,' in the others, 'harmony for us unto (= with) our own men' etc. The instr. is more natural in sense but metrically inferior and probably a secondary lect. fac.

ājarasāya sam anakto aryamā RV. SMB. ApMB : *ahorātrābhyām sam*

anaktv aryamā AV. 'May Aryaman unite unto old age (with day and night).'

3 Other syntactic shifts

§561. More real difference of meaning appears in the remaining variants. But sometimes the difference is still so slight that the variation could almost be classified with the preceding instances:

apo mahi vyayati cakṣase tamah RV : *apo mahi vṛṇute cakṣuṣā tamah* SV
'She (Uṣas) folds away (removes) the great darkness, unto seeing'
'she, the mighty one, discloses (removes) the darkness with sight'

§562. A somewhat different understanding of the verb seems responsible for the shift of cases in the following:

hastāya (SV. *hastena*) *vajrah prati dhāyī darśatah* RV AV SV 'The splendid vajra was placed in (grasped by) the hand (of Indra)'

§563. Others evidently intend to express really different ideas in the two forms, other variations in the phraseology often accompany the change in case:

vācaspataye tvā hutam prāśnāmi TS ApŚ : *vācaspatinā te hutasyeṣe prānāya prāśnāmi* (ŚŚ *hutasya prāśnāmīṣe prānāya*, ŚB *hutasyāśnāmy ūrja udānāya*) ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ 'I eat (of) thee, offered to (by) the Lord of Speech'

yā ta iṣur yuvā nāma tayā no mṛda (MS *tayā vidhema*, KS *tasyar te vidhema*) TS MS KS. 'Thy arrow with it (to it) would we do reverence (with it be merciful to us, TS)'

yah samgrāmān (TS MS 'mam) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vaśi* (TS MS *sam vaśi yudhe*, KS *sam vaśi yudhā*) AV TS MS KS 'Who brings together the hosts for fighting (conquers the hosts by fighting)' The change in verb (running; add to VV 2 §853) conditions the change of noun case

pratiprasthālar dadhgharmenānūdehi (MŚ *dadhgharmāya dadhy upakal-payasva*) ApŚ MŚ Again a different verb makes the sense wholly different, MŚ 'fix the curds for the curd-porridge'

vītam samitre (MS 'trā, KS 'tam) *śamitā* (MS 'tam) *yajadhyai* TS. MS KS 'Welcome (is it) for the immolator, let the immolator sacrifice', TS : 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered by the immolator for sacrifice', MS : 'welcome is that which has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice', KS Cf *vītam havih śamitam śamitā yajadhyai* VS ŚB, 'the welcome offering has been slaughtered, let the immolator sacrifice' (otherwise Mahīdhara and Eggeling)

arvāḡ devā asya viśarjanena (TB 'nāya) RV. MS TB. The comm on

- TB. is not troubled by the dative, simply taking it as the equivalent of an abl. (which varies with the instr. after *arvāḥ*, cf. Speyer VSS. §39, and below, §574). But doubtless TB. misunderstood the sense of the mystical verse and took it to mean 'the gods (came) hither (or, subsequently) unto its creation (i.e. to create it?).'
- tebhyaḥ* (AV. VS. VSK *tebhyaḥ*) *svarād asunūtm elām* (AV *asunūtir no adya*) RV. AV. VS. VSK. Followed by *yathāvaśam tanvaṁ* (AV. *tanvāḥ*) *kalpayāti* (RV. °*yasva*). The interpretation is difficult in any reading; see the commentators.
- patim surāyā* (TB. °*yai*, VS *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS. MS TB. Mahidhara takes *surayā* as associative instr. A dat. or gen. seems required; see §622.
- sajūr devaḥ sāyamyāvabhīḥ* (ŚŚ. *devebhyaḥ ṡsāyamyāvabhyaḥ*) TB. ŚŚ ApŚ. And the same with *prātaryāvabhīḥ* (ŚŚ † °*yāvabhyaḥ*). 'Together with (for) the gods that come in the evening (morning).' The instr. may be suggested by *sajūr*, if the dative (dedicatory) be taken as the original; but the formula is rignarole and anything is possible.
- namah kṛtsnāyatayā* (VSK °*yatāya*, KS. *kṛtsamvītāya*, TS MS. *kṛtsnavītāya*) *dhāvate* VS VSK TS MS. KS. Certainly a dative is required, tho the variations show that the meaning was not understood VS comm struggles with the instr. as an abstract noun, dependent on *dhāvate*; he analyzes it as from *kṛtsnāyala* (*kṛtsnāyala*) + *tā*, apparently assuming haplology (or is there a misprint, for °*yatatayā*?) The original dat. is an epithet of Rudra

4 Case attraction

§564. In a couple of cases external case attraction seems responsible for the change:

- yunajm vāyum antarikṣena te* (MŚ. *tena*) *saha* TS ApŚ MŚ : *yukto vāto 'ntarikṣena te saha* PB 'I join wind (wind is joined) for thee with the atmosphere (wind with this atmosphere)' Formal assimilation of *te* to *tena*, influenced by *antarikṣena*
- ḍṛśā ca bhāsā brhatā suśikmanā* MS : *ḍṛśe ca bhāsā brhatā suśukmanā* (KS °*kvabhīḥ*) VS TS. KS ŚB. *ḍṛśe* is infinitival with *suśuk°*, and *ḍṛśā* seems due to formal assimilation: apparently 'with great appearance (and) brilliance' (on *suśikmanā* see VV 2 §240)

5. Corruptions

- §565. A few cases seem more or less certainly corrupt:
aghāya bhūma harivah parādaḥ (MS °*darh*) RV. AV. TS MS. On MS.

('by betrayal?') see VV 2 §384; it is probably corrupt, or else a mere phonetic variant

dikṣayedam (KS *dīkṣāy**) *havir āgachalam nah* KS TB AŚ There is no stem **dīkṣa*, and it seems that KS. (all mss and ed) must be an error.

[*enāhnedam ahar aśīya svāhā* KS.: *idāhna id āharam aśīya* MŚ ed by em; the mss corruptly point to the same text as KS See VV 2 §709.]

6. Phrase inflection

§566. Phrase inflection (§§21-2) occurs:

ṛtubhiḥ tvārtavari AV. HG.: *ṛtubhyas tvārtavebhyah* AV In two different stanzas, AV. 3. 10. 10 and 5. 28. 13, one (it is not certain which) is repeated AV 19. 37. 4 (see notes in Whitney-Lanman)

asme kṣatrāya varcase balāya RV.: *saha kṣatrena varcasā balena* AV In different contexts

sahasrākṣāya mīdhuse (NīlarU *vājine*) VS. VSK TS MS KS NīlarU · *sahasrākṣena vājīnā* AV. The same stanza as in VS etc occurs in NīlarU., but has apparently been influenced (as to *vājine*) by *vājīnā* of the quite different AV. stanza

7 Transfer of epithet

§567. The only cases of transfer of epithet noted between dat and instr seem to be instances in which the variant word is a true epithet only in one of the versions, in the other having independent construction (§15):

yo agnaye dadāṣa havyadātubhiḥ (SV. °*dātaye*) RV SV 'Who has done homage to Agni with oblation-offerings (to Agni the presenter of oblations)' So it seems best to take SV, with *havya*° as a noun of agent, as in RV. 6 48 2 *dāṣema havyadātaye* If however we take the SV form as a noun of action, the variant would belong in §558.

vīty arṣa canīṣṭhayā (SV *panīṣṭaye*) RV. SV. 'Go with sustenance most desirable', RV The SV. is usually understood to mean 'go with sustenance unto praise' (VV 2 §86), the epithet being changed to an independent noun If we dared take *panīṣṭaye* as an adjective, it might go with the 'folk' (*janāya*) of the preceding. *pra-pra kṣayāya panyase, janāya juṣṭo adruhe* (SV °*hah*); this would be a genuine 'transfer of epithet'

B. Instrumental and ablative

1. Instrumental of means and ablative of source

§568. Since the source of anything may be regarded, from a slightly different angle, as the means by which it is produced or brought about, it is natural to find the ablative of source and the instrumental of means interchanging. Such variants form the largest block of variations between these two cases, of which it is to be noted that our materials seem to indicate a very marked affinity, to judge by the fact that most of the variant passages show very slight differences in meaning between the two forms.

§569. We find first a group containing a verbal form expressing source, and an ablative of source varying with an instrumental of means:

yās te viśas tapasah (TB °sā) *sambabhūvuh* AV. TB. 'Whatever clans have sprung up from (by) thy *tapas*.'

payasā (MS °sah) *śukram amṛtam janitram*, followed by

surayā (MS. KS *surāyā*) *mūtrāj janayanti* (VS.† MS. °nta) *retah* VS.

MS. KS.† TB. 'By (from) milk they create(d) the bright immortal productive seed, by (from) *surā*, from urine' Here the original clearly had abl *mūtrāj* (all texts), but instr. *payasā* (all but MS.), while the form of the stem *surā* was either instr. or abl, in either case being assimilated in two of four texts to the following or preceding parallel form MS. KS. are more apt to be original than VS. TB.

surayā (MS. *surāyāh*) *somah suta āsulo madāya* VS. MS KS ŚB. TB.

The ŚB. understands *surayā* as associative instr.; so also comm. on TB. and Griffith. Despite the authority of this ancient interpretation, we feel that the MS variant, and the similar passage just discussed, make more likely this interpretation: 'Soma, pressed forth by (MS. from) *surā*, distilled unto enjoyment' This seems supported by Mahidhara on VS.: *āsulah surayā tīvrīkṛtah san*

yatah prajā akhadrā (MS. *yena prajā achadrā*) *ajāyanta tasmai tvā . . juhomi* TS. MS KS.

pūṣah kartur mātari āśṛkta JB.: *pūṣa kartṛā mātari mā niṣīṇca* ('cata to be read?') KBU. 'From (by) a man as creator (father) ye have implanted (implant) me in (my) mother.' On the verb-form see VV 1 §372c.

tābhya enā m tvartaya RV.: *tābhyaś tvā vartayāmasi* KS.: *tābhīr ā vartayā punah* TS ApMB. 'From (by) them (the four quarters of the earth) bring them (we bring thee) back' The Tait. reading is clearly secondary and poor.

§570. Similarly in other passages where no verbal expression of origination is present:

śatṛ yajñāthyaḥ (TA. °śāh) VS. ŚB. TA. 'Welfare (be to us) from (by) the sacrificial formulae.'

pauruṣeḍa dāityaḥ KS.†: *pauruṣeṣa dāityaḥ* TS. MS.: [*śaṁ-yaṁ aḥ* *īdā-*] *pauruṣeṣān na dāitā* AV. Preceded by *yaḥ īdān abhīkṣati* KS., *yaḥ īdān mātṛīkṣati* TS. MS., *yaṁ rādān abhīkṣati* AV.

atyad aśhur nāḥ śyāḥ (VSK. Iṣṭ. *nāḥśyā*),

atyad aśhur (Iṣṭ. *īśāh*.) *atyāśyāḥ* (VSK. Iṣṭ. *atyāśyā*) VS. VSK. Iṣṭ. 'Different, they say, is (the fruit) arising from (by means of) knowledge and ignorance.' That the words are felt as abls., not gens., is proved by the parallel pādas *atyad aśhuh aśībhānā*, *atyad aśhur aśībhānā*, which occur in the vicinity.

śāśā yajñān nānāśā (KS.* [2. 3] *yajñānānāśā*) VS. MS. KS.* (512) ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.: *śāśā yajñān nānāśā* (KS. °śā) TS. MS. KS. ApŚ. A verb such as *ā raśhe* (but with the loc. *nānāśā*, *nāḥśā*—§597) is to be understood. In KS. 23. 5 *śāśā yajñān nānāśā* (which certainly should be read also in KS. 2. 3 for ed. *yajñānānāśā*, cf. VV 2 §519). 'I take sacrifice from mind,' is explained by the Brahmanas: *nānāśā vai yajña śāśādyate*—a striking proof of the equivalence of the two cases in such expressions.

2. Instrumental of means and ablative of cause

§571. The ablative of cause is only a slight development of the ablative of source, into which it shades over imperceptibly: and it varies quite as easily with the instrumental of means. The following variants seem to contain what may best be classified as causal abls.:

tena (IB. *taḥ*) *na mātṛāvaruṇā* (°ṇā) *arigam* (IB. *arīgām*) RV. MS. TB.

Preceded by *yaḥ bāhiṣṭān nātīdhe* (IB. °īde) *sudānā*, *cahīdānā* *śarna bhūvanasya gopā*. 'By (thru) this (aid, *śarman*), O M. and V., help us.'

bhūvas taṁ indra brahmanā (MS. °ro) *māhān* RV. TS. MS. KS. AŚ. 'Become thou great, O Indra, by (thru. as a result of) our holy words.'

pari satyasya dharmasā (PG. *sabhyasya dharmasā*) AŚ. PG. The PG. reading is regarded by Stenzler as corrupt, and we have followed him in VV 2 §143: 'the context makes it easy to assume a change from *satyasya* to *sabhyasya*, and the reverse change is not easy to understand. Yet *pari* is not very easy to construe in AŚ., while in PG. it goes very naturally with the abl. *dharmasā*, either in

the sense of '(turning away) from the condition of friendship' (so Oldenberg), or (perhaps better) 'in accordance with the law of friendship (or of truth, if *satyasya* be read).' In the latter interpretation, the abl of cause with *pari* would be equivalent to the instr.

§572. To this group would belong three other variants, if their ablatives were to be accepted as textually sound; they are however all suspicious for one reason or another.

abhi śravobhīh prthwīm RV : *uta śrāvāsā* (MS. *śrāvasa* [p p °sah] ā) *prthwīm* VS TS. MS TA. 'And (has spread over) the earth also by reason of his glory.' MS like the others has in the preceding the parallel *mahinā* (instr.) *divah*, 'over the heavens by his greatness' If *śrāvāsah* be accepted it would have to be an abl. of cause; but see VV 2 §991

hiraṇyapānur amūṃta sukratuh kṛpā (AV *kṛpāt*) *svah* AV SV. VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. AŚ ŚŚ. Whitney adopts *kṛpā* for AV., which is read by some mss and comm (the variant might be added to VV 2 §420) AŚ. ŚŚ. add the ūha *ṛpā svah* for *kṛpā svah*, which should have been recorded in VV 2 §138 Can the anomalous final *t* of AV. be explained as due to misunderstanding of a ms reading in which *t* was inserted, interlinearly or marginally, as a substitute for *k* in *kṛpā*, and later taken as an addition at the end of the word? *satyā eṣām āśṣah santu kāmāḥ* (SMB *kāmāt*) SMB ApMB. HG. So Conc., but Jørgensen reads *kāmāh* in SMB., with only one ms recorded as reading *kāmāt*. Cf. §412.

3. With expressions of separation

§573. The instrumental is sometimes used with expressions of separation or release, of the thing separated from, by analogy with the associative instrumental used after (antonymic) expressions of joining See e.g. Whitney, Gr. 283a, Speyer, VSS §33. In this way it comes to be interchangeable with the ablative of separation:

tebhir no adya (ApŚ *tebhyo na indrah*) *savitola viṣnuh* KŚ. ApŚ : *tebhyo asmān varuṇah soma indrah* Kauś. The verb *vi muñcantu* follows 'May (Indra,) Savitar and Viṣnu free us (today) from these (fettters of Varuṇa)', or the like.

viśvā (MS. *vy*) *amīvāh pramuñcan mānuṣībhih* (KS Ppp °*ṣebhyah*, MS. °*ṣāṇām*) AV. Ppp MS. KS.: *viśvā āśah pramuñcan mānuṣīr bhīyah* VS. TS. Followed by *śvābhir* (Ppp VS KS MS. *śvebhir*) *adya pari pāhu no gayam* (VS. TS MS KS *ṛdhe*) All evidence points

to *mānuṣibhūh* as the original. The AV comm followed by Whitney supplies *ūtibhūh*. But the noun most naturally understood with *mānuṣī* is *viś* or *kr̥ṣṭi*, 'tribe' (see Grassmann, *Wbch* s v.). The instr is then probably one of separation: 'freeing all diseases from human tribes'. KS Ppp must be interpreted similarly, taking *mānuṣebhyah* as abl, 'from men'. On VS. TS see §474. MS has a possessive gen: 'freeing (removing) men's diseases'. The following pāda is a reminiscence of RV. 6.71.3b, *śivebhīr adya pari pāhī no gayam*, where *śivebhīr* goes with a preceding *pāyubhūh* (the context is wholly different). Here *śivebhīr* or *śivābhīr* must be taken either as an adverb, 'auspiciously', or as a noun, 'with kindness'. Note that only AV has *mānuṣibhūh* and *śivābhūh* in the same case form.

4. Dependent on prepositional adverbs

§574. The prepositional adverbs *paras*, *avas*, *arvāk* govern either abl or instr without difference of meaning. This use of the abl is apparently related to the abl of comparison, cf. Speyer, *VSS* §39.

paro divā (AV. vulg *divo* by misprint, MS *divah*) *para enā prthivyā* (MS *'yāh*) RV. AV. VS. TS. MS. KS. 'Higher than the heaven, higher than the earth here'. Followed (except in one of the two RV occurrences, and AV. which repeats this) by.

paro devebhīr (MS *'bhyo*) *asuraṛ* (MS *'ram*) *yad asti* (TS *asuraṛ guhā yat*) RV. VS. TS. MS. KS.

avaś ca yāh parah srucaḥ (Vait *srucaḥ*, KS *paro divah*) RV. KS. Vait *arvāk tvā parebhyo 'vidam* (VSK *tvā parebhyah*) *paro 'varebhyah* (TS *tvā paraṛ avidam paro 'varaiḥ*, MS *tvā parebhyah paro 'varebhyo 'vidam*) VS. VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. 'I have found thee on the near side of the farther, on the far side of the nearer'.

5. In adverbial forms

§575. Temporal or local adverbs are formed with the endings of both cases, usually without clear difference of meaning:

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pratasthau Ppp. TS. KS: *nīcār uccaiḥ svadhā abhi pra tathau* AV. Here *nīcād* has distinct ablative force: '(from) below above (nach oben)', or 'below (and) above'.

ayam paścād (MS *paścā*) *vidadvasuh* MS. KS. In this and the next two the pp of MS reads *paścāt*.

ayam paścād (MS *paścā*) *viśvavyacāh* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. See prec. *maryo na yoṣām abhy eti paścāt* (MS *paścā*) RV. AV. MS. TB. See prec. two.

yad ahnā (and, *rātriyā*, v. l. *rātriyā*) *pāpam akārṣam* TA MahānU.: *yad ahnāl* (and, *rātriyāt*) *kurute pāpam* TAA. The comm. repeats the strange forms *ahnāl* and *rātriyāt* (blended forms under the influence of ablatives of *a*-stems), saying that they are 'Vedic'.

6. Case attraction, and miscellaneous

§576. Almost the only variants in which the two cases seem to have really quite distinct meanings are the following, in the first of which it seems likely that external case-attraction (formal assimilation) has been influential:

sa budhnād (AV. Ppp °*nyād*) *āṣṭa januṣābhy* (AV. *januṣo* 'bhy) *agram* AV. Ppp (JAOS 37: 260) TS KS. AŚ. The instr. is doubtless original; note that even Ppp has it. 'From the bottom to the top he has reached by his nature' or the like. The isolated *januṣo* is doubtless due to attraction to the abl *budhnyād*, now taken as an adjective: 'from the lowest generation to the top he has reached.' Otherwise Ludwig.

vāyur na ṛdita ṛditarvair devair antarikṣyaiḥ (ApŚ. *āntarikṣaiḥ*) *pātu* KS.

ApŚ : *vāyuṣ tvāntarikṣāt pātu sūryo divaḥ* MŚ.

saṃjagmāno (KS. °*nā*, MŚ TB ApŚ. °*nau*) *divā* (TB ApŚ. *diva ā*) *prthivyā* (ApŚ † °*vyāḥ*) VS. MS KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. All but TB. ApŚ have two instrs : 'uniting with heaven and earth'. The subject is the *sukra* and (or) the manthin *graha*, either together in the texts that have a dual, or separately (in VS. ŚB., which repeat the formula with each). TB. keeps the instr. *prthivyā* (the final *ā* is fused with the next word *āyuh*), while ApŚ. (which reads *prthivyā āyuh*) understands an abl. (so Caland; less likely gen. or dat.); both must take *diva(h)* as abl. Caland renders 'Zusammentreffend von dem Himmel, von der Erde her'. The TB. comm. understands 'uniting with the earth, as far as (i.e. including) the heaven': *ā divo dyulokasahitayā prthivyā*. The secondary TB. ApŚ reading contains the reverse of double sandhi (false vowel resolution) and should be added to VV 2 §991; the variant might also be added to VV 2 §732.

C. Instrumental and genitive

1. Objective genitive

§577. In contrast with the ablative, the genitive shows few variants in which it is used interchangeably with the instrumental. Most of our

variants are miscellaneous in character and show quite different syntactic applications of the two cases

§578. The objective genitive, which easily interchanges with various other cases (§§87 ff.), varies with an associative instrumental after noun expressions of union or association, with practically no difference of meaning:

saṁvasānam (SV. °no) *vitasvataḥ* (SV °tā) RV. SV. 'Fellow-dweller of (with) Vivasvat'

saṁveśane tanvaś (AV. *tanvā*) *cārur edhi* RV. AV. 'In joining of (with) thy body...' Other texts *saṁveśanas tanve* (*tanuvai*) . . , with final dative; see §560.

viśveśam deidānam aham (KS. *vi° aham dev°*) *devayajyayā prāṇath* (KS *prāṇānām*) *sāyujyam gamcyam* KS ApS '... may I go into association with (of) the life-breaths'

§579. After expressions of gratification, the objective genitive interchanges with the instrumental of means:

tena ṭṛpyatam anahau TB. ApS : *tasya ṭṛmpatam ahāhāhuhū svāhā* ŚS *juṣṭam devebhir* (AV. *devānām*) *uta mānuṣebhir* (AV. *mānuṣānām*) RV. AV. 'Accepted by (pleasing to) gods and men'

2 Subjective genitive

§580. Again, the subjective genitive varies, without essential difference of meaning, with an instrumental of means or agent, after a participle or its equivalent; the difference is one between nominal and verbal psychology:

yan mayā dukṣitam kṛtam TA. MahānU. BDh : *yan me kim cana duṣṭitam* ViDh. 'Whatever evil has been done by me (or, of me, as it were 'my deed').'

yan me (TA.* BDh * *mayā*) *manasā vācā* TA (both) MahānU. BDh (both) As in preceding; the participle *kṛtam* follows

chandobhir yajñaih sukṛtām kṛtena AV.: *brahmaṇā guptah* (ApMB *saṁprācānas*) *sukṛtā kṛtena* ApMB HG 'With the deed of the righteous': 'by (with) the holy speech which is made by the righteous man' There is no need to emend HG to *sukṛtām* with Oldenberg *apo devīḥ prathamajā ṛtena* (AV. *ṛtasya*) RV. AV. 'The divine waters, first-produced by (first-born of) the ṛta.'

3. Partitive genitive

§581. The partitive genitive (almost appositional at times) exchanges in various ways with an instrumental, sometimes with little difference

of meaning, as in the first instance, where the instr is appositional to another instrumental; in phrases of this type the gen. may exchange with any other case (§84):

vasantena (also *grīṣmeṇa*, *varṣābhis*, *śaradā*, *hemantaśiṣirābhyām*) *tvartunā* (KSA. °nām) *haviṣā dīkṣayāmī* TS. KSA. 'I consecrate thee with the spring (etc.) season (with the spring of the seasons), with oblation.'

§582. Psychologically similar also are the uses of the two cases with verbs of offering:

tasmā indrāya haviṣā juhota MS.: *tasmā indrāyāndhaso juhota* RV. 'To Indra here make offering with oblation (make offering of the soma)'. Others with the acc; §§466, 502.

§583. Somewhat less close are:

yad asya karmaṇo 'tyarīcam ApŚ. HG AG. ApMB: *yat karmaṇātyarīcam* ŚB. BrhU. PG. 'Whatsoever of this performance (by my performance) I have done in excess'

sukalpm agne tat tava (AV. *tvayā*) AV. TS. MS. KS 'That (part) of thee is easily made good': 'that is easily made good by thee'. Addressed to Agni.

anuṣṭup (also *triṣṭup*, *gāyatrī*, *jagatī*, *pañktis*) *tvā chandasām avatu* (KS. *chandasāvatu*) TS MS KS. 'May anuṣṭubh (etc.) of the meters (with meter) help thee' Formulaic *rig_narole*.

suyyotir jyotiṣā (TA ApŚ. °ṣām) *svāhā* VS. ŚB. TA ApŚ. 'Fair-lighted one with light (of lights)'. As prec.

teṣām chidram prati dadhmo yad atra KS.: *teṣām chinnam sam etad* (ŚŚ. *sam imam*, TS *praty etad*) *dadhāmī* VS. TS ŚŚ: *tebhiḥ chidram apidadhmo yad atra* MS. AŚ. 'Of (by) these (33 threads)'

4 Instr.-gen. of time

§584. The question whether the gen. can be used adverbially in expressions of time was formerly mooted but may now be considered as settled affirmatively; see §678, and cf. especially Oldenberg, *RVNoten* on I. 79 6 In this sense it is therefore interchangeable with the instr We have however noticed only a single variant, and even its form is not certain:

madhu naktam uṣasah (KS °sā, TS TA. °sī) RV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TA BrhU. MahānU. Kāuś The RV. *uṣasah* has been taken (e.g. by Grassmann) as nom. pl: 'the night and dawns are honey' This is impossible because there is no nom. *naktam* (Wackernagel 3 p. 234). that form can only be adverbial acc, and consequently

uśasah is also adverbial. It might (with Wackernagel l. c. and others) be taken as acc. pl., but may at least as well be gen. sg., in either case it means practically the same as *uśasā* (or *°si*), 'at dawn'.

5. Case attraction

§585. The rest contain miscellaneous shifts which are hardly classifiable in terms of definite syntactic relationships. We shall mention first a group in which formal, external attraction or assimilation seems to be responsible for the change:

cakṣuṣah (KapS. *°ṣā*) *pitā manasā* h. *dhīrah* RV VS TS MS KS
KapS. ApS. Raghu Vira emends to *cakṣuṣah*, wrongly, assimilation to *manasā* (Oertel 18)

viśvasyeśāna ojaśā (SV *°sah*) RV AV SV. 'Ruler of all by might': 'ruler of all might'. We take it that *ojaśā* has been altered to *ojasah* by attraction to *viśvasya*.

samvatsarena savitā no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS. KS. AŚ. 'By the year of days': 'by the year, by the day'. The MS form seems to be assimilated to *samvatsarena*; so in the next two. But note that in all three the formal difference consists in loss of a final nasal, and cf VV 2 §307, where these variants might have been quoted: the change may be largely phonetic in character, since the final nasal seems to have been weakly pronounced.

trivṛn no viśṭhayā (KS. *trivṛd viśṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS *ahnā*) TS MS. KS AŚ. As prec.

nutrāvaruṇā śaradāhnām (MS *°hnā*) *cikṣnū* (with varr.) TS. MS KS. AŚ. As prec.

traiṣṭubhena chandasendreṇa devatayāgneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upa dadhāmi TS: *traiṣṭubhena chandasā chandasāgneḥ pārśvenāgneḥ pārśvam upa dadhāmi* KS: *traiṣṭubhasya chandaso 'gneḥ pakṣeṇāgneḥ pakṣam upadadhāmi* MS. 'With the *traiṣṭubh* meter, with the side of Agni . ', so TS KS, original. In MS the first phrase is assimilated to the following *agneḥ*: 'with the side of the *traiṣṭubh* meter, of Agni . ' So also with the meter-names *jāgata*, *gāyatra*, *ānuṣṭubha*, *pāñkta*.

devasya tvā samtuh prasave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣno hastābhyām sarasvatyā vācā (VS TS ŚB. *sarasvatyai vācā*) *yantur yantreṇa abhi-
ṣiñcāmi* VS. TS. MS KS ŚB: *sarasvatyai vācā yantur yantriye* (VSK. *vācā yan turye turyam*) *dadhāmi* VS VSK ŚB. Assuming that MS KS. are original, we have assimilation of *vācā* to the preceding *sarasvatyā(s)* or *°yai* (§143) and the following *yantur* in

the others If, as is less likely, the gen. is original, it has been assimilated to the preceding instr. in MS. KS.

§586. In the next the formal association is of a rather different sort. Here the assimilating force is exerted by the construction of a parallel formula in the vicinity, to which the variant formula is brought into closer parallelism by the change; it is not a question of influence of another word in the same passage. The three formulas here quoted belong to the same context:

pāvamānasya tvā stomena gāyatrasya vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa. MS.:
pāvamānena tvā stomena gāyatrasya (KS. °tryā) *vartanyopāñśor vīryeṇa* TS. KS.

bṛhadrathamitarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho vartanyā śukrasya vīryeṇa.

TS.: *bṛhatā tvā rathamitareṇa triṣṭubhyā* (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *vartanyā śukrasya* MS. KS.

agnes tvā mātrayā jagatyā [gen.] *vartanyāgrayanasya vīryeṇa* (KS. *jagatyā vartanyā*) . TS. KS. : *agneṣ tvā mātrayā jāgatyā vartanyā* . . . MS.

In these three associated formulas, the gens *pāvamānasya* (MS only) and *bṛhadrathamitarayos* (TS. only), 'with the hymn of the P.' and 'of the B.-R. (sāmans),' are clearly secondary and modelled on the parallel *agnes tvā mātrayā* etc. of the third formula; the instr. forms (found consistently in KS) are original. The second phrase of all three formulas consists of *vartanyā* modified by an adjectival or appositional instr. in KS, and again this seems to be the original form. In the first formula the instr. is replaced by a dependent gen. in both TS. and MS, in the second and third formulas in TS alone. These gens. are modelled on the next following phrase, *upāñśor* (*śukrasya, āgrayanasya*) *vīryeṇa*.

6. Miscellaneous

§587. In listing the remaining miscellaneous variants, we begin with those in which no other change, or no serious change, in addition to the shift of case-form, occurs in the variant:

vayam nāma pra bravāmā (KS † °ma; add to VV 2 §446) *ghṛtāsya* (TA ApŚ *ghṛtena*) RV VS MS KS. TA ApŚ MahānU. (All but one ms of MahānU. used by Jacob read *ghṛtena*, which therefore should probably be read as in TA ApŚ, tho the comm. has *ghṛtasya*) Caland translates ApŚ as if gen.; but the agreement of the Tsit. texts suggests that *ghṛtena* is the true reading of the school, non-sensical as it seems to us. TA comm. says the 'name' means the pranava (om).

pra yujo (SV. *yuṣā*) *vāco agrayah* RV. SV Followed by the verb *cakradat* (SV *acikradat*). RV : 'let the leader (Soma) of his associate, the song, sound forth' *yuṣā* may be an adverb (so Benfey), 'the leader of the song has sounded forth together,' or perhaps better a noun, 'the leader of the song together with his associate (the song)'

sarasvātīyā (TB. **tīyāh*) *supippalah* VS. MS TB. Preceded by *deva* (TB. *indro*) *vanaspathiḥ*, *hiranyaparno aśvibhyām* The instr is associative; and TB. glosses the gen by *sarasvatīyāḥ sambandhī* *rasam parisrutā* (MS **lo*) *na rohitaṁ* VS. KS. MS TB. The instr depends on the verb *vayati* in the prec, felt as a verb of mixing or uniting: 'as the red sap with *parisrut*' However, VS comm glosses *parisrutā* with *parisrutah* ('as the red sap of *parisrut*').

ajo bhāgas (TA *'bhāgas*) *tapasā* (AV **sas*) *taṁ tapasva* RV AV TA 'The goat is (thy) portion (TA portionless), burn him with heat': 'the goat is the portion of heat, burn him' Whitney considers the AV superior, but wrongly, cf Oldenberg *Noten* on RV 10 16 4 *patim surāyā* (TB. *surāya*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS. TB. See §563

saṁ brahmanā (AV **nām*) *devakṛtam* (RV AV *devahitam*) *yad aśi* RV. AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB The instr is associative, with *saṁ neṣi* (*neṣa*) of prec 'bring together with the prayer which has been made by the gods' In AV it becomes a partitive gen with *yad*. 'whatever prayers have been', no instr being expressed tho one must still be understood

viśvā (MS *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS **ṣebhyah*, MS. **ṣānām*) AV. MS KS See §573

§588. Different words, or more extensive and radical reconstructions, are involved in the following:

agnir āyusmān sa tena tvāyusāyusmantam karomi (KS *tasyāyam āyusāyusmān astv asau*) TS KS PG ApMB 'By this life': 'by his life' The meaning is practically the same, but different pronouns are used

ayam no nabhasas patih (TS ApŚ. *nabhasā purah*) AV TS GB Vait Kauś ApŚ Followed by *samsphāno abhi rakṣatu* *ye barhiṣo* (MS **ṣā*) *namovṛkṣim* (VS VSK MS ŚB *namaukṣim*) *na jagmuh* (VS ŚB *yajant* for *na ja**) RV AV. VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB TB

ya indrena saratham yāti devah AV. *yenendrasya ratham sambabhūvuh* MS KS ApŚ See §419.

satyā tā dharmanas patī ApŚ : *satyād ā dharmanas patī* (ŚŚ *dharmanā*, Vait MŚ *dharmanas pari*, but MŚ mss. *dharmanā pari*) AŚ. ŚŚ. Vait MŚ.

saṃ tvā nahyāmy apa (MŚ MG. *adbhr*) *oṣadhībhiḥ* TS. MŚ. MG.: *saṃ tvā nahyāmi payasaṃ oṣadhīnām* AV. Cf *saṃ tvā nahyāmi payasā prthivyāḥ* (TS *ghṛtena*), which immediately precedes this; see §460 *pūṣā sanīnām* (TS ApŚ *sanyā*), *soma rādhāsām* (TS °*sā*) TS KS. MS. ApŚ MŚ. (only the first two words in ApŚ. MŚ ; delete MŚ. in Conc under *soma rā*). In MS. KS probably a noun, 'giver', rather than a verb of giving as v. Schroeder suggests, is to be supplied: 'Pūṣan (is the giver) of gifts' etc In TS. *āvavṛtran* precedes: 'Pūṣan (has surrounded me) with gain' etc.

ghṛtasyāgne tanvā saṃ bhava KS MŚ Kauś MG.. *ghṛtena tvam tanvam* (TS *tanuvo*) *vardhayaśva* RV VS TS. MS ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ N.

saṃ it tam rāyā srjati svadhāvaṇ (AV.* *rāyah srjati svadhābhiḥ*) RV. AV. (both)

āyurdā agne haviṣo juṣāṇah (ŚG. *haviṣā vṛdhānah*) TS TB. TA. AŚ. ApŚ ŚG.

yena (AV *yasya*) *dyaṃ ugrā* (AV. *urvī*) *prthivī ca dṛdhā* (TS. *dṛdhe*, AV. *makti*) RV. AV Ppp VS VSK. TS MS. KS. In passing we note that the change from *ugrā* to *urvī* is a sign of the increasingly unpleasant connotation of *ugra*

§589. The forms themselves are doubtful of interpretation, or textually suspicious, in the following:

ariṣṭāḥ syāma tanvā suvīrāḥ RV. AV. TS. KS : *ariṣṭās tanvo bhūyāśma* LŚ. The LŚ. *tanvo* is doubtful as to form and meaning Is it gen with *ariṣṭās*, 'without harm to the body' (Whitney *Gr.* 296b)? Or abl of source or cause? Or adverbial accus? Or even nom pl. ('may we be unharmed bodies, persons')? It may, finally, be a mere error or misprint in the unreliable edition.

nedīya it srñyah (TS.† °*yā*) *pakvam eṃtī* (AV *ā yavan*, TS MS KS *āyat*) RV AV. VS TS MS KS. ŚB N Here *srñyah* may be variously interpreted in the RV form, it is often taken as gen, 'may the ripe grain come near to the sickle' But acc pl. is also possible; likewise nom sg (stem *srñyā*) may be considered (cf Oldenberg, *Noten* on 1. 58 4). The AV. makes it a nom pl.

prthivyā (MS * °*vyāḥ*) *sambhava* VS TS MS KS ŚB. KŚ. ApŚ. See VV 2 p 197

[*vācām indriyenāviṣa* (TS MŚ *vācā mendr*°) TS. KS. MŚ Read KS. like the others, see v Schroeder's note on 31. 15, p. 18 n 1.]

7. Transfer of epithet

§590. The only case which may be called in the strictest sense a 'transfer of epithet' is the uncertain one which follows:

amaṣām cūtam prabudhām (TS KS. °dhā) *vr̥ neṣat* (KS *naṣyatu*) RV AV TS. KS. 'At home let the plan of these clever (enemies) come to naught' In TS KS. *prabudhā* may be taken as personal, 'by the wise one', referring to Agni, to whom the verse is addressed, or else, with Keith, as impersonal, 'by (his) wisdom'

§591. In the rest an originally independent word is transformed into an epithet of another word, to the case of which it is attracted (§15). *stomo yaṣṇāś ca* (TB. *yaṣṇasya*) *rādhyo haṁṣmatā* (TB °tah) RV. TB 'Praise and sacrifice (are) to be offered by the sacrificer.' Once the gen has been introduced in TB. (see §449), *haṁṣmatā* is assimilated to it

vr̥ṣṇah sutasyaṁjasa (SV. PB. °sah) RV. SV PB In SV *ojas* is made an epithet of *soma*: 'of the bull [that is] strength, pressed out', instead of 'pressed out by strength'

vedam savitrā prasūtām maghonām AG.: *vedam prasūtām savitrā maghonā* ŚG. Stenzler and Oldenberg both adopt for AG the reading of ŚG, with no ms authority. To us it seems that AG is not only sound but original: 'holy knowledge pressed forth by Savitar for liberal patrons' ŚG. has secondarily assimilated *maghonā* to *savitrā*, transposing the latter word into juxtaposition with what is now its epithet: 'pressed forth by the liberal Savitar'

ghṛtasya vībhṛāṣṭim anu śukraśociṣah (RV AV VS. KS *vaṣṭi śociṣā*) RV AV SV. TS. MS KS Followed by *ājuhvānasya sarpiṣah* The two independent words of the original are replaced by a compound epithet of *sarpiṣah*.

D. Instrumental and locative

§592. The variations between instrumental and locative are instructive in showing a much closer association between these two cases than has commonly been assumed Speyer (VSS §75) notes uses in which the locative vies with most of the other oblique cases, but does not mention the instrumental And yet our variants show that they are interchangeable, often with little or no difference of meaning, in a variety of ways

§593. 'In the instrumental is put that concept which is associated with the principal concept in the action' (Delbruck, AIS p 122) The locative designates primarily the sphere within which an action takes

place. But the sphere of the action may also be regarded as an accompanying concept of the action. Conversely, the accompanying concept may be treated as the circumstance within whose sphere of operation the action takes place. The occasion (loc) is at the same time the means, cause, or manner (instr) of the action. The phrase *marutām prasave jaya* (TS *jayata*) of TS. MS. KS MŚ means 'in (upon, German *auf*) the impulse of the Maruts conquer'. Is there any essential difference between this and the variant of VS. ŚB., with *prasavena*? Only a faint and elusive one, we should say; just as we imagine a Latinist would be puzzled to make a very clear distinction between *in hoc signo vinces* and *hoc signo vinces*.

§594. Adverbial expressions of time and place, as well as manner, occur with both cases. Distinctions are often drawn between them. Thus it is said that the instr. denotes the time or place thruout which the action takes place. Delbrück uses the terms *Raum-* and *Zeiterstreckung* of such instrumentals. To be sure he admits (*AIS.* p. 130), at least for time concepts, that this distinction cannot always be felt, noting that *doṣā*, instr., 'in the evening' is the precise counterpart of *uṣaḥ*, loc., 'in the morning'. We are very doubtful whether the distinction has any value. At any rate our variants show a number of cases in which it seems forced.

§595. We recognize, of course, that these two cases developed some quite distinct uses, and we should not claim that in all or even most of the instances in which they vary with each other, their meanings are precisely identical. To some extent we shall keep in mind the conventional terminology which speaks of instrumentals of 'manner, cause, accompaniment' etc., and of locatives of various sorts. And where it seems to us likely that the two cases had somewhat different connotations, we shall not hesitate to point them out. Yet we believe that the mass of our variants will be found to confirm the view that the two cases approach each other much more than has been generally recognized; so that it is anything but surprising that in a number of ritualistic, rigma-role formulas, either will do as well as the other (§604).

1 Time expressions

§596. We have already referred to the use of the two cases in expressions of time, and noted that the distinction made by Delbrück and others is not supported by the variants (§594):

maghāsu (RV. *aghāsu*, ApG. *maghābhvr*) *hanyante gāvah* (ApG. *gāvo grhyante*),

phalgunīṣu (RV. *arjunyoh*, ApG *phalgunībhyām*) *vy* (RV. *pari*) *ūhyat* (ApG *ūhyate*) RV. AV. ApG. Kauś 'In the asterism of the Maghās (Aghās) the cows are slain (taken), in that of the Phalgun (Arjuni) the marriage takes place' Distinction of meaning scarcely conceivable.

madhu naktam uśasah (KS °sā, TS TA °sī) RV VS TS. MS KŚ ŚB. TA. BṛhU MahānU. Kauś Here *uśasah* (probably gen sg) is the original, and is replaced by either instr. or loc, see §584

2. Place expressions

§597. The instr is particularly frequent in expressing the 'way' with verbs of motion (Speyer, *VSS* §42); but the loc may equally well be used:

samudram gandharveṣṭhām anvātiṣṭhata (KS † °ṣṭhatha) *vātasya patmaneditā* (KS *patmann iditā*) MS. KS 'On the path of the wind' *avyo vāreṣu* (SV *avyā vārebhur*) *asmayuh* RV SV., and *avyo vāre* (SV. *avyā vāraiḥ*) *pari priyah* (and *priyam*) RV SV. 'In (or, thru) the sieve of wool.' The verbs are *pavasva*, *punānah*, *hinvanti*, the subject, soma

drunā (SV *drone*) *sadhasṭham aśnuṣe* RV SV 'By (in) the wooden vessel thou attainest thy place' The vessel is the 'way' thru which the soma flows.

drunā (SV VS *drone*) *sadhasṭham āsadat* RV. SV VS As prec

§598. And without the concept of motion, in simple expressions of location, the instr may replace the loc.

adhī kṣamī viṣurūpam (ArS *kṣamā viśvarūpam*) *yad aśi* (ArS *asya*, MS † *āstā*) RV. AV. ArS MS TB Here *kṣamā*, 'on the earth', must apparently be instr, and is well known in the RV. itself It cannot be regarded as dependent on *adhī*, which is not found with the instr. (tho it may reinforce the loc, as probably here with *kṣamī*).

paro yad idhyate divā (SV *divi*) RV SV. Here *divā* is commonly regarded as dependent on *paras*: 'beyond the sky' (so Ludwig, Grassmann *Wbch.*, and Bergaigne 2 187) Yet it may quite well mean simply 'in the sky', with *paras* an independent adverb (so Grassmann's translation), in that case it would be the precise equivalent of *divi*.

tīre tubhyam gaṅge HG : *tīre tubhyam asau* PG : *tīreṇa yamune* (and, *tīreṇāsau*) *tava* ApMB Preceded by *vivṛitacakra āśīnās* HG ApMB., *anumuktacakra* (v l °rā) *āsīran* PG It seems scarcely

possible to take ApMB. *tīreṇa* otherwise than as an expression of location, 'sitting on thy bank.'

§599. The instrumental adverb *guhā* is used sometimes in ways which suggest that it may have been originally local. This, to be sure, is not proved by the fact that it varies twice with the locative *guhāsu*, 'in secret places':

gandharvo dhāma paramam guhā yat (VS. *dhāma vibhṛtam guhā sat*) AV.

VS.: *gandharvo nāma nṛitām guhāsu* TA. MahānU.

trīṇi padāni (TA MahānU *padā*) *nṛitā guhāsyā* (TA. MahānU. *guhāsu*)

AV. VS TA. MahānU

3 Instrumental of means or cause and locative

§600. We now approach cases in which the instrumental is no longer strictly local or temporal, but is tinged with its more familiar meaning of means. Even so it often varies, with little shift of meaning, with a locative, which then ordinarily denotes the occasion rather than the literal, physical 'place', cf. (*in*) *hoc signo vinces*, §593. As a transition case we mention first the following variant, where the loc *kumbhe*, 'in a pot', is still used of physical location, while the instr, 'with pots', regards the noun as the means by which water is carried. It is obvious that the difference is subjective and that either way of looking at it is simple enough:

śam u yāḥ kumbha abhṛtāḥ AV.: *śam yāḥ kumbhebhir abhṛtāḥ* AV

§601. Others, in which the literal local sense is not, or not so clearly, present, are:

na vaḥ śvetasyābhyācāre (AG. *śvelaś cābhyāgāre*, HG *śvetasyābhyācārena*, MG *śvetasyābhyācāre*) AG PG. HG. ApMB MG Followed by *aḥar jaghāna* (PG. *dadarśa*) *kam* (AG. MG *kim*) *cana* Kirste assumes that HG is corrupt, and Oldenberg renders a loc, 'within the dominion of the white one.' The instr is indeed bad metrically and doubtless secondary. But *abhyācāra* in the sense of *abhicāra*, 'attack of hostile magic,' is guaranteed by AV. 10 3 2, and there is no need to abandon it, the more since MG has the loc of the same word: 'by (MG *in*) the hostile magic of the white one the snake has killed no one (nothing).' The other texts have different words

marutām prasave (VS ŠB *°vena*) *jaya* (TS *jayata*) VS TS MS KS ŠB MŚ See §593

apām uta praśastiṣu (RV † *°taye*, AV VSK. *°tibhah*) RV. AV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŠB Followed by *aśvā* (*devā*) *bhavata* (*°tha*) *vājinaḥ*

The RV. original has a dative of purpose (§558), for it the later texts substitute instr or loc, which are virtually equivalent; with the loc., the praising is the occasion and so the means of the becoming strong: 'Become ye strong in (by) the praising of the waters' *śikṣā sakhibhyo haṁsi* (MS KS °śā) *svadhāvah* RV VS TS MS KS 'Teach, O S, (thy seats) to thy friends at (by) the oblation' The oblation is the occasion, and so the means, of the teaching *vairūpe sāmān iha* (MS *adhi*, KS *vairūpena sāmānā*) *tac chakeyam* (TS *chakema*) TS KS MS AŚ 'May I (we) have this power in (by) the *vairūpa sāman*.' The next pāda, which is closely parallel, has an instr (*jagatyā*) in all

meṣam viprā abhisvarā (SV °re) RV. SV. AV. Preceded by *nemim namanā cakṣasā* 'With (in) their song of praise'

vasūnām tvādhīlena rudrāṇām ūrmyādityānām tejasā viśveṣām devānām kratunā marutām emnā juhomi svāhā TB. ApŚ : *vasūnām ādhītau rudrāṇām karmān ādityānām celasī* (sc *tvā juhomi*) MS 'I offer thee with (in) the meditation (?) of the Vasus' etc

ahno rūpe (TS *rūpena*) *sūryasya rāsmiṣu* (TS.† *rāsmibhiḥ*) VS. TS. MS. KS ŚB The verb is *grhṇāmi* or *ādhunomi* 'I take (stir) thee in (with) the form of day, in (with) the rays of the sun'

swapnah swapnādhīkarane RVKh : *swapna swapnābhakaraṇena* AV. 'In (with) the superintendence (incantation?) of sleep [let sleep put to sleep all the people]' Cf Edgerton, *AJP.* 35 438 f

somasya śuṣmah surayā (MS *surāyām*) *sutasya* VS MS KS ŚB TB 'The power of soma pressed out by (in) *surā*'

svargena lokena samprornuvāthām Vait. *svarge loke prornuvāthām* (VSK *prornuvāthām*, MS *prornuvātām*) VS VSK MS ŚB. *svarge* (KS † *svarge*) *loke samprornuvāthām* (KSA † *ornuvāthām*) TS KSA TB 'Wrap yourselves up with (in) the heavenly world'

agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS. TS MS KS AŚ ŚŚ *agnir uktheṣu anhasu* AV. Contexts essentially the same

§602. Several times, at the end of pādas, the loc sg ending *c* varies with the instr pl *aīh*. While both forms are interpretable just as in the preceding, we have little doubt that phonetic moments (*c* : *ai*, and the light pronunciation of final *visarga*) are involved; see VV 2 §§381, 706, to which the first two variants should be added:

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yaṇāiḥ (MŚ *yaṇē*) RV. SV. MŚ

mitrāvarunā rakṣatam ādhīpatyaiḥ (AŚ. °tye) TS MS KS. AŚ

ghṛtavadī savitar (MS. KS °tur) *ādhīpatye* (TS °tyaiḥ) TS MS KS.

4 Instrumental of manner or accompaniment and locative

§603. In the next group the instrumental comes even closer to its fundamental, original meaning, as denoting an attendant circumstance, and so varies if possible even more easily with the locative of the occasion. There is, however, of course no sharp dividing line between the instr. of association and that of means or cause, and some of the following cases might perhaps as well be put in the preceding group:

rāyas poṣeṇa (KS. *poṣe*) *sam iṣā madema* VS. TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. ŚG PG. 'May we revel with (in) increase of riches, with food.' Associative feeling is perhaps indicated by *sam*. The meter indicates that KS. is secondary.

ivasva (°vann, °vān) *ādityaiṣa...tasmin* (TS. *tena*) *maṭsya* (TS. KS. *mandasva*) VS. VSK. TS. KS. ŚB. 'Delight in it'

ny adhur mātrāyām (KS. *mātrayā*) *kavayo vayodhasaḥ* (KS. °*sam*) MS. KS. 'Established him in fixed order' will translate both, but KS. has an instr. of manner, MS. a loc. of situation.

sve dakṣe (VS. MS. KS. ŚB. *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapṛiteḥa sīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. 'Be seated in (with) thine own power(s).' Add to VV 2 §706.

sa rāye sa puramdhyaṁ (SV. °*dhyā*) RV. SV. AV. JB. Preceded by *sa ghā no yoga ā bhuvaḥ*. 'May he stand by us in our work unto riches, in (with) liberality.' *puramdhya* = *liberaltier*.

ṛtena (MG. *ṛte* 'va) *śhūṇām* (ApMB HG. °*nāv*, MG. °*nā*) *adhi roha vaṇṣa* (MG. *vaṇṣaḥ*) AV. AG. HG. ApMB. MG. All Knauer's mss *ṛtena*, Knauer says 'wohl nicht *ṛtā iva*'. If he is right, *ṛte* is loc. of the sphere of action

twayā (RV. *tve ā*) *bhūṣanti vedhasaḥ* RV. SV. 'Worshipers devote themselves to (busy themselves with) thee' Phonetic moments are involved here; VV 2 §911.

§604. In some ritualistic formulas the sense of the rignmarole is so feeble that one case will do about as well as any other:

prācyām dīśi (MS. KS. MŚ. *prācyā dīśā*, ŚŚ. *prācyā dīśā saha*) *devā ṛtvyo mārjayantiām* TS. MS. KS. AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. 'The gods, the priests, shall purify (me?) in (with, by?) the eastern quarter.' In ŚŚ *saha* proves that the instr. is associative; in MS. KS. it might also be one of means. Similarly the formulas beginning *udācyām dīśy*, *ūrdhvāyām dīśi*, *prācyām dīśi*, *dakṣiṇāyām dīśi*, with variant instrs.

svāyām yat tanvām (*tanvām*) *tanūm airayata* TS. KŚ.: *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat* AV.: *svā yat tanū tanvam airayata* KS. KSA. 'Produced a body in (with) his own body.'

5. Instrumental and locative with verbal expressions of joining

§605. Special rubrication is deserved by a group in which a verbal expression of joining is used, now with an associative instrumental, now with a locative of goal (cf. the similar use of the accusative of goal, §467). In all but the first case the verb is one of placing or of motion, compounded with the preposition *saṃ*; in these the locative may be felt as going more closely with the notion of the verb, the instrumental with the preposition.

brhaspate †yāmyām (KS ms *yāmyā*) *yuṅgdhī* (*yuṅdhī*) *vācam* TS. MS KS AŚ Von Schroeder emends KS. to *yāmyām*, but the instr. is perfectly sound: 'yoke up holy speech in (with) *yāmī*', whatever *yāmī* may mean.

saṃ devānām sumatyā (AV. VS MS ŚB. *sumatau*) *yajñyānām* RV. AV. Ppp VS TS. MS KS ŚB. TB. '(Bring us) together with (to, in) the favor of the sacrificial gods'

saṃ patnī patyā sukṛteṣu (TB. ApŚ. *sukṛtena*) *gacchātām* MS KS. TB. ApŚ MŚ 'Let the wife with her husband come together to (with) good deeds'

śvena (VSK. *śve*) *me saṃ tiṣṭhasva* VSK TB TAA ApŚ. 'Come together with (in, unto) luck for me.'

aṅgāny ātman (MS. *aṅgair ātmānām*) *bhīṣajā tad aśvinā* VS. MS. KS. TB. The verb is *saṃ-dhā*; see §462

§606. In one variant involving the root *sprdh* 'vie', the two cases are differently used. This root takes the instr. of the person vied with, the loc of the person or thing striven for. For the exegesis of the variant see VV 2 §109

spardhante dhiyah (TS. KSA. *dhvāh*) *sūrye na* (SV. *sūre na*, TS. KSA † *sūryena*) *viśah* RV. SV. TS KSA.

6. Miscellaneous

§607. There remains a relatively small group in which the instr. and loc seem to be used in definitely different constructions; often different words are used or the passage is otherwise reshaped

garbha :vet subhṛto garbhīṇībhiḥ (RV. *iva sudhuto garbhīṇīṣu*) RV. SV. KU. 'Well borne by (well established in) pregnant women.'

vayam rājābhiḥ (AV.* *rājasu*) *prathamā dhanāni* RV. AV. (both). 'We along with (our?) kings, the first...': 'we first among the kings. It is not clear who the 'kings' are. The p p of both RV. and AV. read *prathamāḥ*; Grassmann and Geldner (VSt 1 150) understand *prathamā*, n pl

samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena RV. AV. SV. VS. TS KS.: *samsraṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu* MS. 'This Indra, mingler of the fight (yudhas, objective gen.?) with his band (instr. of means).' MS. has distorted the pāda, starting with a phonetic corruption (VV 2 §660; some AV. mss. have *samsraṣṭā*): 'Indra, in the mingled fights and bands' or 'when the fights and bands are mingled.'

yaiḥ prthivyām agnaye samanāmanā evā mahyam samnamah samnamantu AV.: *yaiḥāgnih prthivyā samanāmad evam mahyam bhadrah samnatayah sam namantu* TS. KSA † 5. 20 The latter seems to have an associative instr.: 'As Agni with the earth made obeisance.' But the mantra is obscure rīgmarole; for a different interpretation see Keith on TS Other parallel formulas in the same context

yat kusīdam apratīlām (MS MŚ TA. °tīlām, TA. Poona ed. °tīlām with v. 1 °tīlām, SMB *apradattam*) *mayeha* (TS *mayi*) TS MS. TA. MŚ. SMB 'The loan which has not been paid back by me.' In TS *mayi* perhaps 'the unpaid loan which (rests) upon me.'

mayā gāvo gopatrīnā sacadhvam AV.: *mayi gāvaḥ santu gopatau* AŚ.: *mayi tīṣṭhantu gopatau* MŚ Different verbs. For the loc. with *santu* cf. §671.

mahān mahatve tastabhānah (KS. *mahitā samstambhe*) KS TB. ApŚ. 'Great, taking thy stand on greatness': 'great with greatness on firm foundation'

bruṣṭi (SV. °ṭe) *jātāsa indavaḥ svarindah* RV. SV. *bruṣṭi* is taken as instr. of an *i*-stem, 'quickly', Benfey understands *bruṣṭe* as loc. of an *a*-stem, 'der Satzung gemäss'

svāhā yajñam manasā (KS °sī) TS MS. KS ApŚ. Others with gen., see §570. Different verbs understood; in TS. *ā rabhe*, in KS. *varje*.

§608. The change seems to be due to case attraction in the following: *vaiśvānarasya tejasā* (MŚ °sī) TB ApŚ MŚ. Preceded by *śiras tapasyaḥ*. The preceding *tapasya* has influenced MŚ.

7 Phrase inflection

§609. What we call 'phrase inflection' (§§21-2) seems to be found in the following variants, used in different contexts:

vaiśvānarasya danṣṭrayoh (and *danṣṭrābhyām*) AV. The form with loc. is followed by *agner api dadhāmi tam*; of these two pādas an unmetrical recast seems to be found in *vaiśvānarasyainam danṣṭrayor api dadhāmi* AV.

devī devebhīr yajate (and °tā) *yajatraḥ* RV: *devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS

yaṭ te pavitrām arcīṣi (AŚ °ṣā) RV VS MS KS TB AŚ LŚ. VEDh.

In all but AŚ. followed by *agne vitatam antar ā*. In AŚ. followed by *kalaṣeṣu dhāvati*, which is probably meant to be part of the same formula, in that case AŚ -does not intend a pratīka of the RV. verse.

8. Transfer of epithet

§610. We have noted only one instance of this, and in it the original form is an independent word, which is attracted in a secondary text into a form which is a 1 epithet of the adjoining word:

adṛṇhathāh śarkarābhīḥ trivṣṭapī (MŚ *trībhrṣṭbhīh*) KS ApŚ MŚ
'Thou hast made thyself firm with pebbles over heaven': 'firm with three-pointed pebbles'

9. Textually doubtful or corrupt

§611. The few remaining variants are textually doubtful or corrupt:
tvīṣṇm indre na (MS s p *indrena*) *bheṣajam* VS MS. TB. Mere ritual jargon; it does not matter what is read, but MS p p agrees with the others Cf VV 2 §826

varṣman kṣatrasya (AV *rāṣṭrasya*) *kakudī* (TS. TB Poona ed *kakubhi*, TB Conc *kakubhīh*, MS *kakubbhīh*) *śrīyānāh* (AV. TB. *śrayasva*) AV. TS MS TB Comm on TB *kakubhīr ullamāṅge* (intending *kakubhy ut*?). One ms of MS *kakudbhī* Probably MS like the rest intends a loc, the strange-looking form *kakubhī* would easily suggest an instr pl to a thoughtless copyist Cf VV 2 §400 'Resting (rest thou) on the summit, on the head of royalty.'

samudre na (and *samudrena*) *sindhavo yūdāmānāh* RV Read *samudre na* both times; VV 2 §826

na mānseṣu na snūvasu ApMB. *neva mānse na pīvasi* AV : *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG. The last simulates a voc sg fem *pīvari* This initial corruption brings in its train *mānsena*, dependent on the following participle *āyatam* But the reading hardly deserves consideration

[*tanūr me tanvā saha* MŚ : *tanūs tanvā (tanuvā) me saha* (AV *sahed antāh*) AV. (mss) TS TAA Vait PG The vulgate emends AV to *tanūs tanvām me bhaved antah*, but tho the end of the pāda is obscure and doubtless corrupt, we must surely keep the instrumental *tanvā* with the other texts]

CHAPTER XXV

DATIVE AND ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE

A. Dative and ablative

§612. Since most nouns do not distinguish dative and ablative forms except in the singular, it is not surprising to find few variants between these cases. They present only one well-defined group, in which a dative of interest varies with an ablative of separation with verbs meaning 'remove' or 'free'. The practical meaning of the two forms of these variants is identical. But most of them are formally uncertain, since the forms classed here as either datives or ablatives may also be considered genitives.

sa sutrāmā svavān indro asme (AV.* MS. *asmat*) RV. AV. (bis) VS. TS. MS. KS. Followed by *ārāc cid dveṣah sanutar yuyotu* (RV.* *yuyota*).

'May Indra, well-saving, keep very far away from (for) us all hatred.' This is perhaps the clearest case we have, since the ambiguous *asme* in such a connexion can scarcely be anything but dative, and *asmat* is unmistakably ablative.

ud uttamam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV. KS. TB. MŚ. 'Loose the upmost (bond) for (from) us (me).' But here *nah* may (with the comms. on both RV. and TB) be considered genitive.

idam aham senāyā abhūvaryai (MŚ *°yā*) *mukham apohāmi* TB. ApŚ. MŚ. 'I remove the front from (for) the hostile army.' But a genitive would be as possible as a dative or ablative ('the hostile army's front'), and is preferred by Caland; note, further, that the ending *-yai* may be considered ablative or genitive as well as dative (Chapter III).

yāsyā apaśavyā (etc.) *tanūs tām asyā apajahī* ŚG SMB.: *yāsyai tām asyai nāśaya svāhā* PG.: *yāsyai . tām nāśaya* HG. For full quotations of this group see §148, where it certainly belongs since the first *asyās* or *asyai* is clearly genitive. The second *asyā* occurs before a vowel but is doubtless intended for *asyās* rather than *asyai*. It may be meant as ablative ('from her'), but also as genitive ('that [form] of hers'), or even dative (§§151-2). Similarly the second *asyai* of PG. may be meant for any one of the three cases.

Only HG. has an unmistakable ablative. *ito* Since this cannot be said to prove the intention of the other texts, their interpretation remains obscure

§613. There remain only a couple of miscellaneous cases in which real differences of interpretation seem involved

īṣāpūrtam kṛnūtād āvir asmai KS *īṣāpūrtam sma kṛnūtāvur asmai* AV *īṣāpūrte kṛnavāthāvur* (VSK ŚB *kṛnavathāvur*, TS TB MŚ *kṛnūtād āvir*) *asmāi* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK TS TB ŚB MŚ The original 'make clear his *īṣāpūrta* for him' The abl of MŚ (all mss) is rather surprising, perhaps 'the *īṣāpūrta* (that proceeded) from him'? (abl of source?)

yady varunasyāsi rājño varuṇāt tvā rājño 'dhakṛiṇāmi Kauś : *yady vāruny asi varuṇāt tvā nṣkṛiṇāmi* (Rvidh *varuṇāya tvā parikṛiṇāmy aham* .) ApG Rvidh : *yady asi vārunī varuṇāya tvā rājñe parikṛiṇāmi* GG And similarly with *yady somasyāsi* (*saumy asi*, *yady asi saumī*) etc In a pregnancy rite 'If thou art Varuna's (Soma's), from King V (S) I ransom thee' or 'for King ' The ablative seems more natural, possibly it was changed to a dative to avoid what might be felt as an implication of hostility to Varuna and Soma Some of the texts have other similar formulas

B Dative and genitive

§614. The intimate relations between these cases are well known, but our variants make them appear even closer than has commonly been assumed, for the Vedic language at any rate Later Sanskrit allows the genitive to absorb all the functions of the dative, except perhaps that of purpose, see e.g. Speyer VSS §§71 f Our variants show at least one case (§627) where a gen. seems to replace a dative even in an expression of purpose (cf. Speyer, fine print at the end of §72), and they suggest that in other functions originally pertaining to the dative it is older and commoner than has been supposed At the same time there are not wanting instances of the reverse, dative forms where we should expect genitives (cf. *taṁ puruṣāya vidmahe* etc, §634) The Prakrit languages, as is well known, have merged the two cases pretty completely, genitive forms as a rule taking over all the functions of the dative except that of purpose; but occasionally, especially in personal pronouns, old dative forms survive, usually with genitive functions, see Pischel Gr d Pkt Spr. §361, and under the pronominal inflections

§615. A special complication is the recognized use in Brāhmana texts of the dative ending *ai* of feminine nouns in genitive function, and the

less recognized reverse of this Undoubtedly the confusion between the endings *ai* and *ās* in feminine nouns goes far beyond anything that is found between other genitive and dative forms, so that we have felt constrained to agree with Wackernagel that some special factor must have been at work in them; this special factor may reasonably be found in the sandhi conditions of final *ai* and *ās* Accordingly we have inclined to group variations between these endings as formal rather than syntactic variants, in §§137 ff rather than here Yet since not only *ai* forms as genitives but also *ās* forms in dative use are found, and since some other variants between the two cases are precisely similar to some of these, it is impossible to separate them wholly. To some extent surely the same syntactic confusion is concerned in that formal interchange, and §§137 ff must be considered together with the sections which follow here.

1 With adjectives meaning 'pleasant' and the like

§616. We begin with a group of variants in which both dative and genitive are standard from early times, so that the variation is easy and constant at all periods Cf Speyer VSS §§46, 71:

juṣṭo vācaspataye (MS. °*patih*, KB. ŚŚ. °*pateh*, TB °*patyuh*) TS. MS. KB. JB GB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait KŚ. 'Pleas ig to V.'

juṣṭo vāco (GB AŚ Vait. KŚ. *vāce*) *bhūyāsam* TS. MS. KB. GB. JB. AŚ ŚŚ. Vait KŚ. ApŚ. MŚ. (2. 3 6. 18).

juṣṭam devebhya (TS *devānām*) *idam astu havyam* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ

janāya juṣṭo adruhe (SV °*hah*) RV. SV See the context, quoted under *vīty arṣa canaṣṭhayā* (SV. *panaṣṭaye*), §567. SV. probably takes the dat with the verb *vīty*, rather than with *juṣṭo*

priyam sarvasya paśyatah AV : *sarvasmai ca vipaśyate* AV. (the latter preceded by *priyam mā kṛṇu* .) Delbruck AIS p 146 says he knows no certain case of *priya* with dat A whole series occurs in AV 19 32 8

agner jīhvāsi suhūr (KS *supūr*, VSK TS. TB. *subhūr*) *devebhyaḥ* (TS TB. *devānām*) VS. VSK TS KS TB ŚB. ŚŚ. 'Thou art Agni's tongue, invoking (purifying, being) pleasant(-ly) for (to) the gods' *śivas tokāya tanvo* (KS † *tanve*) *na ehi* (KS. MŚ † *edhi*, v. 1. *ehi*) KS. MŚ. Kauś : *śam tokāya tanuve* (SMB. *tanvai*) *syonah* TS. TB. ApŚ. SMB. PG.

tasyās (MS *tasyai*) *tvam harasā tapan* VS † 12 16c, TS MS KS. Followed by *jātavedah śivo bhava* 'Glowing with warmth, be gracious

to her (the *ukhā*), Jātavedas' So VS comm. and Griffith; Keith on TS. takes *tasyās* as possessive with *harasā* If this be correct for TS. it would be equally possible for all the others, and *tasyai* would be a gen. in *ai* (Chapter III). But (§141) MS does not favor these gens in *ai*

2. With nouns of uniting

§617. Similar is the use of the dative in variation with the objective genitive (also the instrumental of association) with nouns of uniting: *sañveśanas* (RV AV °ne) *tanuvar* (SV. KS MŚ *tanve*, RV *tanvaś*, AV *tanvā*) *cāruṣ edhī* RV AV. SV KS TB TA ApŚ MŚ. 'In joining of (with) thy body', RV AV.: 'uniting to thy body'

3 Dative of interest and (possessive?) genitive

§618. Often a dative of interest (or, at times, indirect object) varies with a genitive which may frequently be felt as possessive So especially in YV. dedicatory formulas where no verb is expressed; thus in the first quoted, 'the fox is Aryaman's' or 'the fox to Aryaman'.

aryamṇo (KSA. °ne) *lopāśah* TS KSA
puruṣamṛgaś candramasah (TS KSA °se) VS. TS MS KSA
eny ahnah (TS KSA *ahne*) VS TS. MS KSA
kṣipraśyenāya (TS KSA °nasya) *varṭikā* VS. TS MS KSA
vasūnām (MS *vasubhyah*) *kapitṭhalah* VS. TS. MS KSA
samudrāya (TS. KSA *sindhoh*) *śiśumārāh* (KSA † *śiśu°*, TS *śiśu°*) VS.
 TS. MS KSA
somāya (KSA *somāya rājñe*, TS *somasya rājñah*) *kulungah* (MS *kulañgah*) VS TS MS. KSA
himavato (VS. MS °te) *hastī* (TA *hastinam*) VS TS. MS KSA TA
nīlamgoh (MS. °gave) *kṛmih* (TS *krimih*) VS TS MS KSA
pikah (KSA *piṅgah*) *kṣvīṇkā nīlaśirṣṇī te* 'ryamne (KSA. °nah) TS KSA
ūlo halkkṣṇo (TS *ūlo hakt°*) *vṛṣadanśas te dhātṛe* (TS KSA *dhātuh*) VS
 TS MS KSA
viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ prṣatān (MS. also °tah) VS. MS (bis). *viśveṣām devānām prṣatah* VS
dhūmrā babhrunākāśāh pitṛnām somavatām, and *babhravo dhūmrānīkāśāh pitṛnām barhiṣadām* VS : *pitṛbhyaḥ barhiṣadbhyaḥ dhūmrān babhrvanūkāśān*, and *pitṛbhyaḥ somavadbhyaḥ babhrūn dhūmrānūkāśān* ApŚ.
agnaye tvā TS TB MŚ.: *idam agneh* VS. ŚB. KŚ ApŚ.
agnīṣomābhyām (tvā) TS. TB.: *idam agnīṣomayoh* VS ŚB. KŚ ApŚ.
[pivo (VS MS. *pīvo*) *nyañkuḥ lakkaḥas* (MS *lakuḥas*, TS *kasas*) *te*

'numatyai' VS TS. MS : *bidvo nyañkuh kaśas te 'numatyāh* KSA. So Conc ; but KSA actually reads 'numatyā followed by *a°* and may just as well stand for 'numatyai, there is no p.p.]

§619. Similarly with a copulaic verb and a nominal form containing the root *dā* 'give' (or *dhā* used as its equivalent, cf. VV 2 §§100 ff.): *devebhyo* (VS *devānām*) *bhāgadā* (TS. *bhāgadhā*) *asat* VS. TS. MS. KS †
Be he a giver of portions to the gods.'

asmabhyam su maghavan bodhī godāh RV. VSK.: *asmākam su maghavan bodhī godāh* (and *gopāh*) RV

§620. The exact force of the gen in the following is less clear, but we are inclined to feel it essentially as in the preceding two sections:

medobhyah svāhā VS · *medasah svāhā* VS. VSK. MS. TB The dat is simple and regular, but occurs in a different context; there is no real variant in the passages containing the gen With it the VS comm supplies *devān* as object of the verb *yaj* (the formula begins *hotā yakṣad agnim* (VS. *indram*) *svāhājyasya svāhā* etc.): 'let the hotar worship (the gods) of marrow with hail' So with the other parallel gens (there are no datives in the passage) But TB. comm supplies a copula, paraphrasing. *svāhūtir astu*, and this seems more likely to be approximately right.

§621. Less jejune and formulaic, but not very different in psychology, are the following, in which a dative of interest (or a dative which may be felt as an indirect object, or even, when the verb is one of motion [see the first case], of goal) varies with an adnominal (possessive or objective) genitive:

vṛṣne (KS *vṛṣno*) *codasva suṣṭutim* RV. TS. MS. KS Pāda a is *tasmai* (KS *kasmāi*) *nūnam abhidyave* KS is anomalous both in using the interrogative stem *kasmāi* (which seems due to the initial of the following stanza, *kam u svid asya senayā*), and in detaching *vṛṣne* from the preceding pronoun with which it should agree. Its gen *vṛṣno* is felt as dependent on *suṣṭutim* 'Inspire fair praise to (for, KS of) the bull'

imam ū (MS *u*) *ṣu tvam asmākam* (TA ApŚ *ṣu tvam asmabhyam*) RV. SV MS TA ApŚ MŚ Followed by *sanim gāyatrām navyānsam* (*navīyānsam*), *agne (agnir) deveṣu pra vocah (voca)* 'Proclaim this new song of ours (for us)'

tasya guptaye dampatī sam śrayethām AV · *tasmai gotrāyeha jāyāpatī samrabhethām* TA 'For protection of it'. 'for it, for the family (?)' Comm on TA refuses to connect *tasmai* directly with *gotrāya*, probably rightly.

vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣṇe (SV. *vr̥ṣṇaḥ*) *pari pavitre akṣāḥ* RV. SV. Preceded by *eṣa sya te madhumān indra somaḥ*. 'This honeyed soma, the bull, has flowed thru the sieve for thee, the bull (thru thy, the bull's, sieve), O Indra.'

vaiśtānaro aṅgirasām (AV. 'āṅir°, AŚ *aṅgirobhyaḥ*) [*stomam uktham ca cīkṣpat*, with varr.] AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

indrasya tvā bhāgam somenā tanacmi (VSK. *tanakmi*) VS VSK. KS ŚB.: *indrāya tvā bhāgam somenātanacmi* MS. MŚ.: *somena tvātanacmīndrāya dadhi* TS. TB. ApŚ 'As Indra's portion': 'as portion (curds) for Indra'

§622. The following we have also grouped here since they may easily be interpreted as containing a real syntactic shift; but since they concern the fem. endings *ai* and *ās*, they might also be regarded as purely formal (with §§137 ff.):

patīm surāyā (TB. *surāyai*, VS. *surayā*) *bheṣajam* VS MS. TB 'A remedy for (of, i.e. against) *surā*' VS comm. takes the instr. as associative; it seems that dat. or gen. is required, but either of them would be satisfactory.

utlānāyā (TS. 'yaī) *hṛdayam yad vīkṣtam* (TS. *vīṣṭam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Preceded by *saṁ te vāyur mātariśvā dadhātu* '... heal the broken heart of (for) thee, lying supine'

so 'syai (MG. 'syāḥ) *prajāṁ muñcatu mṛtyupāśāt* AG. SMB † PG. ApMB HG. MG. 'May he free the offspring for her (her offspring)' *athāsyai* (TS TB MS. 'syā) *madhyam edhatām* (with varr.) VS TS MS. ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ Vait. LŚ.: *adhāsyā madhyam edhatām* KSA

§623. The following variants still show a dative of interest varying with a possessive genitive, but other changes in the form or meaning of the variant word, or changes in the other words and the construction of the passage, make the variations somewhat different in character:

pra sunvānasyāndhasaḥ (SV. PB. *sunvānāyāndh°*) RV. SV. PB Followed by *maro na vr̥ta* (*vaṣṭa*) *taḍ vacaḥ*. 'Let him accept this song of the pressed-out herb (for, on behalf of, the presser of the herb).' In RV. *sunvāna* is generally active in sense, e.g. 8. 31. 16, this is the only passage in which Grassmann assigns passive force to it. Hence the change in SV., which makes it active.

gharman śrīṇantu prathamāya dhāsyave (AŚ. ŚŚ. *śrīṇantu prathamasya dhāseḥ*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ 'For the first drinker': 'of the first drunk' *asambādḥā yā madhyato mānavebhyaḥ* MS : *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*, VV 2 §241) *mānavānām* (Ppp. *mānaveṣu*) AV. Ppp. Kauś 'Who (earth) is unobstructed for men in the midst': 'unobstructedly

in the midst of men (Ppp. among men, in [their] midst)' Differing from Whitney, we take *asambādham* as a neuter adverb (§404)

indrāya bhāgam pari tvā nayāmi AV : *indrasya bhāgah surite dadhātana* ApS The gen is apparently felt as possessive with *bhāgah*; §393.
devo devānām pavitrām asī TS MS KS : *devo devebhyah pavasva* VS ŚB.

As in prec, the gen. is possessive.

rāyas poṣam (KS *vaślah poṣāya*) *vi śyatu* (RV MS TB * *śyalām*, AV. MS * KS *śya*) *nābhum asme* (AV *asya*) RV. AV VS TS MS. (bis) KS TB (bis) ApS 'Let him release (release thou, etc) [our seminal fluid, *turīpam*] as offspring for us (of it).' Ppp has *asme*, and Whitney calls *asya* 'senseless', but this is too harsh It refers to *turīpam* and is not harsher than many another secondary change in AV

§624. In one variant it seems scarcely possible to interpret the dative forms except as equivalents of the possessive genitive It is perhaps worth noting that the dative is the pronominal *tubhyam*, which is precisely one of the Sanskrit dative forms that lives on in Prakrit, with genitival function (Pischel, §420 f); indeed, even in epic Sanskrit *mahyam* and *tubhyam* seem to be used as gens. (Speyer, VSS §46 note): *tīre tubhyam asau* (HG. *tubhyam gaṅge*) PG. HG : *tīrenāsau lava* ApMB

Simply 'on thy bank' seems to be the only possible meaning

§625. Conversely, one variant in which the sense seems to require a dative of interest shows now the pronominal *me*, now other forms which are unmistakably genitive Naturally *me* is here interpreted as dative of interest, yet the only reason for taking it so, rather than as genitive, is the prevalence of the dative in this sense On the other hand it is difficult to take the gens *pitrām* etc in any other sense, Oldenberg on HG frankly does so, and Buhler's rendering of BDh, 'mayst thou never fail to the (manes of our) fathers,' is hardly more than an evasion of the problem (dragging in a possessive genitive by a very forced ellipsis). In later Sanskrit the gen replaces the dat in just such uses (Speyer VSS. §72), and we have little doubt that the unmistakably gen forms of the variant, at least (and perhaps even *me*?), must be so interpreted.

akṣitam asī mā pitrām (ApMB. *maṣām*, HG BDh. also *pulāmahānām*, *prapulamahānām*) *kṣeṣṭhā amūtrāmuṣṣmīnī loke* ApMB. HG BDh. *akṣitū asī mā me kṣeṣṭhā* VSK AŚ ŚŚ KŚ : *akṣito 'sy akṣityai* *tvā mā me kṣeṣṭhā* TS GB Vait. MŚ

§626. Similarly in the next, the dative depends on *prati-bhar* 'bring (as a gift)', and if the gen is textually sound it must be an early case

of the absorption of this dat function by the gen, as in classical Sanskrit. The SV reads the form *narah* at the end of a stanza, and the next stanza begins with *ā*; but it would probably be over-bold to suggest that it originally read *nara* for *nare*, with sandhi between the stanzas, and that this was later misinterpreted as *narah*. The SV comm glosses with *narāya*:

apaścāddaghvane (SV *apaścāda°*) *nare* (SV *narah*) RV SV. TB ApŚ

4 Dative of purpose

§627. As has been noted above (§614), the dative of purpose is not usually replaced by the genitive even in later Sanskrit, and when we find it varying with the genitive in the Veda, we can usually see a difference of psychology, as is to be expected. Yet in one case, at least, we find it hard to avoid the feeling that the gen is the exact equivalent of the dative of purpose. This concerns a series of formulas beginning with *savitā tvā savānām* (*prasavānām*) *suwatām*, and continuing with parallel formulas in which *suwatām* or the like is understood. The dependent nouns (*savānām* etc.) are all genitives in most texts, but in three of the formulas some texts have datives. The dative of purpose is what we should expect in all, and the commentators are hard put to it to explain the gens; Mahidhara on VS supplies *ādhipatyē*, similarly Egeling, 'for (powers of) quickening' etc. Keith makes the gens partitive: 'May Savitar of instigations instigate thee,' which in some of the formulas seems clearly impossible (e.g. *rudrah pašūnām*, 'Rudra of cattle'). PG reconstructs the initial formula thus: *agnir bhūtānām adhipatih sa māvatu*, which makes the gens simple but is clearly a secondary avoidance of the difficulty. We feel that the only natural interpretation is to take the gens as mere equivalents of the dative of purpose:

bṛhaspatir vācām (VS ŚB. *vāce*) VS TS MS KS ŚB

rudrah pašūnām (VS. ŚB *paśubhyah*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB PG

indro jyēṣṭhānām (MS KS *jyaisṭhyānām*, VS. ŚB *jyaisṭhyāya*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB PG

§628. The other cases involving dative of purpose are few and miscellaneous. In the first the gen is the object of a verb of ruling, the variant is precisely parallel to those between dative of purpose and accusative of direct object (§§70, 420), except that here the verb requires a genitive object:

āṣayantam rādhaso (TS °se, KS *śavase*) *mahah* (TS KS *mahe*) RV SV VS TS MS KS ŚB 'Ruling over (unto) great bounty.'

§629. The next two involve the well-known construction of a dative of purpose with a dependent genitive or a second dative, on which see Delbrück *AIS*. §§103 and (with infinitives) 54:

rāye (ApŚ. *rāyo*) *agne mahe tvā (dānāya samidhīmahi)* SV ApŚ 'We kindle thee, Agni, unto great riches, unto giving (unto great giving of riches).'

divas (MS. *dive*) *tvā jyotiṣe* TS. MS. A verb like 'I place' is understood: 'thee (the brick) for heaven's light' or 'for heaven, for light'

saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai (also *triṣṭubhe jagatyā anuṣṭubhe*) *chandase* 'bhūbhūve svāhā KS : *ariṣṭyā avyathyai saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai chandase* 'bhūbhūve (ApŚ *gāyatriyā abhūbhūtyai*) *svāhā* KS ApŚ.: *saṃveśāyopaveśāya gāyatriyai* (PB ŚŚ. KŚ. also *triṣṭubhe* and *jagatyai*, TS ApŚ *gāyatriyās triṣṭubho jagatyā anuṣṭubhah pañktyā*) *chandase* (TS. ApŚ. om) 'bhūbhūtye (with varr) *svāhā* TS PB. ŚŚ. KŚ. ApŚ On the meaning see Caland's note on ApŚ. 14. 19. 1. 'For the gāyatri (etc) meter, for conquest': 'for the conquest (conquering power) of the gāyatri (etc)'

§630. The next is not very different, here the dat or gen depends not on another dat. but on an acc :

vidā rāye (AA. *rāyah*) *suviryam* RVKh (Scheftelowitz p 135, vs. 4a) AA Mahānāmnyah 'Grant us hero-abundance of (unto) wealth.' But *rāyāh* may also be acc pl, 'wealth (and) hero-abundance'; the variant would then belong with §486.

§631. In the next it is possible to find the influence of formal case attraction:

akūpārasya dāvane (SV. °*nah*) RV. SV N Here *dāvane* is an infinitive, 'unto giving, that thou mayst give' SV. attracts it to the case of *akūpārasya*, making it a noun of agent (as often in cpds of the type *aśva-dāvan*): 'inexhaustible giver.'

5 Dative and genitive with verbs

§632. The confusion between these two cases appears in a few variants in which one case is regularly construed in dependence on a particular verb, and is replaced by the other in one variant form. Cf. Delbrück §110, Speyer VSS §72.

§633. Thus, in two pādas of one verse, the root *radh* 'be subject to', which regularly takes the dative, has the genitive in secondary texts *diviṣantam* (AV *sapatnān*) *mahyam* (TB. ApŚ *mama*) *randhayan* RV.

AV. TB ApŚ: *diviṣanś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV: *diviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ. (Add to VV 1 §§79, 238, 349) Followed by:

mo aham (AV *mā cāham*, MŚ *mā tv aham*) *dvīṣate* (TB ApŚ °to, MŚ °tām) *radham* RV. AV TB ApŚ MŚ. The verb *radh* is otherwise recorded only with the dat, for which the gen is here clearly a substitute TB comm interprets *mama* as possessive gen, 'my enemy', which would be possible but for the parallel *dvīṣato*, which obviously cannot be taken so, TB comm takes *dvīṣato* as abl, *dvī° sakāśān mo radham mama hīnsām prāpnvāni*, which is absurd

§634. Conversely, the roots *vid* and *dhī*, as verbs of intellectual activity, may be expected to govern the genitive In the case of *vid*, perhaps the nearly homonymous root *vidh*, which governs the dative, may have been influential in introducing the dative in the stray occurrence which follows It is noteworthy that in the same context TA and MahānU present parallel formulas with the regular genitive

tai puruṣāya vidmahe, mahādevāya dhīmahi MS KS TA MahānU
Immediately preceded in MahānU by *tai puruṣasya vidmahe, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*, in TA by *puruṣasya vidma, sahas-rākṣasya mahādevasya dhīmahi*

6. Phrase inflection

§635 In a couple of instances we find what we have called phrase inflection (§§21-2), that is the use of formulas in different contexts requiring different construction of the nouns in question:

punānāya prabhūvaso RV SV *punānasya prabhūvasoḥ* RV
varuna mitra dāśuṣaḥ (and °ṣe) RV (both) Sāyana and Grassmann take *dāśuṣaḥ* as gen sg, Ludwig as acc pl

7. Miscellaneous

§636. The remaining cases are miscellaneous, involving individual reconstructions which fall into no general categories:

pra nu vocam vidathā jātavedasaḥ RV · *pra no vāco vidathā jātavedase* ArS
sūryo devo (KS * *dvo*, so read both times, once *ed* reads *devo*, but there is a v l *dvo*, and one is a repetition in a Brāhmana passage of the other) *divīṣadbhyo dhātā kṣatrāya* (KS † *kṣatrasya*) *vāyuh prajābhyah* (KS *prajānām*) [*brhaspatīs tvā prajāpataye juhota*] TS KS (bis)
In KS understand *divīṣadbhyo* with each genitive: 'Let Sūrya offer thee for the sky-dwellers of the sky, Dhātār for (those) of royal power' etc In the secondary TS the datives are attracted to the case and construction of *prajāpataye* 'Let Dhātār offer thee for royal power' etc

mayi dohaḥ padyāyā virājāḥ (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG HG MG · *mayi*

padyāya virājo dohaḥ ŚŚ. ŚG. PG.: *mama padyāya vi rāja* ApMB. 'In me [may] the milk of Padyā Virāj (see Oldenberg *SBE*. 29 p. 97, note on ŚG. 3 7. 5) [dwell], 'most texts ApMB reconstructs the formula: 'Shine forth for my foot-water' or the like Used in a foot-washing rite Note that *padyāya* is clearly felt as genitive; but the apparently dative form is responsible for the change to *padyāya* in ApMB

8. Errors

§637. There remain a few cases which seem to involve errors, or at least seem uninterpretable:

tuje janā (ArS *jane*) *vanam svah* AV. ArS : *tujo yujo vanam* (ŚŚ. *balam*, conjecture of Hillebrandt) *sahaḥ* AA ŚŚ. Both forms and meanings of the words are wholly obscure

devasya (ŚB * *devebhyas*) *tvā savituh prasave* 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām ā aade VS TS MS. KS. KSA ŚB. (both) TB. TA Kauś The dat. form occurs at ŚB. 14. 2. 1 6 which quotes VS. 38 1 incorrectly, VS has *devasya*. Note further that the latter part of the formula in ŚB. omits the word *aditya* before *rāsnāsi*, tho it is found not only in VS. 38. 1 but in the same phrase almost immediately following, ŚB. 14 2. 1 8 = VS. 38 3. Eggeling seems right in assuming that ŚB has a mere misquotation of its source, VS, rather than a real variant based on contamination with such phrases as *devebhyas tvā* (see Conc. under these words)

[*athā* (AV *adhā*) *mano vasudeyāya kṛṣva* (AV. *kṛṣṇva*) RV AV Conc. *vasudeyasya* for RV.]

[*niṣkā ele yajamānasya loke* (KS † *yajamānasya santu*) AV KS Conc *yajamānāya* for KS.]

C. Dative and locative

1 After verbs

§638. The extent of the interplay between dative and locative in adverbial constructions has hardly received the emphasis it deserves That both cases are used to express the goal of motion and of actions of various kinds is indeed well known (cf Delbruck, *ATS* §§80, 96; Speyer, *VSS* §§76, second part, 81b); and that the dative of the interested party, and the locative as expressing that in relation to which the action takes place, may interchange, would doubtless be recognized by all. Our variants however suggest that the scope of such interchanges is greater than has ever been clearly stated. Without claiming

precise equivalence in psychology between the two cases, or even attempting to differentiate rigidly between different aspects of the use of each, we shall assort our variants according to the various verbs with which dative and locative are interchangeably used

The roots *dhā* and *dā*

§639. In VV 2 §101 we have already referred to the use of these two cases with the roots *dā* and *dhā*, and pointed out that while both are freely used with *dhā* 'place', the simple root *dā* 'give' is not properly used with the locative (tho as we shall see some of its compounds may be so used) In the same place we showed that but for this difference of construction, *dā* and *dhā* are often genuine synonyms Moreover the dative and locative after *dhā* are hardly distinguishable in meaning Such a phrase as *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB Vait SMB is equivalent to *yaśo me dhehi* (TA *dhāh*) TA ŚŚ, whether we prefer to translate 'put splendor in me' or 'assign splendor to me' And so with the following variants after *dhā*·

varco dhā yaññavāhase (VS ŚB. °si) RV VS MS KS AB TB ŚB
dhehy asmabhyam (ApŚ. *asmāsu*) *dravnam jātavedah* ŚŚ KŚ ApŚ
dhattād asmabhyam dravṇeha (TS ApŚ *asmāsu dravnam yac ca*)
bhadram TS MS ApŚ.

asmān (TB *asmā*) *indra mahi varcānsi dhehi* AV. TB

āyur yaññāya (MS *yaññe*) *dhattam* MS TB ApŚ

āyur yaññapataye dhattam TB ApŚ.. *āyur yaññapatau* (sc *dhattam*) MS
sudevam indre aśvinā (MS. *indrāyāśvinā*) VS MS TB The verb *dadhur* follows

athā nah (AV *adhā nah*, TS *athāsmabhyam*, RV.* *tad asme*) *śam yor arapo dadhāta* (RV.* MS. °tana) RV (bis) AV VS TS MS KS N.

But *asme* may be dative

§640. While the preceding instances show *dhā* alone, in the next we find, beside *dhā* with both dative and locative, forms of *dā* (or rarely other expressions of giving) with dative (not locative, VV 2 §101)·

ūrjam mayi dhehi VS VSK MS KS PB ŚB. LŚ ApŚ MŚ : *ūrjam me dhehi* (TS * *dhattam*) VSK TS (both) KS GB TB Vait KŚ :

ūrjam me dehi (VSK TS *yacha*) VSK. TS PB LŚ

śrotam mayi dhehi TS KSA †. *śrotam me dhattam* (AV MŚ *dāh*) AV TB. ApŚ MŚ

caṣur mayi dhehi TS.. *caṣur me dhehi* (VS ŚB *dehi*, AV MS *dāh*) AV VS MS KS KSA ŚB

āyur mayi dhehi VS TS ŚB · *āyur me dhehi* VSK TS KS KSA MS

JB. TB. ApŚ : āyur me dhātām TB ApŚ : āyur me yacha (ApŚ * yachata) MS. KS ApŚ (bis) MŚ : āyur me dehi VS. TS. ŚB ŚŚ PG : āyur me dāh AV. VS MS ŚB. TA ApŚ. MŚ.

tejo mayi dhehi AV VS TS. KS. ŚB. TB. LŚ ŚŚ. ApMB. : tejo me yacha (TA dhāh, AŚ. dehi and dāh) TS. MS. KS. TA AŚ. (bis) ApŚ MŚ

rāyas poṣam cakitūṣe (AV. °ṣi) dadhātu (ŚŚ. dadātu) AV. TS. MS KS. ŚŚ : rāyas poṣam yajamāne dadhātu AŚ.

varco asmāsu dhātā (AŚ dhehi) AV AŚ : varco mayi dhehi VS. TS. PB ŚB TB ApŚ : varco me dhehi (TA. dhāh) VSK. MS KS. JB. TA. ApŚ : varco me dehi (MS. MŚ dāh) VS. TS MS. ŚB. ŚŚ MŚ. PG : varco me yacha MS. KS ApŚ MŚ

§641. In other cases the dhā form is found only with the locative, while the dative occurs with dā, or occasionally with other expressions of giving:

svas te dadāmi MG.. svas (suvas) tvayi dadhāmi ŚB BrhU. PG. HG

Also with bhūas and bhuvas for svas, and with bhūr bhuwah svas.

saho mayi dhehi (AV me dāh svāhā) AV VS TB. Also with balam for saho; and cf. next.

ojo mayi dhehi VS TB : ojo me dāh AV VS TB

payo me dāh (ApŚ mayi dhehi) MS ApŚ

prajāṁ asmāsu dhehi VS. : prajāṁ me dāh (KS ApŚ MŚ. yacha) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB TA ApŚ MŚ

indro balam balapatir balam asmin yajñe mayi dadhātu (TB. yajñe yajamānāya dadātu) svāhā ŚB. TB. KŚ. Likewise with sarasvatī puṣṭim, savitā rāṣṭram, pūṣā bhagam (viśām), bṛhaspatir brahma, varuṇah samrāt, somo rājā, mitrah kṣatram, agnur annādo, tvaṣṭā rūpāṇām (paśūnām)

§642. The compound ā-dhā has the same two constructions:

bhūyasam ā dhehi śatruṣu (SV. śatrave) RV. SV.

rāṣṭrāny asmā ā dhehi (MS āsmin dhehi) MS KS TB. ApŚ

tāsām tvā jarasa ādadhāmi TB. HG. ApMB : tāsū tvāntar jarasy ā dadhāmi AV. (Ppp. has jarasa)

Other expressions of placing and giving

§643. Other verbs of establishing or placing with loc vary with expressions of bringing or giving with dat :

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu AV : sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām (intending 'tām) dadhātu TB 'May he support thee well supported unto (establish us well established in) rule'

yasmin (Kauś *yasmai*) *bhūtam ca bhavyam ca* Kauś HG ApMB. The following verb is *pratiṣṭhita* ('handed over, entrusted') in Kauś, *ṣṛtāh* in HG and *samāhita* ('based, established') in ApMB.

§644. Other verbs of giving and the like, including some compounds of *dā*, are used with both cases:

tam devebhyah paridādāmi ApŚ . *tam deveṣu paridādāmi vidvān* AŚ MŚ
'I give him over to the gods'

astīto nāmāham asmi sa ātmānam nī dadhe dyāvāprthivībhyām gopīhāya (KS *sa idam dyāvāprthivyor ātmānam paridāde tayoh śraye tayoh parākrame*) AV KS The verbs *nī-dhā* and *pari-dā* are both used with both cases. Here the dat. is doubtless favored by the accompanying dat. of purpose, the loc. by the locs. with the two other verbs.

ihāsmāsu (MS. *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *ihā mahyam*) *nī yachatam* RVKh. AV. MS KS TB (bis)

sa yajña dhukṣva mahi me prajāyām (ŚŚ *prajāyam*) VS ŚŚ 'Milk forth (= bestow bounty) generously upon my offspring'

ta āyajanta dravnam (MS KS † °nā) *sam asmai* (MS *asmin*) RV VS TS MS KS 'They offered (sacrificed) riches to him' But MS v 1 *asmai*

rarānas tmanā devebhyah (VS † TS † KS † *deveṣu*) AV VS TS MS KS In AV the dat. depends on the following *svadayatu*, but in the YV texts it as well as the loc. must depend on *rarānas* (the pāda division is here different from AV, see Whitney's note on AV)

śam padam magham trayiṣṇe na lāmam (AA *rayiṣanī na somah*) SV. AA '(Grant) prosperity to him who seeks wealth' Keith understands *rayiṣanī* as loc. with copula understood, the sense being the same as in SV. Perhaps a verb like *dhā* could as well be understood.

Verbs of uniting

§645. Verbs of uniting may take dative or locative as well as instrumental (§59):

apriye prati muñca tat (Kauś *muñcatam*) AV. Kauś : *dvīṣadbhyah prati muñcāmi pāśam* (HG *pāpam*) SMB HG ApMB '(I) fasten this (evil, bond) upon the enemy'

apriye (AV. * *dvīṣate*, RV. *āpīye*) *sam nayāmasi* RV AV (bis).

yad dha krūnā vīvasvati (SV. °e) RV. SV. Followed by *nābhā samādāy* (SV. °ya) *nayasi* (SV. °se). Apparently both dat. and loc. depend on *sam-dā* 'unite'; cf. Ludwig 4 p. 193 and Oldenberg ad loc.

Verbs of bringing and the like

§646. In these, which cannot be sharply distinguished from verbs of giving, the locative begins to appear more clearly as one of goal of motion

devebhyo (ApŚ *deveṣu*) *havyavāhanah* RV. ApŚ Different contexts

The variant is included here because the governing word, *havyavāhanah*, tho a noun, is clearly verbal in force.

mahyam vātāh pavatām (KS °*te*) *kāme asmin* (AV *kāmāyāsmāi*) RV.

AV. TS KS 'Let the wind blow (the wind blows) for me to this desire'

yaṣṇāya stīrnabarhiṣe v *vo made* RV AŚ : *yaṣṇeṣu stīrnabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV. The governing verb is *vṛṇīmahe* 'we wish' = 'we call, bring' (thee to the sacrifice) Cf §489.

yad vo devāsa āgure (MS °*ri*) TS MS Followed by *havāmahe* 'we call', felt as a verb of bringing, cf prec.

Verbs of saying

§647. It is well known that either dat or loc (as well as acc) may be used of the person spoken to Whether we should render the locs in the following by 'among' rather than 'to' may be left an open question:

devebhyo mā suktam brūtāt (ŚB with *ūha*, *voceh*) VS ŚB : *deveṣu nah sukrto* (VSK *mā suktam*) *brūtāt* (KS. *brūta*, PB MŚ *brūyāt*) VSK.

TS KS PB MŚ *suktam mā deveṣu brūtāt* TS

pra mā (TS ApŚ *no*) *brūtād bhāgadām* (TS °*dhān*, ApŚ °*dhām*, KS *dhavīrdā* [read °*dām*?]) *devatāsu* (KS. °*tābhyah*) TS MS. KS ApŚ.

Miscellaneous verbs

§648. The root *sthā* in the sense of 'serve, obey' governs not only the dative (Delbruck AIS p 143) but also the locative:

jyaṣṭhye śraṣṭhye ca gāthīnāh ŚŚ · *dhṛtyai śraṣṭhyāya gāthīnāh* AB.

Preceded by *devārātāya tathure*

devā devebhyo (MS *deveṣu*) *adhvaryanto* (KS. °*rīyanto*) *asthuh* VS TS. MS KS ŚB

§649. The verb *jāgr* 'watch (over)' also takes either case:

yajamānāya jāgrā ApŚ . *evam asyām sūtikāyām, saputrikāyām jāgratha* PG : *evam asyai suputrikāyā jāgrata* HG.

§650. The verb *ku* 'pour; offer' takes either case, according as the offering is thought of as 'poured in' or 'offered to':

rudra yat te krayī (*krīn*, *kravi*, *giri*-) *param nāma tasmai* (VS. MS. ŚB. *tasmīn*) *hutam asi* VS VSK TS MS KS. ŚB TB.

prthwyām (KŚ °vyā) *amṛtam juhoma* AŚ KŚ. ApŚ

§651. The root *ci* 'pile up, build'.

sahṣrākṣa (VS MS. ŚB °kṣo) *medhāya* (TS KS *medha ā*) *cīyamāna*
VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB 'Piled up at (for) the sacrifice' C
VV 2 §342

§652. With the root *grah* 'take' both dative and especially locative may be felt as cases of goal:

mayi (ApMB *mahyam*) *grhnāmi tvām aham* VS ApMB 'I take the (the oblation) to (for) myself'

§653. With the root *jan* 'produce' the psychology of the two cases more distinct. The variation in the first instance may be primarily phonetic, cf. VV 2 §342:

varṣvānaram ṛta ā (TS *ṛtāya*) *jātam agnim* RV SV TS VS MS KŚ
PB ŚB.

ajāyano amṛta marīyeṣu ā (SV. *marīyāya kam*) RV SV 'Thou hast produced among men (for man)'

2 With adjectives and nouns meaning 'pleasing' and the like

§654. That the locative as well as the dative and genitive (§77) may be found with adjectives (and nouns) meaning 'pleasing' or the like is recognized by Delbrück *AIS* §79:

supṛito manuṣo viśe (SV *viśe*) RV SV

priyam mā brahmanī (ApMB °ne) *kuru* ApMB HG Parallel *pādas* have locs in both texts. But there is no need to read *brāhmane* or *brahmanī* in ApMB (cf. Winternitz p. xxiv), since the dative is equally sound.

ula śūdra itārye AV.: *śūdrāya cāryāya ca* AV VS Both preceded by *priyam mā kṛnu*

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yusmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV.
dhīrā deveṣu (KS * *indrāya*) *sumnayā* (AV °yau, VS *sūmnayā*) RV AV.
VS VSK TS MS KS (bis) ŚB

sūyavasini manave (RV TA *manuṣe*, KS *mānuṣe*) *daśasyā* (TA °ye, TS MS. KS *yaśasye*) RV VS TS. MS KS ŚB TA. In RV. *manuṣe* is dative, like *manave*, the others (including TA. *manuṣe*) have locatives.

3 Miscellaneous

§655. The remaining variants are miscellaneous

mayi dohah padyāya virājah (MG adds *kalpatām*) AG MG HG.:
mayi padyāya virājo dohah ŚŚ ŚG PG: *mama padyāya vi rāja*
ApMB. See §636.

daśame māsi sūlave RV RVKh AV. ŚB. BrhU. ApMB. MG.: *daśa-māsyāya sūlavai* (ApMB °ve) HG ApMB. 'In the tenth month': 'tenth-monthly' (adj.).

pūṣṇe śarase (MS † *śarasi*, p p. °sah) *svāhā* MS. TA. ApŚ : *svāhā pūṣṇe śarase* VS ŚB KŚ. 'Hail to Pūṣan, to the skin of milk (MS. apparently 'to P. in the skin of milk').'

sam yujyāva (TS *babhūva*) *sanibhya ā* RV. TS.: *sam sanuyāva varīṣu ā* KS. *sanibhyah* is dat. of purpose (not abl, as Grassmann takes it); cf. Oldenberg *Noten* on 1. 17. 2 and Neisser, *ZWbch. d. RV.* s v. ā. On the meaning of KS., 'in the waters', see von Schroeder's note.

iṣe rāye (*rayayai*) *ramasva sahase dyumnāyorje* (VS ŚB. † *dyumna ūrje*) '*patyāya* . . (see VV 2 p 429) VS. MS. ŚB TB. AŚ. ApŚ. 'For splendor, for might': 'for might in splendor.'

tanūnaptre śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā (KS. *śakmann*) *ojiṣṭhāya* MS. KS.: *tanūnaptre śakvarāya śakmann* (VS. ŚB. *śakvana*) *ojiṣṭhāya* VS VSK ŚB. (see Conc under *āpataye tvā paripataye*): *śakmane śakvarāya śakmanā ojiṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* MŚ.: *śakmann ojiṣṭhāya tvā grhṇāmi* TS : *śakmann ojiṣṭhāya* TS. GB.: *śakmana ojiṣṭhāya tvā* Vait The original (TS. KS VSK) has loc. of noun, 'in strength', the others assimilate to the surrounding dative adjectives, 'for the strong'

prthivyām agnaye samanāman sa ārdhnōi AV.: *prthivyai sam anamat* TS. TB.

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma°*) *mānavānām* (Ppp. °veṣu) AV. Ppp. Kauś See §623.

vāce svāhā VS etc. *svāhā vāce* GB AG.: *vāci svāhā* TS. In the latter the context is different and *vāci* depends on the following verb *dhāh*, not on *svāhā*

[*ullānāyayai śayānāyayai* ŚŚ · *ullānāyām śayānāyām* AV. RWh by em., but mss *ullamānāye śayānāyayai*, intending the ŚŚ. reading]

CHAPTER XXVI

ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, AND LOCATIVE

A Ablative and genitive

Ablative of source or separation and genitive

§656. The only considerable group of variants under this heading shows an ablative of source or separation varying with an adnominal genitive which is its virtual equivalent. The genitive may be possessive, subjective, or partitive.

tato mā yajñasyāśir āgachatu MS KS ApŚ · *tasya māśir avatu vardhatām*

AS 'From it may blessing of sacrifice come to me': 'may its blessing aid and increase me'

yasya (KS *yato*) *deva dadhīṣe pūrvapeyam* RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

'Of (from) which (soma) thou hast taken to thyself the first draught, O god'

tato no dehi jīvase RV TB TA : *tasya no dehi jīvase* AV SV. Kauś.

'From (of) it give to us that we may live'

mā parā seci mat payah (ŚŚ LŚ ŚG *no dhanam*, ApŚ * *nah svam*,

ApMB * *me dhanam*) ŚŚ LŚ KŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ ŚG ApMB. (bis)

PG HG MG. 'Let not the sap from me (our wealth, etc) be poured away' The ApMB reference with *mat payah* should be

2 9 14d

agnir etu prathamo devatābhyah SMB · *agnir atu prathamo devatānām*

AG ŚG HG ApMB 'First from among (of) the gods'

apāsman (KS *apāsya*) *navṛtān pāśān* KS ApŚ 'Away from him (KS

literally, away his) bonds of destruction'

§657. Once after the preposition *pari* (and with a verb of separation), where obviously only an ablative construction is possible, gen dual forms occur in one form of the variant. They can only be taken in ablative sense. The variant is instructive for the confusion of the two cases, which is helped by the fact that in the singular the two have identical forms in most paradigms (in the context adjoining the variant *pāda* occur such forms as *greh*, *svasuh* etc.)

pari sarvebhyo jñātībhyah HG ApMB · *pari pitroś ca bhrātōś ca* PG

Followed in PG by *sakhyebhyo viśṛjāmy aham*

§658. Once the ablative of comparison after a comparative varies with the partitive genitive after a superlative. The contexts are different:

bhīṣagbhyo bhīṣaktarāḥ AV.: *bhīṣajām subhīṣaktamāḥ* AV.

Case attraction

§659. Two other variants show different sorts of case attraction.
tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā mad auroh (AŚ † MŚ *ā mamantoh*) TS AŚ MŚ
Both mean 'until my return', in TS (doubtless the original) we find *mad* by attraction to the case of the ablative infinitive (cf. Delbruck *AIS.* pp 90, 431 and our §86). See Oertel 92.

tvam nṛnām nṛpate (KS. *tvaṁ nṛbhyo nṛmano*) *jāyase śucih* RV VS TS MS. KS TAA N Preceded by *tvaṁ* *vanebhyas tvam oṣadhībhyah*. 'Thou art produced pure from trees and plants, O lord of men (KS 'and from men, O thou mindful of men'). KS. has *nṛbhyo* by attraction to the case and construction of *vanebhyas oṣadhībhyah*.

B. Ablative and locative

1 Ablative as whence-case and locative as where-case

§660. The source of anything (ablative) may also be regarded as its original or typical location, and so may be expressed in the locative, as in:

karkandhu jāyāne madhu sārāgham mukhāt (MS *mukhe*) VS. MS KS TB
'Jujube and sweet honey were produced from (in) his mouth'

§661. Here there is little practical difference. Likewise, even when no idea of origination is clearly expressed, an action may be spoken of alternatively as proceeding from, or as taking place in, a place, as in:
tāḥ (VS. ŚB. *pra*) *parvatasya vṛṣabhasya prsthāt* (TS KS *prsthe*) VS: TS. MS. KS ŚB. Followed by *nāvaś caranti* (*nāvo vṛyanti*)

'The ships proceed from (upon) the back of the mountain-bull'
Note that the ablative is found in the texts which read *pra* ('forth'), but also in MS which does not

§662. Yet more clearly does the locative differ in meaning from the ablative in such a variant as:

yadā mahah samvaraṇād (KS *ne*) *vy asthāt* RV SV VS. TS MS KS KB ŚB 'When he (the horse) stepped forth from (in) the enclosure.' (*mahah* in KS. must be nom. sg.; in the others it may be this or abl sg; Oldenberg decides for the latter.)

§663. These examples will suggest that the psychology of the two

cases generally differs more or less, tho the extent and practical importance of the difference varies greatly, being no doubt least when used with expressions of source or separation or protection. For even with a verb of protecting the threatening danger from which protection is desired may be put in the locative, as denoting the state in which the person finds or fears to find himself:

eṣā tvā pātu nirṛter upasthāt (TA. *nirṛtyā upasthe*, AV *prapathe purastāt*)

RV AV. TA. 'Let this one protect thee from (in) the lap of destruction'

§664. The following additional examples occur; we quote first those in which the practical difference between the two cases seems least:

śwam prajābhyo 'hinsantam (KS † *ahins*°) *prthivyāḥ sadhasthād* (TS MS KS. °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS °*gnim*) *purīṣyam aṅgirasvat khaṇāmāḥ* (TS. KS. † °*mā*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. 'We (I) dig forth from (in) the abode of earth Agni' In the same context:

devasya tvā savituh prāsave 'śvinor bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām prthivyāḥ sadhasthād (TS MS. °*sthe*) *agnim* (TS. † °*gnim*) VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. Add to VV 2 §910. Cf prec

apām yo madhyato (KS *madhye*) *rasas tam aham asmā .grhṇāmi* KS. TB. 'I take the sap that comes from (is in) the midst of the waters.'

vibhrajāmānah sarirasya (MS. *salilasya*) *madhye* (TA °*yāt*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB. TA 'Shining in (from) the midst of the waters.'

dīvah (MŚ *divi*) *śilpam avalatam* TB. ApŚ. MŚ

tam te (TS *idam te tad*) *vi syāmy āyuso na madhyāt* (MS. KS *nu madhye*) VS TS MS KS. ŚB. 'I loose that (bond of destruction) for thee as from (in) the midst of life.'

bāhucyuto (VS ŚB *grāvacyuto*) *dhiṣanāyā* (VS 'TS ŚB. *dhiṣanayor*) *upasthāt* (KS °*sthe*) RV. VS TS. KS GB ŚB Vait MŚ Preceded by *yas te drapsa skandati yas te aṅśuh* Here it seems that KS must intend a fundamentally different meaning: 'The drop (of soma) which falls from (but KS on!) the lap of the bowl (two bowls)'

agniḥ prāṭhāsavane (MS MŚ. °*nāt*) *pātū asmān* AV. TS MS KS. KŚ. ApŚ. Perhaps MS asks for protection, 'from (hostile) soma-pressings'; cf. MS 4 7. 7: 102 5 ff, the brāhmana dealing with this mantra, where it is stated that by the mantra the gods obstructed the savanas of the Asuras, and so the sacrificer can obstruct those of his enemies

ā mā sucarite (MŚ °*tād*) *bhaja* VS TS. KS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Pre-

ceded by *pāhi māgne duṣcaritāt* (VS. ŚB. *pari māgne duṣcaritād bādhasva*) No doubt mechanical attraction to the case of the preceding *duṣcaritāt* is responsible for the ablative in MŚ Yet it can be defended in a way: 'Give us a share from (out of, of) good deeds'

2. With prepositions

§665. Quite similar to the preceding are variants between ablative and locative after the prepositions *adhi* and *antar*. Both cases are found with them, but in different senses, and in the first variant *adhi* with the ablative varies with the simple locative, without *adhi*:

tām te vācam āsya ādatte (read *ādade*) *hṛdaya ādadhe* PG.: *ā* (HG. om) *manasyām hṛdayād adhi* HG ApMB 'In (from within) thy heart'

tasyāh (TB *tasyām*) *samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti* RV. AV. TB. ŚŚ. N. 'From (in) her the seas flow forth.'

yam aśvinā namucer āsurād adhi (ŚŚ.† *namucāv āsure dadhi*) VS. MS KS ŚB TB ŚŚ Vait. LŚ Followed by *sarasvaty asunod indriyāya* Cf Bloomfield JAOS. 15 144 ff. on the Namuci story. Some verb, doubtless a form of *su*, is understood: 'which (soma) the Āsvins (pressed out) from (in) the Āsura Namuci' The word *dadhi* in ŚŚ certainly contains a corruption of *adhi*

ye devā deveṣv (MS. KS *devebhyo*) *adhi devatvam āyan* VS TS. MS KS. ŚB 'What gods have arrived at godhood over the gods (from among the gods).' The abl with *adhi* seems about the equivalent of a partitive gen

samudrasyādhi viṣṭapī (RV.* *°pah*) RV. (bis) SV. In different contexts Cf. also *samudrasyādhi viṣṭapī* (SV. *°pe*) *manīṣṇah* RV. SV.

ya usruyā apyā (SV. *apī yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV. *°ni*) RV SV. 'The cows from within (SV the cows within) the rock'

§666. On the other hand, *ā* with the ablative may mean 'up to' and so may interchange with the loc (and the acc) of goal with no difference of meaning.

āsya yajñasyodṛcah VS ŚB.: *svastī mā sam vahāsyā yajñasyodṛci svāhā* AV *svastī mā sampārayāsyā yajñasyodṛcam* ŚŚ See §523

3 In adverbial forms

§667. Adverbially used ablatives have a tendency to pale out, so that no distinctly ablative function remains They then become interchangeable with locative adverbs or locative phrases:

āre (TS *ārāt*) *te goghnām* (TS °*nā*) *uta pūruṣaghnām* (TS °*ne*) RV TS.

Both mean simply 'far off', not 'from afar'.

yās te rudra purastāt (AG *pūrvasyām dīśi*) *senās tābhya eṣa balaḥ tābhyaḥ te namaḥ* (AG *senās tābhya enat*) AG PG Here there may be in the abl a suggestion of 'from the east', but it is hard to be sure of it.

4 Case attraction

§668. The following (cf also *ā mā sucarite* etc., §664) seems to be an instance of mechanical case-attraction:

āre asman (MS NīlarU. *asmin*) *nī dhehi tam* VS TS MS KS NīlarU

One ms and p p of MS. read *asman* (*asmat*) If *asmin* is sound it must be attracted to the case of *āre*: 'in this distant (place)' instead of 'far from us'

5. Phrase inflection

§669. Phrase inflection is found in the following

(*sīse mṛddhvam nade mṛddhvam*) *agnau samkasuke ca yat* AV : (*āpo mā tasmāc chumbhantu*) *agneḥ samkasukāc ca yat* AV Both times Ppp. reads *agnih samkusikaś ca yah* Caland KZ 34 456 f considers both AV pādas 'phrase-inflections' of what Ppp (substantially) reads See §§433, 450

ṛtīyasyā uto divah ApMB.: *ṛtīyasyām uto divi* AV HG Wholly different contexts

aṅgād-aṅgāl lomno-lomnah RV AV ApMB.: *aṅge-aṅge lomni-lomni* AV

In the first passage the abls depend on *vi vṛhāmi*, the second is followed by *yas* (sc *yakṣmas*) *te parvam-parvanī*

6 Miscellaneous

§670. A few miscellaneous cases remain:

mā te yuyoma samdṛśah AV . *mā te vyoma samdṛśi* (LŚ † *samdaśa* [itī]) AA TA AŚ LŚ MG 'May we not be separated from sight of thee' 'may there be no *vyoman* (lacuna? TA comm *chidram*) in thy sight' In LŚ a form of *samdṛś* (either °*śah* or °*śe* would be possible) must be intended. If not a mere misprint, as we suspect (so Whitney on AV), this should be added to VV 2 §631

varṣīyo (VS ŚB *varṣo*) *varṣīyasya yajñe yājñapatim dhāh* TS VS ŚB *varṣīyo varṣīyaso yajñam yājñapatāu dhāh* MS KS Addressed to atmosphere. 'Being more extended, establish the sacrificer in a more extended sacrifice' 'being more extended than the more extended, establish sacrifice in the sacrificer.' The latter is doubt-

less original, the former a lect fac, with a kind of 'transfer of epithet'.

[*ardhamāsyam prasutāt pūtryāvatah* JB. (bis). Both passages have the abl, see Oertel, *JAOS* 19 (2d half), pp 112, 115]

C. Genitive and locative

1 Locative of position : adnominal genitive

§671. Most of the variants between these two cases are approximately equivalent in meaning. The person or place in which something is located may be thought of as the possessor of it (possessive gen), or as that upon which its influence is exerted (objective gen) Naturally the line between the two is sometimes hard to draw; in the first mentioned cases the gen seems clearly possessive:

mayy āśir (Ppp KS *mamāśir*) *astu mayi* (Ppp KS † *mama*) *devahūtiḥ*
RV AV Ppp. TS KS 'May prayer and divine invocation be in me (be mine)'

asmākam (TS *asmāsu*) *saniv āśiṣah* VS TS MS KS ŚB. ŚŚ.

yad devānām (VS *deveṣu*) *tryāyuṣam* VS VSK. ŚG SMB. ApMB HG. MG Preceded even in VS by *tryāyuṣam jamadagneh, kaśyapasya tryāyuṣam* (with slight variations in order) VS is isolated and so may be suspected of being secondary. Were it original we might think of case attraction to the preceding gens in the others

te rāyah VS TS ŚB KŚ ApŚ : *tava rāyah* MS MS : *tava-tava rāyah*
MS KS MS : *to-to* (TS ApŚ. *to-te*) *rāyah* VS TS ŚB ApŚ

yat pṛthivyām (MahānU *vyā*) *rajah svam* TA. MahānU 'What *rajas* is in (of) the earth'

yā te patighnī tanūḥ HG · *yā te patighnī tanūr* PG · *yā te patighny* ŚG : *yasyām patighnī tanūḥ* ApMB 'What husband-slaying body (form) is thine (in her)'

dūrgham yac cakṣur adūter anantam AŚ · *yad āhuṣ cakṣur adūtāv anantam*
PB JB (See Oertel, *Disjunct Use of Cases* §48 24R)

mā tvam hārṣh śrutam mayi PG · *śrutam me mā pra hārṣh* RVKh
dhruvādhi poṣyā (PG *poṣye*) *mayi* RVKh ŚG PG ApMB *mameyam astu poṣyā* AV. 'Be steadfast in (with, be) me': 'let this woman be mine, prosperous'

vihāya rogam tanvāh svāyāh (TA *tanvām svāyām*) AV TA 'Abandoning disease of (in) their own body'

anvālānsīl tvayi (MS *lānsus tava*) *tantum etam* VS TS. MS KS ŚB. 'He (they) spun out this thread in thee (of thine)'

aham prajā ajanayam pṛthivyām (MG. °vyāh, ApMB. pīṭṇām) RV ApMB. MG. 'I produced offspring on (of) the earth (the fathers).'
akah su (TA. sa) *lokaṁ sukṛtaṁ pṛthivyāḥ* (VS. ŚB °vyām) VS. TS MS KS. ŚB. 'He hath made an excellent place of (on) the earth.'
 The gen. may perhaps better be called partitive than possessive
yasyā āśās (KS. imās) *tanvo vītapṛṣṭhāḥ* AV. KS.: *yasyā bahvyaś* (RVKh. VS. *yasyām imā bahvyaś*, TB. *yasyai bahvīs*) *tanvo* (tanvo) *vīta-*
pṛṣṭhāḥ RVKh. VS. MS. TB. 'Whose (in whom)...are smooth-backed forms.'

asamātim grheṣu nah AV.: *grhāṇām asamarīyai* TS See §486
patyau (ApMB. *patyur*) *me śloka uttamah* RV. ApMB 'My supreme renown rests in my husband (is my husband's).'

sarasvatyām adhi manāv acarkṛṣuh AV.: *sarasvatyā adhi manāv* (KS *mānā*, v. l. *manā*; SMB. Jørgensen *manāv*) *acarkṛṣuh* (varr., VV 1 §136) KS TB. ApŚ. MŚ. SMB PG. Preceded by *madhunā saṁyutaṁ yavam* 'Barley mingled with honey they plowed on the Sarasvatī (river)', AV. The form *sarasvatyā* has been interpreted in all sorts of ways, as gen. 'with honey of Sarasvatī' (TB. comm, Stenzler, Caland), as instr. (in spite of the sandhi; Oldenberg SBE. 29. 338), as abl. (Jørgensen on SMB), and as dat (VV 1 §136). We now think gen. or abl most likely.

tāsu (sc *dikṣu*) *tāntar jarasy ādadhāmi* AV.: *tāsām* (sc *dīśām*) *itrā jarasā ādadhāmi* TB. HG. ApMB. 'I establish thee in old age within them (unto their old age, i.e. unto as long life as the directions possess, so rightly TB. comm.).'

§672. Peculiar and deserving of special rubrication are the following cases, in which the loc. is parallel with another loc., on which the gen depends in the other form of the variant (cf. §85):

asyā (MG. † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG. °nyām) AV. MG (the latter also has a v. l. *nāryām*): *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh. ApMB. 'In this woman's two canals (in this canal of the woman)' 'in this woman, in her canal.' Assuming that the gen is original, we may see case-attraction in the loc.

bhūṣaṁ na madhye nābhyām (MS °yāḥ) VS MS. TB 'In the middle, (viz.) in the navel: 'in the middle of the navel.' As prec
ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *rādo*, VS ŚB. *cāmī*, NīlarU. *cāmī*) *rocane dīrah* (NīlarU. *dīvi*) RVKh. VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApMB NīlarU. As prec The phrase *rocane dīrah* is standard from RV. on, clearly case-assimilation in NīlarU

pr̥ṣṭhe pr̥thivyā (AV. *nābhā pr̥thivyāni*) *nihito darddyutat* AV. VS. TS. MS KS ŚB. As prec., Ppp is reported by Whitney to read *pr̥thivyāh*, which is standard after *nābhā* (see Conc. under this initial).

§673. To these we may append a case in which the loc. noun which governs the possessive gen is omitted in the variant form, thus compelling the use of loc instead of gen.:

vīśvalopa vīśvadāvasya tvāsañ juhomi TS. GB. Vait.: *vīśloka vīśvadāvyē tvā samjuhomī svāhā* MŚ. 'I offer thee in the mouth of the burner of all (in the burner of all).'

§674. Essentially similar, also, is the following in which the gen depends on an adverb (*madhyato*) which, while abl in form, is essentially loc in meaning, Ppp uses a loc of the noun instead of the gen :
asambādham badhyato (read *ma*) *mānavānām* (Ppp *°veṣu*) AV. Ppp.

Kauś See §623. 'In the midst of men': 'in the midst, among men'

§675. The gen after adjectives of nearness or similarity is doubtless to be felt as objective in character:

syāma sumnasyādhrigo (SV *sumne te adhrigo*) RV. SV. Preceded by *ni nedīṣṭhatamā izaḥ* 'Let us be nearest to the draught, to (in) thy grace'

tam id arbhe havṣy ā samānam it, tam in mahe vṛṇate nānyam tvat RV.: *tvām arbhasya havṣaḥ samānam it, tvām maho vṛṇate* (TB ApŚ. add *naro*) *nānyam tvat* SV. KS. TB. ApŚ. 'Him they choose alike at the small oblation and at the large': 'thee they choose alike for (equal to, equally capable of? Caland 'als gleichen für') the small' etc For the gen. with words of likeness cf Speyer VSS. §70c.

§676. Definitely objective is the genitive in the following cases, with nouns or adjectives containing verbal force, in which the two forms are practical equivalents:

aśiḥ śayala upar̥k̥ pr̥thivyāh (TB. *°vyām*) RV MS. TB. N.

nanāndarī samrājñī bhava RV. SMB ApMB. *nanānduh samrājñy edhi*

AV 'Be queen over thy sister-in-law' In the same verse:

samrājñī śvaśrūm (śvaśrūvām) bhava RV. SMB ApMB.: *samrājñy uta śvaśrūh* AV.

prācyām dīśi (AV. *prācyā dīśas*) *tvam indrāsi rājā* AV. TS MS. KS In the same verse:

utodicyām vṛtrahan vṛtrahāsi TS. MS KS : *utodicyā dīśo vṛtrahan chatruho 'si* AV.

2 After the preposition *antar*

§677. Delbrück AIS p. 445 f. ignores the construction of *antar* with the gen, which is however indubitable, cf. §142 In the following

variant gen and loc. with *antar* interchange Tho another loc follows, the gen. cannot depend upon it:

ukhāyāh (TS. °*yai*, MS. KS °*yām*) *sadane sve* VS. TS MS KS Preceded by *antar agne rucā tvam*.

3 Adverbial uses

§678. In several variants we have, certainly or possibly, both cases used adverbially to express time On the gen. of time see especially Oldenberg *RVNoten* on 1 79 6

dive-dive (AV. *divo-dīva*) *ā suvā bhūri paśvāh* AV KS TB AŚ ŚŚ *dive-dive* is certainly loc in sense, whatever be the historic origin of the form (see §295, and for the most recent theory of the form Sturtevant, *TAPA* 62 [1931] 20)

madhu naktam utośasah (KS °*sā*, TS TA °*si*) RV VS TS. MS KS ŚB TA BṛhU MahānU Kauś See §584

aktor vyusṣau partakmyāyāh (and °*yām*) RV (both) Uncertain; see *RVRep.* on 5 30. 13 and literature there quoted, especially Oldenberg *RVNoten*

§679. The following variant is also obscure and dubious We are inclined to feel that both *parīṇasah* and °*si* are adverbial (not, of course, temporal), meaning approximately 'with plenty' or 'plentifully' Despite Oldenberg *RVNoten* ad loc we incline to separate the word from *kasya*. But it may be felt as ablative rather than genitive Ludwig's interpretation makes it adnominal gen with *dhryo*, which is perhaps also possible:

kasya nūnam parīṇasah (SV. °*si*) RV. SV Followed by *dhryo jinvasi dampate* (SV *satpate*)

4 Dependent on verbs

§680. Verbs of drinking take a (partitive) genitive, which varies with a locative once or twice (as well as an accusative, §501)

papuh sarasvatyā nadyāh (MŚ °*tyām nadyām*, KŚ ApŚ °*īm nadīm*) Vart KŚ ApŚ MŚ

tava (SV. *tve*) *viśve sajośasah* RV SV Followed by *devāsah pītim āsata* Here *pītim āsata* 'obtained a drink' may be regarded as a periphrasis for 'drank', and it seems to us that the gen and loc are both best regarded as comparable to the same cases in the preceding variant, so Ludwig construes *tava*, while Grassmann takes it as possessive, 'thy drink', and Benfey takes *tve* as dependent on *sajośasah* Wackernagel 3 p 462 quotes *tve* here as the only new post-Rigvedic occurrence of the form

§681. The gen in the following, with root *rā*, seems also to be participative, it may be influenced by the gen. in the following clause:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ *viśobhaginī tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhaktīvāno bhūyāśma* KS. ApŚ. 'Grant us (me) [a share] of (in) her.'

§682. With the verb *adhi-* 'think on' the gen (or acc) is regular In the following variant MG. has a loc, perhaps influenced by thought of the literal, etymological meaning 'go upon' (*adhi* + loc.). It should also be noted that the following pāda (*yeṣu saumanasam mahat* in MG.) has a loc which is approximately parallel and may have exercised some influence:

yeṣām (MG. *yeṣu*) *adhyeti pravasan* AV. VS ApŚ. LŚ ŚG. HG. MG

5. Transfer of epithet

§683. Transfer of epithet (§§14-6) is found in the following:

śuciḥ śukre ahany ojaśinā (MS *ahann ojaśine*, KS † *śukro ahany ojaśye*, AŚ *'hany ojaśinām*) TS MS KS AŚ. See §447.

svasty apsu vṛjane svarvatī (MG † *vrajane svarvalah*) RV. AB. MG. 'In the bright place': 'in the path of the bright one.' The original has an epithet of *vṛjane*, which MG. changes to an independent form. Some MG. mss. point to the RV. reading.

6 Miscellaneous

§684. The rest are unclassifiable:

avatara (TS. *avattaram*) *nadīṣv ā* VS TS. MS. KS ŚB : *avattaro nadīnām* AV Too obscure to make any interpretation of *nadīnām* worth giving, see VV 2 §833

samsṛṣṭāsu yutsu indro gaṇeṣu MS.: *samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro gaṇena* RV. AV. SV VS TS. KA See §607

agnā u (ŚB. also *agner*) *vasuvane vasudheyasya vetu varujhak* ŚB (both) AŚ Ritualistic rigmarole, various case-forms of *agni* are used in mechanical modulations of the formula

asūrte (MS KS. *°tā*, KapŚ *°tāh*) *sūrte rajasi niṣatte* (MS *niṣattā*, KS. *na sattā*) RV. VS MS KS KapŚ. N.: *asūrtā sūrtā rajoṣo vimāne* TS The latter is a reconstruction containing a reminiscence of RV. 10 123 1, which contains *rajoṣo vimāne*

mā no (mā) *hinsy janitā yah prthivyāh* (KapŚ. *°yām*) RV VS. VSK. TS MS KS KapŚ ŚB ApŚ Raghu Vira emends to *°yāh* (cf Oertel 19), but the loc can be construed with the following pāda.

CHAPTER XXVII

SINGULAR AND PLURAL

1. *Generalizing singular and plural*

§685. Among the variations between singular and plural (see §§112-7 for a summary), the great majority concern the use of a generic singular, in variation with a plural which may be specific, referring to particular individuals of the class, or may itself be general, including them all. As a rule there is little real difference of meaning between the two forms. The singular tends to think of the class as a whole, the plural of the individuals which compose it. Sometimes the singular seems to be a distinct collective, but more often it merely indicates the genus, without centering the attention upon the individuals which compose it. For instance, as in military language today, 'the enemy' may mean the whole hostile army. Likewise 'the sacrifice', as an institution or type, varies with 'sacrifices' as individual acts (but usually not conceived specifically, rather all 'sacrifices' in general). And so one may say equally well 'good deed', generically, or 'good deeds', 'food' or 'foods'; 'praise' or 'praises'; 'heroism' or 'heroisms' (that is, deeds of heroism), and so forth.

§686. In some of the cases which we shall feel obliged to list under this heading, it is very possible that the singular may have been felt specifically, of a single definite individual. So notably with the word *agni* 'fire' (§691). At times it cannot be doubted that reference was made to one particular fire, especially one of the three sacred fires, while the plural form refers to several individuals (say, to the three sacred fires). Where we find definite evidence that the change between singular and plural was of this sort, we shall classify the variant in the appropriate place below (§740). It is, however, usually hard to identify such cases,—to separate them from instances of the generic singular, and the latter is so common and so characteristic of the Vedic language that as a rule we tend to assume it in default of clear evidence to the contrary.

Āmredita compounds

§687. Sanskrit has a special device for expressing clearly the notion of generalization in connection with a noun. the use of repeated

(*āmredita*) compounds They may be used in either the singular or the plural to denote every individual of the genus. Once a plural *āmredita* varies with a singular modified by the word *viśva* 'all', so that the two expressions are equivalent. In another case a singular *āmredita* varies with an obviously generalizing plural which, tho there is no word like *viśva*, can only mean substantially the same thing:

viśo-viśah pravivāṁsam imahe AV : *viśvasyām viś pravivivāṁsam* (KS.† *pravivāṁsam*) *imahe* TS MS KS.

ruho ruroha (TB *roham-roham*) *rohā ā ruroha* AV. TB

§688. We now proceed to give the lists containing a presumably generalizing singular in variation with a plural, arranging them under semantic categories, beginning with:

§689. (1) *Words connected with the ritual* Among ritual words we find first the 'sacrifice' itself (*yajña*) and its more specific designations (*havya*, *havis*, etc.):

asmān rāya ula yajñāh (KS.† *yajñah*) *sacantām* TS KS ApŚ.: *yuṣmān rāya ula yajñā asaścata* MS.

yajñāh yad yajñāvāhasah AV.: *yajñair vā* (TB *vo*) *yajñāvāhasah* RV TS. TB.

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ *rūpena*) *samanaktu yajñāh* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB. AŚ ŚŚ. KŚ.

bodhāmasi tvā haryaśva yajñāh (MŚ. *yajñe*) RV. SV. MŚ See §602 *yajñāya stīrṇabarhiṣe v* *vo made* RV. AŚ : *yajñeṣu stīrṇabarhiṣam vivakṣase* SV.

brahma yajñāh (MS *yajñāh*) *prthivīm dhārayanti* AV. MS

devebhyo havyam (MS MŚ MG. *havyā*) *vahatu prajānan* RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. TB. Vait. MŚ Kauś MG.

havyā marṣeṣu ranṇyā RV.: *havyam martāsa indhate* SV.

jātavedah prati havyā grbhāya AV. SMB · *jātavedo havir idam juṣasva* AŚ ApŚ MŚ HG.

agnir havih (AV. VS TS. MS *havyam*) *śamitā sūdayāti* (AV. *svadayatu*) RV AV VS. TS MS KS.: *agnir havyāni sīṣvadat* RV.: *agnir havyā suśūdāt* RV.

atandro havyā (SV *havyam*) *vahasi haviṣkṛte* RV. SV

yajñair juhōti haviṣā yajuṣā (TB *juhōti yajuṣā havirbhih*) AV. TB.: *yajñair vidhema namasā havirbhih* RV. AV. TS MS. KS.

purā satyād (TB. *diṣṭād*) *āhutim hanū asya* (TB *āhutir asya hantu*) AV TB.

ya āhutim (JUB °tir) *atyamanyanta devāh* AV JUB : *tās te gachantu āhutim* (KS. °tir) *ghṛtasya* TS KS.

pūlara āyusmantas te svadhayāyusmantah (PG. *svadhābhūr āyus*^o) TS PG

§690. The words used at the sacrifice, whether spoken or sung (*stoma*, *prāśasti*, *arka*, *uktha*, *brahman*, *mati*, *sūktā*, *yajus*, *sāman*). Here also may be placed the variants involving the words *dhī*, *veda*, *chandas*, and several others that have to do with meter.

taved u stomam (SV. *stomaiś*) *ciketa* RV. AV. SV.

stomena prati bhūṣati RV : *stomebhīr bhūṣati prati* SV.

apām uta prāśastīṣu (RV.† *prāśastaye*, AV VSK °*tībhiḥ*) RV. AV. VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

tava prāśastayo mahāḥ (SV. °*śastaye mahe*) RV. SV.

yam mītram na prāśastībhiḥ (SV. °*taye*) RV SV

ghṛtenārkaṁ abhy arcanti vatsam AV.: *taṁ arkair abhyarcanti vatsam* TB
agnir ukthēna vāhasā VS TS MS KS AŚ. ŚŚ.: *agnir uktheṣv anhasu* AV.
vocad brahmāṇi (SV. *brahmeti*) *ver u tat* RV. SV. See §269.

saṁ brahmanā (AV. °*ṇām*) *devakṛtam* (RV. AV. *devahutam*) *yad asti*
RV. AV. Ppp. VS TS. MS KS ŚB TB. See §587.

idam brahma pīpṛhi saubhagāya MS : *imā brahma pīpīhi saubhagāya*
VS. KS ŚB (Eggeling wrongly considered *brāhma* a vocative)

ato matir (SV. *matih*) *janayata svadhābhīḥ* RV. SV.

imā (TS. *imām*) *rudrāya tavase kapardine*, *kṣayadvirāya pra bharāmahe*
matih (TS *matim*) RV. VS TS MS KS

sūktā (KS. *sūktam*) *brūhi* VS. MS. KS. TB. ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ MŚ.

ṛksāmābhyām samātaranto yajurbhiḥ (TS °*bhyām yajusā samātarantah*) VS
TS KS. ŚB. MŚ

prastotah sāma gāya MS. ApŚ : *prastotah sāmāni gāya* MS TA KŚ
ApŚ. (MS p p *sāma*)

udgātah sāmāni (MŚ. 2. 5. 4. 25, 4. 4. 11 *sāma*) *gāya* GB. MŚ (MŚ
4. 2 10 has *sāmāni*, but v. 1 *sāma*.)

talvāya savitā dhīyah (VS. *dhīyam*) VS VSK. TS. MS KS ŚB. ŚvetU
vedasya (MG. *vedānām*) *nidhīpo bhūyāsam* AG. PG MG

chandāṁsi (KS *chando*) *gacha svāhā* VS TS MS KS ŚB.

chandasā (MS *chandobhur*) *hansah śuciṣat* VS MS. KS. TB

gāyatrām chando anu samrabhadhvam MS : *gāyatrīm chandānsy anu*
samrabhantām KS ApŚ

dvīpadā yā catuṣpadā (VS *yāś catuṣpadāḥ*), *tripadā yā ca ṣatpadā* (VS
yāś ca ṣatpadāḥ), *vichandā yā* (VS *yāś*) *ca sachandāḥ* (TS KSA
sachandā yā ca vichandāḥ) VS. TS. MS KSA Supply *rc* or *rch*
avasyurātā brhatir nu śakvarīḥ (MS KS *brhatī na śakvarī*, AŚ *brhatī*
tu śakvarī) TS MS. KS. AŚ. Followed by:

imam yajñam avalu (TS *avantu*) *yā* (TS AŚ *no*) *ghṛtāci* (TS. °*cih*) TS
MS KS. AŚ.: *diśām devy* (MS *levy*) *avatu no ghṛtāci* TS MS AŚ

vi śloka etu (AV. *eti*, TS *ŚvetU ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)
sūreh (AV. MS † *sūrah*, TS *ŚvetU. sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV. AV
 VS TS. MS. KS ŚB. *ŚvetU*.

§691. The sacrificial fire See above, §686 It is often impossible to say whether a single fire, or the individual god Agni, is meant by the singular, or 'fire(s)' in general:

te asmā (KS 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS. v. 1. °yo) *dravnam* (KS. °nāni)
dattvā MS. KS ApŚ

agnir me hotā sa mopahvyatām ŚB : *agne grhapata upa mā hvayasva* KS.

ApŚ. MŚ.: *agnaya upāhvayadhvam* Vait The last no doubt refers definitely to the three sacred fires.

agnaye svīṣṭakṛte svāhā TB. TAA. etc : *agnibhyah svīṣṭakṛdbhyah svāhā*
 KS The latter refers to the three fires.

agnim (ApŚ *agnin*) *samādhehi* MS MŚ. ApŚ.

ihava san tatra sato vo agnayah TB ApŚ : *ihava san* (MŚ sans, so also
 TB Poona ed) *tatra santam tvāgne* TB AŚ MŚ

raudenānīkena pāhi māgne (VS Vait *pāta māgnayah*) VS. TS MS KS.
 ŚŚ Vait. 18. 8 Followed by:

pīpṛia māgnayah (KS *pīpṛi māgne*) VS KS Vait.

ye agnayo apsu antar ye vṛtre, ye puruṣe ye āsmau AV.: *yo apsu antar*
agnir yo vṛtre, yah puruṣe yo āsmani MS. KS ApŚ. Ppp also
 intends the latter reading.

§692. Various utensils and appurtenances of the ritual.

ukhyam (AV *ukhyān*) *hasteṣu bibhratah* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB.

samudham (Kauś HG °dha) *ā dhehi* ŚB ŚG Kauś SMB PG GG HG.
asāv elat te vāsah GG : *elad vah pitaro vāsah* (VS *vāsa ādhatta*) VS.

VSK AŚ SMB.: *etāni vah pitaro vāsāṁsi* ApŚ HG. The 'clothing'
 is the threads, wool, or hair placed on each cake offered to the
 Pitrs

ā me graho bhavatu (KSA *grahā bhavantu*) *ā puroruk* TS KSA.

brhaspatisutasya . *graham grhnam* (KS *graham rādhyaśam*, VS VSK.

ŚB *grahān rādhyaśam*, MS *graham rādhyaśam*) VS VSK. TS MS.
 KS ŚB

nir āhāvān (KS °vam) *kṛnotana* RV. TS KS Followed or preceded by:
saṁ varatrā (KS. °trān, 1 e. °trām) *dadhātana*, same texts

śṛnavantu āpo dhiṣanāś ca devīh (MS * *dhiṣaṇā ca devī*) VS TS MS (bis)

KS ŚB In MS both passages show both readings in the mss ;
 von Schroeder finally adopted the singular in both passages

upāstāvah kalaśah (MŚ °vāh *kalāśāh*) *somo agnih* (MŚ *somadhānāh*)
 TS MŚ ApŚ.

śṛkvānam gharmam abhi vāvasānā RV AV N . *trīn gharmān abhi vāva-*

§697. (2) Divine personages

yad devā devam ayañanta viśve RV : *yad devā devān haviṣāyañanta* AV

Different contexts; no specific god seems to be meant in RV
ādityam (RV. VS TS. MS ŚB. *ādityān*) *viṣnum sūryam* RV AV. SV
 VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB.

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasprte (MU. °*smṛte*) KSA MU : *nama ādi-
 tebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo divikṣīdibhyo lokakṣīdibhyah* ChU
vi parjanyaṃ (TS. °*yāh*) *srjanu* (MS KS *pra parjanyah srjatām*) *rodasi*
anu RV TS. MS KS

dikṣāpālāya vanatam (TB °*pālebhyo 'vanatam*) *hi śakrā* TB AŚ
āmanasya devā (MS °*va*) *yā* (MS *yāh*, KS *yās*) *striyah* TS MS. KS
āmanasya devā (MS. °*va*) *ye putrāh* (KS *putrāsah*) MS KS
āmanasya devā (MS MS °*va*) *ye sajātāh* TS MS. KS MS 'The
 god(s) of affection' seem to be nonce-gods, whose number of course
 is also invented for the occasion

vratānām vratapate (Kauś °*layo*) *vratam acāriṣam* (MS *acāriṣam*). MS
 TA Kauś

anu me dikṣām dikṣāpatir manyatām (KS *dikṣāpatayo manyadhvam*)
anu (ŚB * °*patir amanstānu*) *tapas tapaspatih* (KS °*patayah*) VS
 TS KS ŚB GB Vait : *anu ma idam vratam vratapater manyatām*
anu dikṣām dikṣāpatir aṅgasā MS : *upa mā dikṣāyām dikṣāpātayo*
hwayadhvam MS.

niṣaṅgine (HG °*gibhyaḥ*) *svāhā* ApMB. HG *niṣaṅgin* = Rudra, the
 plural = the Rudras, or Rudra's hosts

niṣaṅgina upa sprṣata HG. : *niṣaṅgin upa sprṣa* ApMB

ārtavo 'dhīpatir āsīt TS : *ārtavā adhipataya āsan* VS ŚB *rtavo 'dhīpa-
 taya āsan* MS. KS Perhaps better to be placed with §709.

vasūnām pavitrām asī TS. MS KS TB ApŚ MS : *vasoh pavitrām asī*
 VS. KS. ŚB KS

vasavaś cātīṣṭhan vasudhātaraś ca AV. : *vasuś cetīṣṭho vasudhātamaś ca*
 VS TS MS KS. The latter is original, Ppp agrees with it (JAOS
 42 108).

indrāghoṣas (MS KS °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhiḥ purastāt pātu* (KS.† *tvā vasavah
 pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhiḥ pāntu*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB :
indrāghoṣā vo vasubhiḥ purastād upadadhatām TA The meaning of
indrāghoṣa and the corresponding terms in the next two variants
 is uncertain, some sort of nonce-deity, or strained epithet of a deity
 The commentators suggest the gods that are appropriate to the
 directions named (Agni, Yama, Varuna respectively).

manojavās tvā pītṛbhūr (KS *pītarō dakṣīnalāh pātu* (KS *pāntu*) VS TS

KS ŚB · *pitaras tvā manojavā dakṣinataḥ pāntu* MS.: *manojavaso vah pitrbhir dakṣinata upadadhatām* TA
pracelās tvā rudraḥ paścāt pātu VS TS KS ŚB : *rudrās tvā pracetasah paścāt pāntu* MS . *pracelā vo rudraḥ paścād upadadhatām*.TA
dhīṣanās tvā devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ (MS *dhīṣanā tvā devī viśvadevyavati*)
pṛihvyāḥ sadhasṭhe aṅgrasvad (TS 'ṅgi°) *abhīndhatām* (MS *
abhīnddhām, **abhīndhātām*) *ukhe* VS TS MS (bis) KS ŚB Cf.
 VV 1 p 255.
varūtriṣ tvā (KS °*tris tvā*, TS °*trayo janayas tvā*) *devīr viśvadevyāvatīḥ* .
 VS TS KS ŚB : *īvarutṛi* (and *varū°*) *tvā devī viśvadevyavati* MS.
 (bis) Cf prec
revati predhā yajñapatim ā viśa MS KS.: *revati yajamāne priyam dhā ā viśa* VS † ŚB †: *revatīr yajñapatim priyadhāviśata* TS ApŚ. The
 singular, according to ŚB, is Vāc The plural is variously inter-
 preted of different semi-deified entities
 [ādakām khādena TS † KSA No variant. The word is explained by
 TS comm as *bhahṣayitṛi devatā*, as if 'eater']

§698. (3) Words meaning people, community, place, world, region, geographical terms, and the like

pra no yacha bhuvas (AV. *viśām*) *pate* AV. TS : *pra no yacha* (KS *rāsva*)
viśas pate RV MS KS
svastidā viśas (AV MahānU *viśām*) *patih* RV. AV ŚB AdB TB. TA
 TAA MahānU. ApŚ VHDh
janām ca mitro yatatī bruvāṇah RV : *mitro janān yātayati bruvāṇah* (TS
 ApŚ * *prajānan*, TB ApŚ * *janān kalpayati prajānan*) RV. TS KS
 TB. AŚ ApŚ (bis) MŚ N
janāya vrktabarhiṣe RV : *janāso vrktabarhiṣah* RV
yakṣmā yanti janād (AV ApMB *janān*) *anu* RV AV. ApMB
bhūmīr itī tvābhīpramanvate janāḥ (TS *tvā janā viduh*) AV TS : *yām*
tvā jano bhūmīr itī pramandate VS MS KS ŚB
yah samgrāmān (TS MS °*mam*) *nayati* (KS *jayati*) *sam yudhe vaśi*
 (TS MS *sam vaśi yudhe*, KS. *sam vaśi yudhā*) AV. TS. KS MS.
samsraṣṭā sa yudha indro ganena RV. AV SV. VS TS KS : *samsrṣṣāsu*
yutsu indro gaṇeṣu MS
trāyatām (AV *trāyantām*) *marutām ganah* (AV. *gaṇāḥ*) RV AV.
aśastihā vrjanam (SV. *vrjanā*) *rakṣamāṇah* RV SV.
grāmam sajanāyo gachanti ApMB †: *grāmān sajatāyo yanti* HG.
vidmā te dhāma vibhīṭā purutṛā RV. VS ŚB · *vidmā te sadma vibhīṭam*
purutṛā TS MS KS ApMB

sugā vo devāḥ sadanā (N. *sadanam*, KŚ Kauś. °nāni) *akarma* (MS. *kṛnomi*, KS Kauś *santu*) AV VS MS ŚB KŚ Kauś N : *sugā vo devās sadanedam astu* KS : *svagā vo devāḥ sadanam akarma* (ApŚ *sadanāni santu*) TS ApŚ

ta āvartan sadanād ṛtasya (TS *sadanāni kṛtvā*, KS † *sadanāni rātvī*) RV AV TS MS KS (both) N.

yeṣām (RVKh *teṣām*) *apsu sadas* (TS ApMB °dah) *kṛtam* RVKh VS. TS ŚB NārU ApMB · *ye apsu ṣadānsi* (KS 'psu *sadānsi*) *cakṛre* MS KS

apām sadhṛṣi sīda TS : *apām tvā sadhṛṣi* (MS † *sadhṛṣu*) *sādayāmi* VS MS KS ŚB

sadhasiṣu (RV * *sadhasiṣe vā*) *maho divah* RV. (bis) SV

etam sadhasiṣa (AV. KS °sthāḥ) *pari te* (AV KS. vo) *dadāmi* AV. VS TS KS. ŚB MŚ. *sadhasiṣa* = *loka*

tābhīr vahānam sukrītām u lokam (TA *vahemam sukrītām yatra lokāḥ*) RV AV. TA : *vahāsi mā* (KS † *vahānsi sā*) *sukrītām yatra lokāḥ* (KS.† *lokah*) KS TB ApŚ

jāṭavedo vahemam (ŚŚ *vahasvanam*) *sukrītām yatra lokah* (TA *lokāḥ*) TA. ŚŚ : *jāṭavedo nayā hy* (read *nayāsy?*) *enam sukrītām yatra lokah* JB

śundhatām lokah pitṛśadanāḥ TS ApŚ : *śundhantām* (AV *śumbhantām*) *lokāḥ pitṛśadanāḥ* AV VS MS. KS ŚB MŚ

vī jākṛṣva lokam kṛnu (TA *jākṛṣva lokān kṛdhī*) AV TA

te brahmalokeṣu (TA. °loke tu) *parāntakāle* TA MahānU MundU KaivU.

viduṣṭaro diva ārodhanāni RV.. *vidvān ārodhanam divah* RV KS

yasminn idam viśvam bhuvanam adhi śṛtam TS · *yasmīn viśvāni bhuvanāni* (MS *viśvā bhuvanādhi*) *taṣṭhuh* RV VS MS

antarikṣasya dhartrīm viṣṭambhanīm dīśām adhipatnīm bhuvanānām (MS *dīśām bhuvanasyādhipatnīm*) VS MS. KS ŚB *viṣṭambhanī dīśām adhipatnī bhuvanānām* TS

tvāṣṭedam viśvam bhuvanam jajāna VS TS KSA *tvāṣṭemā viśvā bhuvanā jajāna* MS

sa idam viśvam (TS TB *sa viśvā bhuvō*) *abhavat sa ābhavat* AV TS TB · *sa viśvā bhuvā ābhavaḥ* RV AV.

sa viśvam (AV *viśvā*) *prati cākṛpat* (AV. °pe) AV AŚ ŚŚ.

na tam vidātha ya imā (TS KS *idam*) *jajāna* RV VS TS. MS KS N

imā = *bhuvanāni*, *idam* = *viśvam*, or the like
bhūṭasya (PB *bhūṭānām*) *jālah patir eka āsīt* RV AV VS VSK TS
MS KS KSA PB ŚB N

tena (TS. *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AB. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah* AV.
VS TS. MS KS ŚB. *roha* = *svarga*.

svargam arvanlo jayema Vait : *svargān* (AŚ. text, *svagān*¹) *arvanlo jayata*
(AŚ *jayatah*) SV AŚ ŚŚ : *svargān* (text *svagān*) *arvato jayati* AŚ.
abhimam (TS. MS † °mām, MS. MS. v. 1 °mān) *mahinā* (VS °mā,
delete MS. v. 1. in Conc.) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS. TA ApŚ.
MS.

sa vāḥi rocanā (SV. *rocanam*) *divah* RV. SV

ye aprathelām amilā yojanāni (ArS *amīlām abhi yojanam*) AV. ArS
vidānā asya yojanam (SV °nā) RV. SV

tredhā nī dadhe padam (AV. MS *padā*) RV. AV SV VS TS MS. KS.
ŚB N. The adverb *tredhā* probably suggested the change to the
plural

mṛtyoh padam (MG. *padāni*) *yopayanto*. . RV AV. TA MG

parācīm (RV. °cīr) *anu samvatam* (RV. °tah) RV. AV.

ūrvān (SV. *ūrvam*) *dayanta gonām* RV SV. VS.

adhvana skabhñāta (VS *skabhñuvantah*) VS TS : *vājam vājino jaya-*
tādhvānam (KS °dhvanas) *skabhñuvanto yojanā mīmānāḥ* MS. KS
(The MS passage is entered in the Conc. also under *adhvānam*
etc) : *vājino vājayito 'dhvana* (VSK *vāmino vājam jayatādhvāna*)
skabhñuvanto yojanā mīmānāḥ kāsṣṭhām gachata VS VSK ŚB
āgatya vāḥy adhvānam (TS. ApŚ *adhvanah*) VS. TS. MS KS ŚB ApŚ.
MS

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tīra svasti me 'smīn pathi devayāne bhūyāt
VS : *adhvanām adhvapate svasti me 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi bhūyāt*
PB : *adhvano adhvapatur asi svasti no 'dyāsmīn devayāne pathi stāt*
(read *syāt*) ŚŚ

tīrah purū cid arnavam jagavān (SV. *aṇavān jagamyāḥ*) RV. AV. SV
ghṛtasya kulyām anu TS MS KS ŚB : *ghṛtasya kulyā upa* VS. VSK.
kṣetrasya (VS. TS. KS *kṣetrānām*) *palaye namah* VS TS MS. KS.

samā bhavantūdvato (TS. °vatā) *nīpādāḥ* TV. TS KS

antān pṛthivyā divah TB ApŚ : *tad antāt pṛthivyā adhi* MS.

vavṛān anantān (AV *vavram anantam*) *ava sū padīṣṭa* RV. AV.

[*atṛā* (AV. *atṛa*) *yamah sādānā* (TA °nāt) *te minotu* (AV. *kṛṇotu*) RV.
AV.† TA. See §496]

hradās ca pundarikānī RV. : *hrado vā puṇḍarīkavān* AV. 'Ponds (and)
lotus-pools': 'a pond full of lotuses'.

eṣa te janate rājā MS. KS. MS : *eṣa vo janatā rājā* ApŚ This formula,
used in the rājasūya ceremony, is meant to have the appropriate
name of the tribe substituted for the collective *janatā*. In ApŚ

the formula is preceded by actual formulas of the type. *eṣa vah pañcālā rājā*, and it is possible (as Keith suggests on TS 1 8 10 2 n 6) that their plurals have produced the plural *janatāh* of this formula

§699. (4) Words denoting living beings (plants, animals, men), and first, plants

antarikṣāya tvā vanaspataye (KS °*patibhyaḥ*) KS MŚ

vanaspatayā ulūkān MS *vanaspatibhya ulūkān* VS

vanaspataye (sc *namah*) ŚG *vanaspatibhyaḥ* (sc *namah*) MG MDh

vanaspataye svāhā Kauś. *vanaspatibhyaḥ svāhā* VS TS MS KS KSA TB ApŚ

addhī tṛnam aghnye viśvadānīm RV AV KŚ ApŚ N *attu tṛnāni* SMB GG, and cf the other references in the Conc under this last quotation, all of which have the plural

anśum (AV *anśūn*) *babhastu* (ApŚ *gabhasti*) *haritebhīr āsabhīh* AV KS ApŚ

dūrvā rohanu puṣpinīh (AV *rohatu puṣpinī*) RV AV. Some mss of AV, followed by comm and SPP, read as RV, and Ppp likewise, as reported by Whitney

śatamūlā śatāṅkurā TA MahānU *śatamūlāh śatāṅkurāh* MahānU

The pādas refer to the *dūrvā*-plant, singular or plural

avakām (MS KSA *avakān*, but MS p p *avakām*) *dantamūlāh* VS MS KSA ŚB

aghadviṣṭā devajūtā, vīruc chapathayopanī AV *atharvyuṣṭā devajūtā, vīdu chapathajambhanīh* ApŚ Thq ApŚ is corrupt in this line, it undoubtedly intends a plural, as the verb of the following line shows Caland translates as tho singular, evidently using the AV readings in part

adhā (athā) śatakratvo (°*kratavo*, °*krato*) *yūyam*, see §229a Plants are addressed everywhere in the plural, yet all texts have sing *amba* in pāda a, to this MS KapŚ assimilate the adjective

§700. Animals Here also some words denoting all living beings as a collective whole, and some pādas in which man is included in a list with other animals The word *prajā* is placed in §702 below

jagatām (MS KS *jagatas*) *pataye namah* VS TS MS KS

ā vatso jagatā (AG *jāyatām*, PG *jagadāh*) *saha* AV AG PG HG MG ApMB PG's *jagada* (cf VV 2 §60) is said to mean 'attendant, companion'; then 'the calf with its companions'

gaur āsvah puruṣah paśuh AV. TA: *gām āsvam puruṣam jagat* (AV

- paśum*, RVKh *aśvān puruṣān aham*) RVKh AV. TA. MahānU ApMB HG. *gā aśvān puruṣān paśūn* MŚ.
- tvayā gām aśvam puruṣam* (HG. *gā aśvān puruṣān*) *sanma* AV. HG *ghṛtenāktau paśūns* (VSK TS KS ApŚ *paśum*) *trāyethām* VS VSK. TS MS KS ŚB. ApŚ MŚ
- paśūn* (TS. *paśum*) *na gopā uryah pariymā* RV TS. KSA.
- oṣadhībhyah paśave no* (KS MŚ ApŚ *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ MŚ
- askan gām rṣabho yuvā* KŚ : *askān rṣabho yuvā gāh* TB TA. ApŚ
- yad amuṣṇītam avasam paṇim gāh* (TB *goh*) RV TB. See §505
- upahūtā gāvah saharṣabhāh* ŚB : *upahūtā dhenuh saharṣabhā* (AŚ ŚŚ † *saharṣabhā*) TS. TB AŚ ŚŚ.
- nṛbhar yatah kṛnute nirrujam hāh* (SV. *gām*) RV SV. *gāh (gām)* = milk.
- vatsam jātam na dhenavah* (SV. *mātarah*, AV. *jātam wāghnyā*) RV. AV. SV.
- payo grheṣu payo aghnyāyām* (TB ApŚ. *aghnyāsu*) AB. TB AŚ ApŚ : *payo aghnyāsu payo vatseṣu* MŚ.
- marutām prṣatīr* (VSK. *prṣatīm*) *gacha* VS. VSK. ŚB
- andhāhān* (TS. **he*, KSA **heh*) *sthūlagudayā* (MS. *sthūrag*°, TS. KSA. *sthūragudā*) VS † TS MS † KSA.
- rabhīyasa* (MS TB Poona ed. **bhīyānsam*) *va kṛtvī karad evam devo vanaspatīr juṣatām haviḥ* VS MS. KS TB. The Hotṛ is to 'make stronger' a number of sacrificial animals.
- tatratam* (VS KS **tān*) *prastutyevopastutyevopāvasrakṣat* VS MS. KS. TB In the same passage as the preceding
- babhravah saumyāh* VS MS. ApŚ. : *babhruh saumyah* VS. TS KSA
- viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ prṣatān* (MS * **īah*) VS. MS (bis) : *viśveṣām devānām prṣatah* VS.
- ākhuḥ sṛjayā śayandakas te maitrāh* (KSA *ms śayāṇdakās te maitryāh*) TS KSA : *sārgah sṛjayah śayāndakas te maitrāh* VS MS. Von Schroeder emends KSA to the TS reading—with doubtful justice
- kapota* (MS **tā*) *ulūkah śaśas te nirṛtyan* (TS KSA *narrītāh*) VS. TS MS KSA The p p. of MS reads *kapotāḥ*, but despite this it is probably only MS's peculiar sandhi for *kapótāḥ ulūkah*.
- §701. Human beings General words, such as *puruṣa*, *martya*, as well as the word *mṛta* in one variant; also one variant involving a designation of an occupation, and one referring to men as 'sleeping' (*svapant*). *mā hinsīh puruṣam jagat* VS TS MS. KS. ŚvetU. : *mā hinsīt puruṣān mama* NīlarU.
- aṅgano amṛta marīyeṣu ā* (SV. *martyāya kam*) RV. SV.

nveśayann amṛtam martyam (TB *amṛtān martyāns*) ca RV. VS TS MS TB

jīvām ṛtebhyah (read *mṛtebhyah*) *parinīyamānām* AV.: *mṛtāya jīvām parinīyamānām* TA

śunam kīnāśā abhi (AV. *anu*) *yantu* (MS *kīnāśo abhy etu*) *vāhan* (AV TS *vāhān*) RV. AV VS TS MS KS ŚB.

yā svapantam bodhayati (HG. *svapatsu jāgati*) ApMB HG. See §548 §702. Words denoting family relationships, including *sakhī*, and *prajā* in its various meanings

suprajāh prajābhīh (VS *prajābhī*, ?misprint for *bhīh*, VSK *prajāyā*, ŚŚ *prajābhīr*) *syām* (VSK ŚŚ *bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB AŚ ŚŚ : *suprajāh prajābhīh syāma* (VSK *prajāyā bhūyāsam*) VS VSK ŚB

dive pṛthivyai śam ca prajāyai (SV *prajābhyah*) RV SV *dhātā prajāyā* (AŚ *prajānām*) *ula rāya īše* TS AŚ. ŚŚ ŚG. ApMB

prajā (Vait *prajām*) *jīva* TS KS PB Vait

prajābhyah svāhā TS KSA. TB *prajāyai svāhā* TB

prajāh (AG PG *prajām*) *pra janayāvahai* JUB AG PG *prajāṃ ā janayāvahai* AV.

prajāh (KapŚ *prajāṃ*) *pṛpartī bahudhā* (RV VS *pupoṣa purudhā*) *vi rājati* RV SV ArŚ VS MS KS KapŚ ApŚ Oertel 12

prajāpatir janayati prajā imti AV . *prajāṃ dadātu* (KS *pṛpartu*) *parivatsaro nah* MS KS ApŚ : *prajāpalī ramayatu prajā iha* KS ā *nah* (AV *vām*) *prajāṃ janayatu prajāpatih* RV. AV MS KS ApŚ MŚ AG. SMB ApMB

prajāpatih prajāyā samrarānah AV . VS MS JB ŚŚ MŚ : *prajāpatih prajāyā* (Ppp. Vait Kauś *prajābhīh*) *samvidānah* Ppp TS KS PB TB TA MahūnU NrpU. Vait. ApŚ. Kauś.

garbham (ŚŚ *garbhān*) *dhātām svastaye* TB ŚŚ

sa nah piteva sūnave (AV. KS * *putrebhyah*) RV AV. VS TS MS KS. (ter) ŚB The contexts are different

putram paultram (ApMB. HG. *putrān paultrān*) *abhatarpayanti* AV. Kauś ApMB HG.

piteva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *iha rakṣatād imam* (VS. ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś . *piteva putram jarase ma emam* (Ppp KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS. HG. ApMB

vīram (VSK. *vīrān*) *videya tava devī* (TS KS. TA om.) *samdrśi* VS. VSK TS KS ŚB TA

vīram dhātā (AŚ *vīram me datta*, MŚ *vīram no datta*) *pitarah* AŚ. ApŚ

MŚ : *vīrān nah pitaro dhatta* V1Dh : *vīrān me pitaro* (also *latā-mahā* and *pratātāmahā*) *datta* Kauś.

tatra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pītarām ca putram*) AV TA.

svadhā pītāmahāya (Kauś °*mahebhyaḥ*) AŚ MŚ Kauś In the same texts with the same variation in number: *svadhā pitre* (*pitṛbhyaḥ*), and *svadhā prapītāmahāya* (°*mahebhyaḥ*).

prapītāmahān bibharti pinvamānah (TA † °*maham bibharat pinvamāne*) AV. TA

syonam patye (AV. *patībhyo*) *vahatum kṛṇuṣva* (AV. *kṛṇu tvam*) RV. AV. SMB. ApMB MG. N

samrājñī śvaśure bhava RV. ŚG SMB. ApMB : *samrājñy edhī śvaśureṣu* AV

o cit sakhāyam sakhyā vavṛtyām RV. AV. : *ā tvā sakhāyah sakhyā vavṛtyuh* SV.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāś ca AV. : *pratīkṣantām †śvaśruvo devarāś ca* ApMB. Change of gender also (§782). As to *devarāś* (°*rāś*), both are plural, one from stem *devṛ*, one from *devara* (correct Whitney's note)

§703. (5) Words meaning 'enemy', 'demon', 'evil', 'sin' (for the Hindu point of view that sin is of the nature of an external evil, see Bloomfield *Atharvaveda*, p 83), 'disease', and the like It is often difficult to distinguish between 'enemy' and 'demon', as in the case of the words *arāṭi* and *rakṣas*

ayam śatrūn (KapS *śatrum*) *jayatu* . VS VSK TS MS KS KapS ŚB. TA AŚ Oertel 76

bhūyasam ā dhehī śatruṣu (SV *śatrave*) RV SV.

tādītūnā (TB. Poona ed *tādīknā*) *śatrum* (TB. *śatrūn*) *na kilā vivitse* (TB *vivitse*, Poona ed *vivitse*) RV. TB

dviṣantas tapyantām bahu MŚ . *dviṣan me bahu śocatu* TB. ApŚ

dviṣatām pātu anhasaḥ RV : *durītāt pātu anhasaḥ* AV. The reported reading of Ppp is *dviṣatas pātu tebhyah*

yavaya (v. 1 °*yā*) *dveṣo asmat* MŚ : *yāvayāsmad dveṣam* (v 1 °*ṣah*) KS. : *yāvayāsmad dveṣaḥ* (TA *aghā dveṣānsi*) VS TS. ŚB TA. Kauś

dviṣantām (AV. *sapatnān*) *mama* (RV. AV. *mahyam*) *randhayan* RV. AV. TB ApŚ : *dviṣanś ca mahyam radhyatu* AV. : *dviṣanto radhyantām mahyam* MŚ

mā cāham dviṣate radham AV : *mā tv aham dviṣatām radham* MŚ : *mo aham dviṣate* (TB. ApŚ. °*to*) *radham* RV. TB. ApŚ

avāham bādha upabhrītā sapatnān (KS *dviṣantam*) KS. TB. ApŚ.

ye no dṛṣṇantī anu tām rabhasva AV *yo no dveṣṭī tanūm rabhasva* MŚ :
yo no dveṣṭī anu tam ravasva (read *rabhasva*?) ApŚ

prayutam dveṣah VS . *prayutā dveṣānsi* MS KS ApŚ. MŚ. The VS
 comm : 'hostility is removed' This may be the interpretation of
 the plural also; or both singular and plural may mean: 'the enemy
 (is) are destroyed.'

mākim brahmadviṣo (SB. °*ṣam*) *vanah* RV AV SV

turyāma dasyūn tanūbhīh RV : *sāhyāma dasyum tanūbhīh* SV (Ben-
 fey's text has *dasyūm* Is this a misprint for *dasyum*? B.trans-
 lates by a singular)

(*yo nah supitān jāgrato vābhidāsād*) *tām pratīco nṛdaha jātavedah* AV :
 (*agne yo no anī śapati yaś ca dūre.*) *tam pratyāñcam sam daha*
jātavedah ApŚ

mā tvā pariparino (TS *pariparī*) *vidan* (TS † *vidat*, KS. *tvā pariparino*
vidan mā paripantīnah, MS *tvā pariparino mā paripantīnah*)
 VS TS MS KS. ŚB.

tvam tām agne menyāmenān kṛnu svāhā AV : *tam agne menyāmenim kṛnu*
 TB : *īayāgne tvam menyāmum amenim kṛnu* TB Preceded in all
 three passages by a relative clause with *yo abhidāsati* (AV. *abhi-*
dāsāt) and various methods of attack in the instrumental

ye 'smān abhyaghāyanti AV : *yo asmān abhyaghāyati* AV.

pra sakṣati pratimānam pṛthvyāh AV : *pra sākṣate pratimānān bhūri*
 RV AV N.

amī ye vīratā (MS. °*tāh*, KS °*tās*) *sthana* (MS *stha*) AV. MS KS :
asau yo vīmanā janah RVKh.

bhetāram bhañgurāvatah (VSK °*tām*) VSK TS *hantāram bhañgurā-*
vatām (AV. °*tah*) RV AV VS MS KS. The precise nuance of
 meaning denoted by *bhañgurāvat* is uncertain, 'treacherous' and
 'destructive' have been suggested.

śaphārujam (AV °*rujo*) *yena paśyase yātudhānam* (AV °*nān*) RV. AV.
utārebhānān rṣtibhir yātudhānān AV . *ālebhānād rṣtibhir yātudhānāt* RV.

See §495

yātudhānam kimīdinam AV *yātudhānān kimīdinah* AV

amūn kṛtyākṛto jahī AV : *ava kṛtyākṛtam jahī* (Ppp. *prati kṛtyākṛto daha*)
 AV Ppp

nī duryoṇa āvṛnāṇ mṛdhṛavācah (and °*vācam*) RV (both)

yāvayārātīh (MS Kauś °*tim*, MS p p and KS *yāvayārātīm*) VS TS
 MS. KS ŚB Kauś

sahasvārātīh (MS KS °*tim*) *sahasva pṛtanāyatāh* (TS *sahasvārātīyatāh*)
 VS TS MS. KS ŚB.

sugārhapatyō vdaḥam arātīh (AV. *vilapann arātim*) AV. TB. ApŚ.
alakṣmīr (RVKh. Scheft. °mīn, i e. °mīm) *nāṣayāmy aham* RVKh. TAA.

Comm. on TAA interprets by *alakṣmīm*.

saṃjñānau vijahatām arātīh TB ApŚ : *āprīṇāu vijahatā arātim* MS. KS.

pratyusṭam rakṣah pratyusṭā arālayah (MS. KS. *pratyusṭārātīh*) VS. TS
 MS KS. JB ŚB. TB. AŚ. ApŚ Kauś

hanti rakṣo bādḥate pary arātīh (SB. °tim) RV. SV.

nīrdagdḥā arālayah TS. TB. ApŚ : *nīrdagdḥārātīh* MS KS.

parāpūtā (VSK *pratyapūtā*) *arālayah* VS. VSK TS ŚB. TB. ApŚ.:
parāpūtārātīh MS KS

avadhūtā arālayah (MS. KS *avadhūtārātīh*) VS. TS MS. KS. ŚB. TB
 ApŚ.

sahasva no abhīmātīm AV.: *sahasva me arātīh* VS.

ni mitrayur arātīm atārū MS. KS.: *ni mitra evaṃ arātīm atārū* TS TB.
 Different words.

śiṣṭe śrīge rakṣase (AV. *rakṣobhyo*) *vinikṣe* (KS. °nakṣe) RV. AV. TS.
 KS. N.

idam aham rakṣasām (VSK. TS MS KS MŚ. °so) *grīvā api kṛntāmi*
 VS VSK TS MS. KS. ŚB. MŚ.

srjad dhārā va yad dānavān han SV.: *srjo vi dhārā va dānavam han*
 RV. N.

taṃ vā nāṣayāmasi RV. AV. MG : *tān vā nāṣayāmasi* AV. Both *taṃ*
 and *tān* refer to lists of demons and superhuman foes

apām napāt prativrakṣann asuryam (MS °kṣad *asuryān*) VS TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB. *asuryam* is usually translated 'the demons' power.' Is
 it not rather collective 'the demon(s)', with MS.'s variant referring
 to the individual demons?

apā protha (AV. *sedha*) *duṇḍubhe duchunā* (AV. *duchunām*, TS *duchu-*
nān, p p °nān) *utah* RV AV. VS. TS. MS. KSA *duchunā*, 'mis-
 fortune', is perhaps personified as a demon.

apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnam nah (TB. TA ṛṇāni) AV. TB. TA.: *apsa-*
rasām anudattānṛnām MS. (p p *anu*, *dattāni*, ṛṇāni).

enānsi cakṛmā vayam AV. VS MS KS TB : *enaś cakṛmā vayam* TS.
 KS TB.

cakṛma yac ca duṣkṛtam AB : *cakṛma yāni duṣkṛtā* KS. TA.

yat kuśīdam apratīlām (*apratīlām*, *apradattām*) *mayi* (*mayeha*) TS. MS.

TA MŚ. SMB.: *yāny apāmityāny apratīlāny* (°tīlāny) *asmī* TB.

ApŚ : *apāmityam apratīlām yad asmī* AV

idam aham taṃ valagam (MS KS. *tān valagān*) *ut kirāmi* (VSK. TS.

- MS. KS. ApŚ *ud vapāmi*) *yam (yān)* VS VSK. TS MS KS
 ŚB ApŚ
atirvad vah krimayo (Ppp *atirval tvā kṛme*) *hanmī* AV Ppp : *atrinā tvā*
kṛme hanmī TA ApŚ : *halas te atrinā krimih* (GG. *kṛmih*) SMB
 GG
lā no amīvām (TB *amīvā*) *apabādhamānau* MS TB
apāmīvām (TB ApŚ *apāmīvā*) *apa rakṣānsi sedha* RV. MS KS TB.
 ApŚ.
apa snehitīr (SV *snāhitm*) *nṛmanā adhatta* (SV. *adadhrāh*, KS † *nṛmanām*
adadhrām) RV AV SV. KS The meaning of the word *snehitī*
 or *snāhitī* is uncertain, it appears clear, however, that it must be
 something dreaded.
ava devānām yaja hedo agne (KS *yaje hīdyāni*, MŚ *yaje hedyāni*) AV.
 KS MŚ : *agne devānām ava heda iyakṣva* (KS *ikṣva*) KS ApŚ.
tasmin pāśān pratimuñcāma elān MS. KS : *yam dviṣmas tasmin prati*
muñcāma pāśam TS ApŚ
aditih pāśam (MS KS *pāśān*) *pra mumoktv elam* (MS. KS *elān*) TS.
 MS KS ApŚ
druhaḥ pāśān (TS KS. *pāśam*) *prati sa* (KS. *ṣū*) *mucīṣa* (AV *prati*
muñcatām sah) RV AV TS MS KS
ayasmayam vicrtā (KS *visrtā*) *bandham elam* VS TS MS KS. ŚB .
ayasmayān vicrtā bandhapāśān AV.
 [indrānamutram naḥ paścāt (VSK. °*trām paścān me*) AV. VSK KS.
 The sole ms of KS reads °*mutrān*, and so Conc , but v Schroeder
 is obviously right in emending to °*trām*]

- §704. (6) Words meaning a boon of some sort, such as 'aid', 'sustenance', 'food', 'wealth', 'bounty', etc
śatam bhavāsy ūtibhīh (SV VS * *ūlaye*) RV AV SV 2 34c VS (bis,
 add in Conc 27 41c with *ūlaye*) MS KS TA ApŚ.
maghavañ (°*van*) *chagdhī tava tan na ūtibhīh* (SV. PB. TB. TA ApŚ
ūlaye) TV AV SV PB TA MahānU. ApŚ
vanemā te abhiṣṭibhīh (SV °*laye*) RV. SV VS ApŚ MŚ
sadā pāhy abhiṣṭibhīh (°*laye*) RV (both)
vyaciṣṭham annaḥ (TS MS KS *annam*) *rabhasam dṛśānam* (TS † KS
vdānam) RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB
annānām (MS *annasya*) *pataye namaḥ* VS TS MS KS.
śatam kumbhān asūcatam surāyāh (and *madhūnām*) RV. (both).
iṣam no mitrāvarunā kartanedām AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV
teṣām iṣtāni sam iṣā madanti RV VS TS MS N : *sam no mahāni sam*
iṣo mahantām KS

rāyo (AV. *rayim*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV. *dadhātu me*) RV. AV.

rāyo (AV. *rayim*) *dānāya codaya* RV. SV. AV. Grassmann considers *rāyo* genitive singular; Oldenberg, however, considers it accusative plural, and the AV. reading, tho its verse shows some corruption, bears out his view.

te asmā (KS. 'smā) *agnaye* (ApŚ MS v 1 *agnayo*) *draviṇam* (KS. °ñāni) *dattvā* MS KS. ApŚ

dhattād asmabhyam dravineha (TS. ApŚ. *asmāsu draviṇam yac ca*) *bhadram* TS MS. ApŚ.

tasya ta iṣṭasya vītasya dravineha bhakṣīya TS : *tasya na iṣṭasya pītasya dravinehāgameh* VS. : *tasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya dravinehāgameyāt* MS : *tasya meṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam ā gamyāt* (KS. *dravinehāgameyāh*, ApŚ *dravinehāgameh*) TS. KS. ApŚ : *tasya yajñasyeṣṭasya vītasya draviṇam māgachatu* KS (for the reading see VV 1 §104u). The first TS passage has the plural, and MS may possibly have a plural; see §346.

ta ā yajanta draviṇam (MS. KS † *dravinā*) *sam asmaḥ* (MS *asmīn*) RV. VS. TS MS. KS

datto asmabhyam (KS. *dattvāyāsma*°, AŚ *dattvāyāsma*°, SMB *dattvāsma*°) *dravineha bhadram* AV. KS AŚ SMB. *dadhatā no draviṇam yac ca bhadram* MS

aham dadhāmi draviṇam (AV. *dravinā*) *haviṣmate* RV AV.

dhṛṣṇave dhīyate dhanā (SV *dhanam*) RV. AV. SV.

yo devakāmo na dhanā (AV.* *dhanam*) *runaddhi* RV. AV. (bis).

maho ye dhanam (MS. KS *dhanā*, TS *ratnam*) *samītheṣu jabhrīre* RV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB

dadhad ratnam (AŚ. *ratnā*) *dakṣam pitrbhya* (AŚ. ŚŚ *dakṣapitrbhya*) *āyuni* (AV. *āyūṅhi*) AV. AŚ. ŚŚ.

pra rādhasā codayāte (SV *rādhānsi codayate*) *mahitvanā* RV SV

somo rādhasām (TS °sā) TS. MS KS

pūṣṭi sanīnām (TS. ApŚ. *sanyā*) TS. MS. KS ApŚ. MŚ.

dyumnām sudatra manhaya SV : *dyumnā sukṣatra manhaya* RV.

ayam (AŚ * *aham*) *vājam* (VS VSK ŚB *vājān*) *jayatu* (AŚ * *jayāmi*) *vājasātāu* VS VSK TS MS. KS ŚB. TB AŚ (bis)

śriyam ca lakṣmīm ca puṣṭīm (TAA * *śrīs ca lakṣmīs ca puṣṭīs*) *ca kṛtīm cānṛṇyatām brahmaṇyam bahuputrātām* TAA (bis) : *śrīs ca puṣṭīs cānṛṇyam brahmaṇyam bahuputrīnam* MahānU.

tayāham śāntiyā sarvaśāntiyā mahyam dvipade catuṣpade ca śāntīm karomi TA : *tābhīh śāntībīh sarvaśāntībīh śamayāmy aham* AV : *twayāham śāntiyā sarvaśāntiyā mahyam dvipade ca catuṣpade ca śāntīm karomi* MS.

svāhāgnim na bheṣajam (MS °*jaiḥ*) VS. MS TB

svāhā vanaspatim priyam pātho na bheṣajam (MS °*jaiḥ*) VS MS. TB
hiranyena varcānsi (KSA *varcaḥ*) KS KSA

ataś ca viśvā (MundU † *sarvā*) *ośadhayo rasāś* (MundU. MahānU † *rasaś*,
 MahānU v 1 *rasāś*) *ca* TAA MahānU. MundU.

dvo dhārā (KS °*rām*) *asaścata* TS MS KS

ānandā modāḥ pramudāḥ AV . *ānando modāḥ pramodāḥ* TB : *modāḥ*
pramoda ānandāḥ TB

sugebhir (AV *sugena*) *durgam atītām* RV AV SMB ApMB

atho ariṣṭatātaye RV AV PB : *atho ariṣṭatātībhīḥ* RV AV.

marmāni te varmanā (TS *varmabhiś*) *chādayāmi* RV AV. SV. VS TS
vibhum kāmam (VS *vibhūn kāmān*) *vy aśīya* (VS KS TB. *aśnavai*) VS
 MS KS TB

anu aśvair anu sarveṇa (TB ApŚ *sarvair u*) *puṣṭaiḥ* VS TB ApŚ In
 VS *sarvena* is paraphrased by the comm. *anyenāpi kāmēna* In
 TB ApŚ we may have merely the plural of this, or *sarvair* may
 agree with *puṣṭaiḥ* (so TB comm and Caland) In the latter case
 this is an instance of number attraction

pūṣā svāhākārāḥ (TA *svagākāreṇa*, KS ApŚ *svagākārāḥ*) MS KS
 TA. ApŚ

ubhā hi hastā vasunā prnasva VS TS ŚB : *hastau prnasva bahubhir*
vasavyaiḥ AV TS MS KS

ūrjam puṣṭam vasu āveśayanī AV : *viśvā rūpāni vasūny āveśayanī* TS
sam palni patyā sukrteṣu (TB ApŚ *sukrtēnu*) *gachātām* MS KS TB.

ApŚ MŚ This and the following variants are not quite at home
 under this heading but may be placed here better than elsewhere.

tad anu preta sukrātām u lokam VS ŚB . *tam anu preḥ sukratasya lokam*
 TS KS Cf. prec ; tho *sukrt* and *sukṛta* are distinct words, the
 phrases in which they appear with *loka* are equivalent

tābhyām (MS KS add *vayam*) *patema sukrātām u lokam* (Kaus *patihy-*
āsma sukratasya lokam) VS TS MS KS ŚB Kaus Cf prec

chandobhir yajñaiḥ sukrātām kṛtena AV : *brahmanā gūptaiḥ* (ApMB.
samprīcānas) *sukṛtā kṛtena* HG ApMB Here *sukrt* 'righteous
 man' is personal in both forms of the variant, which strictly speak-
 ing does not belong here, cf the preceding three, and see §580

§705. (7) Words meaning act of heroism, power, rulership, majesty,
 fame, ordinance, and the like

pra tad viṣṇu (*viṣṇuh*, *viṣṇus*) *stavate vīryena* (AV *vīryāni*, TB ApŚ
vīryāya) RV. AV VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ ApŚ. NṛpU.

ita indras tiṣṭhan vīryam akr̥nod devatābhīh samārabhya MS : *ita indro akr̥nod vīryāni* TS TB : *ita indro vīryam akr̥not* VS KS. ŚB
haviṣā yajña (TB *yajñam*) *indrīyam* (VS **yarih*) VS. MS. KS TB.
svāhā somam indrīyam (MS **yarih*) VS. MS. TB
rudrasya gāṇapatyān (VS ŚB **yam*, KS. **ye*) *mayobhūr ehi* VS. TS.
 MS. KS. ŚB. In MS probably acc pl, tho in TS abl sg ; see
 §§495, 526

ghṛtavarī savitar (MS KS **tur*) *ādhipatyē* (TS. **tyarih*) TS MS. KS. AŚ.

Phonetic in character, as are also the following, VV 2 §706

mīrāvaruṇā rakṣatam ādhipatyarih (AŚ **tye*) TS KS. MS AŚ
sve dakṣe (VS MS KS ŚB *svair dakṣair*) *dakṣapiteha sīda* VS. TS. MS.
 KS. ŚB TB ApŚ

asme rāṣṭrāṇi dhārāya (KS. *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS. KS : *asmin rāṣṭram adhiśraya* TS.

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bīhartu AV : *sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhūlām* (read **lām*) *dadhātu* TB

lad aśyāma tava rudra prañitau (RV.† KS **nitiṣu*) RV. TS. KS.

ut parjanasya dhāmabhīh (MS *dhāmnā*, TS TA. ApMB. *śuṣmena*, KS. *vr̥ṣṭyā*, PG. *dr̥ṣṭyā*) VSK TS. MS KS. TA. AŚ. PG. ApMB.

ko asyā dhāma katidhā vyuṣṭīh AV. : *katī dhāmāni katī ye vivāsāh* MS.
 See §269.

etāvān (ArS. ChU. *tāvān*) *asya mahimā* RV VS. TA. ArS ChU : *tāvanto asya mahimānah* AV.

abhi śravabhīh pṛthivīm RV : *uta śravasā* (MS. *śravasa ā*) *pṛthivīm* VS. TS. MS TA.

vyānaśīh (SV. **śi*) *pavase soma dharmabhīh* (SV. *dharmāṇā*) RV. SV.
dyām (AV. *dwam*) *ca gacha pṛthivīm ca dharmanā* (AV. *dharmabhīh*)
 RV. AV. TA

ā jāgrour vipra r̥tā (SV. *ṛtam*; PB † *ṛtam*, misprint for *ṛtam*?) *matīnām* RV. SV. PB.

ṛtam (RV. *ṛtā*) *vadanto anṛtam rapema* RV. AV.

putre putrāso apy avīwatann ṛtam (AV *ṛtāni*) RV. AV.

vratam rakṣanti viśvāhā AV. : *vratā dadante agneh* VS TS. MS KS :
vratā rakṣante viśvāhā RV.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛṇomi AV. : *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG
 ŚG. *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB MG *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG.
 SMB. PG MG · *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG.

kṣatram (TA ApŚ *kṣatrāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS. ŚB TA, ApŚ.

brahma (MS. *asme brahmāni*) *dhārāya* VS MS. ŚB

naras tokasya tanayasya sātāu (and *sātiṣu*) RV. (both).

vāmī te samdr̥ṣi vīśvam relo. MS. KS : *vīśvasya, te vīśvāvato vīśvā retānsi* TS

nīcād uccā svadhayōbhī pra tasthau Ppp TS KS · *nīcār uccār svadhā abhī pra tasthau* AV But the interpretation of *svadhā(h)* is doubtful, both as to its meaning and its form, see §474

§706. (8) Words denoting various abstract concepts
aty acitīm aty arātīm agne (MS KS *atī nr̥tīm adya*) VS † TS † MS
 KS . *aty acitīr atī dr̥ṣah* AV.
amīśām cūttam pratilobhayantī (AV *cūttām pratimohayantī*) RV AV SV.
 VS N

mama cūttam anu cūttebhīr eta AV *mama cūttam cūttanāvehi* HG
brāhmanena vācam (KS *vācah*) TS. KS KSA
[vācā mendriyenānīśa (KS *vācām indr°*) TS KS MŚ But see §589
bṛhaspatir vācām (VS ŚB °ce) VS TS MS KS ŚB
śīle ca (v 1 *śīleṣu*) *yac ca pāpakam* SMB (The Conc records the text as reading *śīleṣu*)

bhīyo (AV *bhīyam*) *dadhānā hṛdayeṣu śatravaḥ* RV AV
sakhā sakhyur na pra mināti samgīram (AV °rah) RV AV SV
indro jyēsthānām (MS KS *jyaīśthyānām*, VS ŚB *jyaīśthyāya*) VS TS
 MS KS ŚB PG

pitā virājām r̥ṣabho rayīnām TB · *valso virājo vṛṣabho matīnām* AV
namas (KS NīlarU *namānsi*) *ta āyudhāya* VS MS KS. NīlarU MŚ
 BrhPDh

deva savitas tvam dīkṣāyā (KS *dīkṣānām*) *dīkṣāpatir asī* MS KS
ud rathānām jayatām yantu ghoṣāḥ (TS *jayatām etu ghoṣah*) RV SV
 VS TS *ud vīrānām jayatām etu ghoṣah* AV
śrīyo (AV TB *śrīyam*, Ppp *śrīyo*) *vasānās caratī svarocīḥ* (TB °cāḥ)
 RV AV Ppp VS KS TB.

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV AV . *arīṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV.
sam ākūtīr (RVKh Scheftelowitz °tīm, Conc with Aufrecht °tir) *namā-*
masi (RVKh Scheft *manāmasi*, MS *anansata*) RVKh AV MS
samānī va ākūtīḥ RV AV TB AG · *samānā vā* (KS *va*) *ākūtāni* MS
 KS MG

sampaśyan pañktīr (AV *pañtīm*) *upatiśthamānaḥ* RV AV The meaning of the whole verse is obscure; we suspect meter-names, in which case this would belong in §690 above
akṣitīś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS · *kuyavam* (MS v 1 *kū°*) *ca me* °kṣitīś
 (VS °kṣītam) *ca me* VS MS KS

§707. (9) Words denoting parts of the body and physiological or psycho-physical entities

suṣadā yonau svāhā vāḥ (TS TB. *yonim svāhā*) VS. TS. ŚB TB.: *sudhīm yonīm suṣadām pṛthivīm* (ms °vī) KS See §550

saṁ vah sṛjāmi hṛdayāni (KS. °yam, MŚ °yāni vah) KS. TB ApŚ. MŚ.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛṇomi AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayaṁ* (AG.

ŚG *vrate hṛdayam te*) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG. *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG SMB

PG MG : *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG.

prati prāṇeṣu (SMB. *prāṇe*) *prati tiṣṭhāmi puṣṭe* (SMB *puṣṭau*, MS *tiṣṭhāmy ātman*) VS. MS. KS. ŚB TB. SMB. HG.

prāṇam (MS *prāṇān*, p.p. *prāṇam*) *na vīryaṁ naśi* VS. MS TB.

prāṇā (MahānU. *prāṇo*) *vā āpah* TA. MahānU. All Jacob's mss but one *prāṇā(h)*.

tvaṣṭā rūpāni (AŚ *rūpeṇa*) *samanaktu yajñāni* (AŚ *yajñam*) ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚS. KŚ.

tvaṣṭur aham devayajyayā paśūnām rūpam puṣeyam (MŚ *dev° sarvāni rūpāni paśūnām puṣeyam*) TS. MŚ.

nakṣatrāṇi rūpeṇa (TS KSA. *pratirūpeṇa*, MS. *rūpaṇi*) VS. TS. MS KSA

mānsāya (VS *mānsebhyaḥ*) *svāhā* VS TS. KSA.

na mānseṣu na snāvasu ApMB.: *neva māñse na pībaśi* AV : *naiva mānsena pīvari* PG. The reading of PG. is clearly a corruption of AV ; see §611

saṁ te parebhyo gātrebhyah, saṁ astu avarebhyah VS TS KSA : *saṁ me* (Ppp. *te*) *parasmai gātrāya, saṁ astu avarāya me* (Ppp *parāya te*) AV. Ppp

nīśīrya (MS *praśīrya*) *śalyānām mukhā* (MS KS † *mukham*) VS. TS MS. KS. NīlarU. *mukha* is used figuratively: 'the point(s) of the arrows'

śiprāḥ śirṣan hiraṇyayāḥ RV : *śiprāḥ śirśasu vitatā hiraṇyayāḥ* RV. See RVRep on 5 54. 11.

valmīkān klomnā (VS *klomabhūh*) VS TS MS. KSA.

marīcīr viprudbhūh (MS °*pruṣā*) VS MS

§708. Also the word *tanū*

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmanas tanvam pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmaṇas tvā paraspāyāḥ* (MS. °*pāya*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS

tena cīnvānas tanvo (TS *tanuvo*, MS *tanvam*) *ni śīda* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

tan naś trāyatām tanvāḥ sarvato (ApŚ. *tan no viśvato*) *mahat* KS ApŚ *tan me tanvām trāyatām sarvato bṛhat* AV.

yathāvasaṁ tanvām (AV. °*rah*) *kalpayasva* (AV VS *kalpayāti*) RV. AV. VS

yat kim ca (KS *cit*) *tanvo* (TS *tanuvām*) *rapah* RV. VS TS MS KS
ghṛtena tvam tanvam (TS *tanvo*) *vardhayasva* RV VS TS MS ŚB. ApŚ
 MŚ N The 'body' or 'bodies' belong to a plurality of persons;
 hence the secondary plural in TS instead of the generalizing sing

- §709. (10) Seasonal and meteorological
ahā (AV * *ahar*) *mimāno aktubhīh* TV AV (bis) ArS N
sūro ahnām pratarītā usasām divah AV *somo ahnah* (SV *ahnām*) *pratarī-*
tośaso (SV * *sām*) *divah* RV SV.
sajūr abdo (MS * *abdā*) *āyavobhīh* (TS ApŚ * *yāvabhīh*, MS * MŚ *āya-*
vabhīh, MS * KS *āyavobhīh*) VS TS MS * KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ—
 MS 3 4 4 reads *abdo āyavobhīr*, error or misprint for *abdā āya°* or
abdo aya°.
samvalsarena savitā no ahnām (MS *ahnā*) TS MS KS AŚ Case- and
 number-attraction, see §585 Similar are the two following:
trvṛn no viṣṭhayā (KS *trvṛd viṣṭhayā*) *stomo ahnām* (MS. *ahnā*) TS
 MS KS AŚ
mitrāvarunā śaradāhnām (MS * *hnā*) *cikittnū* (MS *cikittam*, KS *jigatnū*,
 AŚ *cikittvam*) TS MS KS AŚ
śaradbhyah (ŚG *śarade*) *svāhā* TS KSA ŚG
ṛtuś ca me vṛatam ca me TS . *vṛatam ca ma ṛtvaś ca me* VS
samā (VS KS *samāś*) *ca mā* (VS KS *ma*) *indraś ca me* VS MS KS
samā (VS TS *samāś*) *chandah* VS TS MS KS KS. has v 1 *samāś*
uśasah śreyasīh-śreyasīr dadhat TB ApŚ (TB Poonā ed reads as
 ApŚ, so read). *uśām-uśām śreyasīm dhehy asmar* AV
hiranyavarṇam (RV *hiranyarūpam*) *uśaso vyūṣṭau* RV MS KS MŚ .
hiranyarūpā uśaśo viroke VS ŚB *hiranyavarṇāu uśasām viroke* TS
 TB
rathā aśvāsa uśaso vyūṣṭau (and *vyūṣṭiṣu*) RV (both). 'At the first
 light(s) of dawn.'
gyotisam na prakāśate RVKh.: *na gyotīṣi cakāśati* Suparn
vātā (MŚ *vālah*, KS *vātas*) *spṛtah* VS MS KS ŚB *vātā spṛtāh* TS
māsaś (TS *māsām*) *caturthah* TS KSA Gens
miham na vāto vi ha vāti bhūma RV . *māhī no vātā iha vāntu bhūmau* AV
abhīpato vṛṣṭyā (RV *vṛṣṭibhīh*) *tarpayantam* RV AV TS KS
dūṣikābhīr hrādunim (KSA † *hrad*) TS KSA : *hrādunīr dūṣikābhīh* VS
 MS 'Hail-stones (we gratify) with the rheum of the eyes'
aśrubhīh prṣvām (KSA *pruṣvām*) TS KSA : *pruṣvā aśrubhīh* VS MS.
 'Hoar-frost (we gratify) with tears'
vi śloka etu (AV *eti*, TS ŚvetU *ślokā yanti*) *pathyeva* (KS *patheva*)

sūreh (AV MS.† *sūrik*, TS ŚvetU *sūrah*, KS † *sūrah*) RV AV. VS. TS MS. KS ŚB ŚvetU In KS, 'as the sun on its path'; TS. ŚvetU have 'successive suns', i.e. the sun day by day
sa śukrebhūh śukvabhī (TS *śukreṇa śukvanā*) *revad asme* (TS MS *agnih*) RV. TS MS.

§710. (11) Utensils and other articles, not including those used in the ritual

vi te muñicāmī raśanām AV.: *vi te muñicāmī raśanām* (TS. °nā) *vi raśmīn* TS. MS KS MŚ MG

ā raśmīn (RV. *raśmīm*) *deva yamase* (TB *yuwase*) *svaśvān* (RV. TB. *svaśvāh*) RV VS ŚB. TB

rathe akṣeṣu rṣabhasya (KS. TB *akṣeṣu vr̥ṣe*) *vāje* AV. KS. TB : *ratheṣu akṣeṣu vr̥ṣabharājāh* ViDh

āntrāni sthālīr (KS. TB. *sthālī*) *madhu pinwamānāh* (KS. TB. *pinwamānā*) VS MS. KS TB.

jāmi bruvata āyudham (SV °dhā) RV AV. SV. The reference is to Indra's weapons

yah puruṣe yo aśmanī MS KS ApŚ : *ye puruṣe ye aśmasu* AV. (Ppp. as the others)

ā tvā parisrutah (MG *parisrutah*, PG ApMB *parisrutah*) *kumbhah* (ApMB † °bhāh) AG PG. MG ApMB Cf *pūrṇān parisrutah kumbhān* ŚB, in an entirely different context

§711. (12). In a number of interesting cases of variation between singular and plural, the plural is of the type known as plurale tantum. E.g. *grīvā* is probably originally used in the plural only, 'the joints of the neck', and the singular 'neck' is later, and developed from the plural. So also *grha* is the plural 'the apartments of the house', *vāra* in the plural 'the hairs which make up the sieve', *śmaśru* in the plural 'the hairs making up the beard'. In these latter cases the evidence of the oldest texts does not support a dogmatic assertion that the plural usage is more original than the singular, but on *a priori* grounds it is probable that the use of the singular grew out of the use of the plurale tantum rather than vice versa. The psychology underlying such a development is parallel to that demonstrated in the preceding sections, which causes variation between generic singular and specific plural. In fact, some of the cases treated above are not far removed from those collected here; e.g. those involving *lokāh*, *rakṣānsi*, etc. See §716 for pronouns referring to nouns of this class

anāgā devāh śakuno grheṣu (AV *grham nah*) RV. AV. Ppp MG.

indrasya grho 'sī AV. TB. TA : *indrasya grhā vasumanto* ApMB.

PG : *indrasya grhāh śvā* ŚG

mā te grhe (SMB *grheṣu*) *nīkī ghoṣa ulthāt* SMB. ApMB. HG

grīvāyām (KS *grīvāsu*) *baddho apikakṣa āsanī* (MS *apipakṣa āsan*) RV.

VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. N.

pra śmaśru (SV. *śmaśrubhir*) *dodhuvad ūrdhvatā bhāt* (SV. *ūrdhvatā bhvat*) RV SV

avyo (SV *avyā*) *vāre* (SV * *vāraih*) *pari priyah* RV SV (bis).

avyo vāre (SV *avyā vāraih*) *pari priyam* RV. SV

vārān (SV *vāram*) *yat pūto atyeṣy avyān* (SV. *avyam*) RV. SV.

astam (SV *astā*) *rājeva satpatih* RV SV The plural of *asta* is unusual if not isolated, it is likely to be due to thought of the use of *grha* in the plural

apo (udno) *dattodadhīm bhīnta* (dehy *udadhīm bhīndhi*), see §502. Here TS KS have the sing stem *udan*, the others the plurale tantum *ap* (acc pl)

§712. (13). Adjectives and pronouns, without clearly expressed noun. Here we include cases of substantially equivalent singular and plural forms of pronouns and adjectives, referring to entities not clearly expressed in the context. Psychologically they belong with the preceding sections dealing with nouns. Thus in the first variant *soma*, singular or plural, is referred to (cf §693). Since the *tr̥ca* containing the plural passage is surrounded by *tr̥cas* with singular, it is possible that some ritualistic plurality is concerned in the change of number (cf *RVRep* on 9. 36 4, and *te[sa] viśvā* etc., §693); yet the mere change in number is, in the light of the numerous other changes of the same sort adduced here, not enough to prove it:

śumbhamānā (RV * *°na*) *rtāyubhih* RV (both) SV : *mṛjyamānā* (and *°no*) *gabhasayoh* RV. SV. (both in each)

§713. So in the next, the 2d person pronouns are addressed to the sacrificial fire or fires; the sing to the āhavanīya alone, the plural perhaps to the three sacred fires (but cf our remarks §686):

ned eṣa yuṣmad (TS TB *tvad*) *apacelayātā* TS. MS TB MŚ.: *eṣa net tvad apacelayātā* VS KS ŚB But MS MŚ use singular pronouns, with the same reference, in the rest of the stanza

§714. Similar are the following, where reference is to various sorts of entities:

atho (TS MS *athā*) *yūyam stha* (MS KS *tvam asī*) *niṣkṛtīh* (TS *samk°*, MS. *samkṛtīh*, KS. *niṣkṛtīh*) RV VS TS MS. KS. Addressed to plants, or a plant; plurals occur in the rest of the stanza

asmadrātā (TS *asmaddātrā*, MS ŚŚ add *madhumatīr*, KS. *madhumatī*)
devatrā gachala (KS. *gacha*, TS adds *madhumatīh*) VS. TS. MS.
 KS ŚB ŚŚ ApŚ. Addressed to *dakṣiṇā*, sg or pl. (cf. §696); see
 VV 1 p. 256

mā vo riṣat (Kauś *te riṣan*) *khanītā*, *yasmar cūham khanāmi vah* (Kauś
ca tvā khanāmasi) RV. VS TS Kauś : *yasmar ca tvā khanāmy*
aham VS To plant(s).

jyotiṣā tvā (TB.* ApŚ *vo*) *varśvānarenopatiṣṭhe* TB. (both) AŚ. ApŚ
 To the fire.

tam vo (MS. *te*) *grhṇāmy* (MS *grbhṇāmy*) *uttamam* VS TS MS KS
 ŚB TA. To one or perhaps all five of the cups (*graha*).

devatābhyas tvā devavūlaye grhṇāmi KS. *devavūlaye* (MS. *°vūlayi*) *tvā*
 (KS *vo*) *grhṇāmi* TS VS MS KS ŚB TB ApŚ To the oblation
adityās upasthe sādāyāmi TS MS. TB. ApŚ MŚ.: *adityā va upasthe*
sādāyāmi MS MŚ To the oblation

āchettā te (TB. ApŚ * *vo*) *mā riṣam* (*riṣat*, *mārṣam*) TS. MS. KS. TB.
 ApŚ (both) MŚ

§715. Pronouns referring to collective nouns may either be singular
 if the collectivity is more prominent in the mind, or plural if the speaker
 is thinking of the individuals which compose it; cf. §836. Thus:

yuvaṁ tām (SV *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan A J.* SV. Reference is to
senā 'army', but AV. thinks of the individual men who make it up.
 To be sure the AV comm reads *tām*, and Whitney would emend
 to this, but it seems to us unnecessary

§716. The converse of this is the use of a singular pronoun referring
 to a plurale tantum, conceived as a single entity. Thus:

samudrasya vo 'kṣityā (VS ŚB *tvākṣityā*) *un naye* (VS. ŚB *nayāmi*) VS.
 TS MS KS ŚB ApŚ MŚ In the same ritual context, referring
 to water (*āpah*), hence plural in most texts, but the Vāj school
 uses a singular, thinking of the water-libation as a single thing.

§717. So adjectives of indefinite reference, especially *anya* and *sarva*,
 may be used in either number without essential difference (cf also the
 indefinite neuter, §727):

anyāns (TS AŚ *anyam*) *te asmat tapantu helayah* VS TS MS KS. ŚB.
 AŚ

anyam asman (MS *anyāns te asman*, KS. *anye 'sman*) *nivapantu tāh*
 VS TS MS. KS. If *anye* is sound, it can be nothing but a Prak-
 rit acc. pl; cf Fischei, *Gram d Pkt Spr.* 425, 433 (and for
 nouns, 367a).

sarvaṁ tam bhasmasā (TS ŚB. *masmasā*) *kuru* VS. TS ŚB.: *sarvāns tām*

mṛsmṛsā (KS TA *maṣmaṣā*) *kuru* MS † KS TA *· sarvān nī maṣma-
śākaram* AV.

yat tvā kruddhāḥ pracakruḥ AV : *yat tvā* (KS *te*) *kruddhāḥ parovapa*
(KS. ms *°vāpa*) TS MS KS ApŚ. MŚ 'If angry ones hav
thrown thee out': 'if I in anger have (KS ms if an angry one has
thrown thee out' The other texts state bluntly what AV puts
diplomatically, using the indefinite third person so as not to admit
in words the sin which it really implies It is the speaker, never-
theless, who is conceived as the doer of the act, even in AV Cf.
VV 1 §315.

§718. Other cases show pronouns or adjectives referring to the per-
son or persons, not definitely expressed, on whose behalf the rite is being
performed:

pālānam prāñcam VS ŚB : *pāta prāñcam* (KS *prāñcaḥ*) MS KS
ApŚ. MŚ

pāta mā tīryañcam TS TB : *pālānam tīryañcam* VS ŚB *· pāta tīryañ-
cam* (KS *tīraścaḥ*) MS KS

pāta (*pāta mā, pālānam*) *pratyañcam* (KS *pratīcaḥ*) VS TS MS-KS
ŚB. TB. ApŚ MŚ.

pālānvañcam (KS *°nūcaḥ*) MS KS : *anvañcam mā pāta* TS TB
utālabdhām (AV *utārabdhān*) *spṛṇuhi jātavedaḥ* RV AV.

yasyāham asmī purohitāḥ VS TS. MS KS ŚB TA. *· yeṣām asmī puro-
hitāḥ* AV.

pṛeva putram (AV Kauś *putrān*) *abhi* (ŚG *īha*) *rakṣatād imam* (VS
ŚB *imān*) AV VS TS ŚB. TB TA AŚ ŚG Kauś *· pṛeva putram
jarase ma emam* (Ppp. KS HG ApMB *nayemam*) Ppp MS KS
HG ApMB

§719. (14). This brings us to the use of pronouns, singular or plural,
referring in a more or less vague and general way to the priests and
their associates In VV 1 §290 we have discussed this type of number
variant in the verb In so far as nominative pronouns in varying
numbers accompany singular and plural verbs, there will appear some
duplication between the following lists and those quoted in VV 1; but
for the most part the materials are different, tho related psychologically
They must be regarded as complementing each other, and must be
considered together. As we saw 1 c, different persons may be used,
as well as different numbers Hence we find, here also, cases in which
pronouns of different person as well as number are used. We quote a
few examples but have not attempted an exhaustive list (cf §9)

§720. First and second persons*

sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtam bibhartu (Ppp pipartu) AV. Ppp : sa no rāṣṭreṣu sudhātām (read °tām) dadhātu TB

ā tvā (TB na) svo vśatām (TB. aśnulām) varṇah AV. TB

§721. First and third persons Here we find a number of variations between the forms *asmai* 'for him' and *asme* 'for us', which are obviously phonetic in character and have been therefore treated in VV 2 §704. The shift between *e* and *ai* is very easy. Nevertheless in most cases the meaning fits equally well with either reading. See also §738 for some formally similar cases

asmai (TB *asme*) dyāvāprthivī bhūrī vāmam AV † TB.

asme (AV *asmai*) dhātva vasavo vasūnī AV VS. TS. MS KS ŚB N.

asme (AV *asmai*) dhārayatam (MŚ °tām) rayīm RV AV MŚ. Different contexts

asme (KBU *asmai*) prayandhi maghavann rjīṣin RV KBU AG PG N

asmai (MS *asme*) rāṣṭrāya mahi śarma yachatam TS MS AŚ

supippalā oṣadhāh kartanāśme (AV *kartam asmaī*, VSK *kartam asme*) AV. VS VSK MS

savitṛā prasavitṛā indrenāśme (VSK °*smāi*) VS VSK

asme rāṣṭrān dhāraya (KS *rāṣṭram adhiśraya*) MS KS : *asme kṣatrān dhāraye anu dyūn* RV. TS. MS KS : *asmai kṣatrān dhārayantam agne* AV. Different contexts

asme (AŚ *asmai*) indrābhraspati RV TS MS KS AŚ. Doubtless misprint in AŚ

yachā nah śarma saprathah (°*thāh*) RV. VS MS KS TA ApŚ SMB.

HG ApMB N.: *yachāsmāi śarma saprathāh* AV. TS

ud enam ullaram (°*rām*, §814) *naya* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait

ApŚ MŚ Kauś : *ud asmān ullarān naya* ApŚ In same verse.

prajāyā ca bahum (ApŚ *bahūn*) *kṛdhi* AV VS MS. KS. ApŚ

First person pronouns, singular and plural

§722. The vast majority of variants under this heading show first person pronouns, alternatively singular and plural, referring to the priestly authors of the mantras and their associates. Little need be said of them, they are as simple and natural as they are familiar, and there is no real difference in meaning, at least as a rule, between the two numbers. Compare our remarks in VV 1 §§344 ff, which deal with the same matter from the point of view of verb forms. Their number is, however, remarkable and unpressive.

§723. As with the verbs (§346), in some cases one or the other number

is more or less inconsistent with the context. The inconsistency is sometimes original (and removed in a secondary text), sometimes secondary. We shall list these inconsistent variants first:

yā sarasvatī veśabhaginī tasyā no (ApŚ *viśobhaginā tasyām me*) *rāsva tasyās te bhīktwāno bhūyāsmā* KS ApŚ. Note 1st plural verb *mayīdam indra indriyam dadhātu* VS ŚB ŚŚ. *asmōsv indra indriyam dadhātu* TS. MS KS MŚ: *mayīndra indriyam dadhātu* TS TA TAA AG. The first two occur in the same context, which has three 1st plural pronouns even in VS ŚB ŚŚ.

bhavalam nah samanasaū VS TS MS KS ŚB Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś BDh. *avalam mā samanasaū samaukasau* TB. Surrounding formulas have plural pronouns even in TB.

sūryo mā (MS *nas*) *tebhyo rakṣatu* TS MS KS. Also with *vāyur* and *agnir* instead of *sūryo* (Delete reference to KS under *agnir nas* in Conc.) The following pāda has 1st plural in all.

devi vāg yat te vāco (*yad vāco*) *madhumat* (*madhumattamam*, **tamam juṣṭatamam*) *tasman mā* (KB ŚŚ *no adya*) *dhāh* (*dhāt*) TS KB GB PB JB AŚ ŚŚ Vait KŚ. A 1st sg verb precedes in all.

vājo no (MS KS *me*) *adya prasūwān dānam* VS MS KS. 1st sg pronoun in the same verse in VS.

vīhi havyam prayatam āhulam me (ŚŚ *nah*) AŚ ŚŚ. Both have plural elsewhere in the verse.

śrnotu mitro aryamā bhago nah (KS *me*) RV VS KS N. 1st sing verb in the verse even in RV.

śraddhe śrad dhāpayeha nah (TB *mā*) RV TB. 1st plural verb in both, here TB is secondarily inconsistent.

cittasya (TB SMB *yajñasya*) *mātā* (SMB *mālarām*) *suhavā no* (TB SMB *me*) *astu* AV TB. The AV has *me* in the next pāda.

varṣvānarah pavayān nah pavitrāh TA. *varṣvānarah pavitā mā punātu* AV. The rest of the verse has 1 sg in both. Ppp intends to read with TA (Whitney on AV. 6.119.3).

ā mā ghoṣo gachatī vān māsām (TS. KS *vān na āsām*, MS *vār nv āsām*, pp *vāk, nu, āsām*) AV. TS MS KS. Note that TS KS are inconsistent within the same pāda!

tvaṣṭā me (SV *no*) *dauyam vacah* AV SV Kauś. Plural follows in both. *ayam te asmy upa mehy* (AV *na ehy*) *arvān* RV AV Ppp. In the same verse.

manyō vajrīn abhi mām (AV *abhi na*, Ppp. *upa na*) *ā vavṛtsva*, same texts. The following pāda has 1st dual verb (representing a combination of 1st sing. with *manyu*!), RV is the only really consistent text.

mām dhehī TS TB TA : *asmān dhehī* KSA. The latter is emended by von Schroeder to *mām*, because the next mantra has *mayī*. In the light of the variants here presented this seems very inadvisable
ā no (VS. *mā*) *janā śravyatam yuvānā* RV VS TS MS KS TB. Preceded by two pādas with plural pronouns, and followed by one with singular

paraṭu mṛtyur amṛtam na aṭu (ŚŚ SMB *amṛtam ma ā gāt*) AV ŚŚ SMB The two latter texts combine this with a pāda containing a plural

pātām no (ApŚ *mā*) *dyāvāpṛthivī upasthe* RV. MS KS ApŚ Preceded by a plural in all

svā tanūr baladeyāya mehī (AV *baladāvā na ehī*) RV. AV. Singulars in the rest of the verse in AV.

viśve devāso adhī vocatā nah (TS *me*) RV TS And others, §154. RV. is inconsistent, having sing pronouns in the rest of the vs ; all later texts restore consistency

dyauś ca nah (KS TB *tvā*, AV *ma idam*) *pṛthivī ca procetasā* (AV. °*sau*) RV AV. KS TB See §488 Plur pronoun follows in AV

rāyo (AV *rayam*) *devī dadātu nah* (AV *dadhātu me*) RV. AV. Plural precedes in AV

idam aham tam valagam (tān valagān) yam (yān) me (VSK TS KS. *nah*). VS VSK TS MS KS SB Note *aham* in all

marutām manve adhī no (AV *me*) *bruvantu* AV. TS MS KS. A plural follows in AV

ādityā rudrā upariśprśo nah (KS °*śam mā*) AV KS : *vasavo rudrā ādityā upariśprśam mā* RV. VS TS Plurals in the context; only the secondary AV is consistent

abhūn mama (KS *nu nah*) *sumatau viśvavedāh* TS KS. PG All have singulars in the rest of the verse

amitrān no vi vidhyatām AV. *mamāmitrān vi vidhyata* (and °*tu*) AV. (both) In different contexts, the sings are inconsistent with their surroundings

apāma eḍhī mā mṛthā na indra SMB *amā ma eḍhī mā mṛdhā na* (AŚ † *ma*) *indra* AŚ ŚG. *anāmayaḍhī mā riṣāma indo* Kauś

§724. The rest show, as far as we have noticed, no inconsistency as to number in the context The long list follows.

agne dakṣaḥ punīhī nah (TB *mā*) RV. TB

adhvanām adhvapate pra mā tira svasti me VS : *adhvanām adhvapate* (ŚŚ *adhvano adhrpatir asi*) *svasti me* (ŚŚ *no*) PB ŚŚ

pāvamānīh (°*nyah*) *punantu nah* (RVKh TB. *mā*, MG *tvā*, YDh *te*) SV. RVKh TB MG YDh

upa mā (ŚB ŚŚ. *mām*) *bṛhat saha divā hvayatām* ŚB. TB ŚŚ (also with *ratnamtarām saha prthivyā*, and *vāmadevyam sahāntarikṣena*). *upās-mān idā hvayatām* AŚ.

pari nah (and *mā*) *pāhi vīsvatah* AV (both) Different contexts
lasya na iṣṭasya prīṭasya dravinēhāgameh VS : *lasya mā yajñasyeṣṭasya vīṭasya dravinēhāgameyāt* MS : *lasya meṣṭasya vīṭasya* TS KS
 ApŚ · *lasya yajñasyeṣṭasya sviṣṭasya dravinam māgachatu* (cf VV 1 §104u) KS.

yo nah (AV *mā*) *kadā cid abhidāsati druhā* (AV. *druhuḥ*) RV AV
devasyāham (VSK *devasya vayam*) *savituh save* VS. VSK ŚB
mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhīh RV . *mā me hārdi tvīṣā* (MŚ *hārdim dviṣā*)
vadhīh TS MŚ.

varnam pavitrām (MG *purānam*) *punatī ma* (ŚG *na*) *āgāt* ŚG SMB
 PG. MG · *śarma varūtham* (HG *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt*
 ApMB HG

āyantū nah pītarah somyāsah VS . *ā me yantu* ViDh (pratīka of an unknown mantra similar to that of VS)

śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ . *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB ApŚ.
yad antarikṣam tad u me (MS.† *nah*) *pītābhūt* (VSK *pītāsa*) VS VSK.
 TS MS ŚB.

asme te rāyah MS KS . *asme rāyah* VSK TS ApŚ · *me rāyah* VS KS
 ŚB KS On *mé* (loc) see Wackernagel 3 p 462

imam stomam juṣasva nah (and *me*) RV (both)

imam (HG *elam*) *yajñam pītarō me* (HG *no*) *juṣantām* AV. HG.

imam no (MS KS *me*) *deva savitah* VS TS MS KS ŚB

imān me (ApŚ *no*) *mitrāvarunau* (ApŚ *°nā*) MS KS AŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG

ud ullaṃmam mumugdhi nah (MŚ *mat*) RV KS TB MŚ

ihāsmāsu (MS *ihāsmabhyam*, TB * *ihā mahyam*) *nī yachalam* RVKh
 AV. MS KS TB (bis)

ṛtena nah (ApŚ *mā*) *pāhi* MS ApŚ

upa mā (Vait *no*) *rājan sukṛte hvayasva* TB Vait

ūrdhvo nah pāhy anhaso nī ketunā RV MS KS AB KB TB · *ūrdhvo mā pāhy anhasah* VS ŚB

ṛtāvarī yajñīye mā (AV *nah*) *punīlām* AV MS TB

evā me astu dhānyam Ppp TAA . *evāsmākedam dhānyam* AV.

ghṛtena no (MS KS *mā*) *ghṛtapvāh* (TS *°pūvāh*) *punantu* RV AV. VS
 TS MS KS ŚB

cakṣur no (KS *me*) *dhehi cakṣuṣe* RV MS KS MG

tato no (KS *mā*) *vṛṣṭiyāvata* (VS † KS * *°āva*) VS TS MS KS (both)
 ApŚ MŚ

- tan ma* (TA *na*) *indro varuṇo bṛhaspatih* TA MahānU BDh.
tan ma ācakṣva (ŚŚ *nah prabrūhi*) *nārada* AB. ŚŚ
dyaur me (AV *nah*) *pūtā janitā nābhīr atra* RV. AV. N.
nadasya nāde pari pātu me (AV. *no*) *manah* RV. AV.
ye māmākāḥ pitarah ViDh : *ye 'smākam pitarah teṣām barhīr asī* AV.
īdam brahma juṣasva nah (TAA MG and TA v. l. *me*) TA. TAA MG.
 MahānU
pūṣā bhagam (AŚ *bhagam pūṣā*) *savitā me* (TB. AŚ *no*) *dadātu* ŚB. TB.
 AŚ ŚŚ KŚ PG.
prajāṁ me dāh VS TS MS. ŚB. TA.: *prajāṁ me yacha* KS ApŚ MŚ :
prajāṁ asmāsu dhehī VS.
varco asmāsu dhatta (AŚ. *dhehī*) AV. AŚ : *varco mayi dhehī* VS TS. PB.
 ŚB TB ApŚ.: *varco me dāh* MS. MŚ : *varco me dehī* VS TS. ŚB.
 ŚŚ PG · *varco me dhehī* (TA *dhāh*) VSK MS KS JB TA ApŚ :
varco me yacha MS. KS ApŚ. MŚ
prajāṁ me narya pāhi MS KS ApŚ MŚ MG · *prajāṁ no narya pāhi*
 ApŚ
prajāṁ me naryājūgupah (ApŚ MŚ v 1 °jūgupah) MS KS. ApŚ MŚ :
prajāṁ no naryājūgupah ApŚ
paśūn me śansya pāhi MS ApŚ MŚ : *paśūn nah śansya pāhi* ApŚ.
paśūn me śansyājūgupah (ApŚ. °jūgupah) MS ApŚ MŚ : *paśūn nah*
śansyājūgupah ApŚ
annam me (ApŚ * *no*) *budhya* (ApŚ *budhnya*) *pāhi, tan me* (ApŚ. * *no*)
gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt MS ApŚ. (bis).
annam me (ApŚ. * *no*) *budhyājūgupas* (ApŚ. *budhnyā°*) *tan me* (ApŚ *
nah) *punar dehi* MS ApŚ (bis).
tām me (ApŚ * *no*) *gopāyāsmākam punar āgamāt* MS. ApŚ (bis) MŚ.
 Also with *tān* for *tām*, but not in MŚ
tām me (ApŚ * *nah*) *punar dehi* KS MS ApŚ. (bis) MŚ. Also with
tān for *tām*, but not in KS or MŚ
brahma tena punāhi nah (LŚ *mā*, VS KS *punātu mā*, MS TB *punā-*
mahe) RV VS MS KS TB. LŚ
mā parā seci no dhanam (ApŚ. *nah svam*, ApMB *me dhanam*) ŚŚ. LŚ
 ApŚ ŚG ApMB
mā vayam āyuṣā varcasā ca MS : *māham āyuṣā* (KS adds *varcasā*
virūdhīṣi) TS KS.
yah potā sa punātu nah (VS MS KS ApŚ *mā*) RV VS. MS KS ApŚ :
yah pūtah-sa punātu mā TB (so Cone, but Poona ed reads *potā*).
yena tvam deva (ŚŚ *om deva*) *veda devebhyo vedo 'bhavas tena mahyam*
 (ŚŚ *tenāsmabhyam*) *vedo bhūyāh* (VSK. *bhava*, ŚŚ *veda edhi*) VS.
 VSK. ŚB. ŚŚ.

yo nah kaś cābhyaghāyati AV.: *yo mā kaś cābhūdāsati* AG PG MG.

yo no anti śapatī tam etena jeṣam MŚ.: *yo me 'nti dūre 'rātīyati tam etena jeṣam* TS

yo mā cakṣuṣā yo manasā TB.: *yo 'smānś cakṣuṣā manasā cūtyākūtyā ca* AV.

yo 'smān dveṣṣi yam ca vayam dviṣma idam asya grīvā api kṛntāmi TS.: *idam aham yo me* (KS *nas*) *saṁāno yo 'saṁāno 'rātīyati lasya grīvā api kṛntāmi* MS KS.: *idam enam adharam karomi yo nah saṁāno yo 'saṁāno 'rātīyati* TS

tan me tanvam trāyatām sarvato br̥hat AV : *tan nas trāyatām tanvah sarvato* (ApŚ *tan no viśvalo*) *mahat* KS ApŚ

viśve no (KS. *mā*) *devā avasā gamantu* (RV.* VS * MS KS ApŚ *gamann iha*) RV (both) VS (both) TS MS KS. ApŚ.

vaikūṇaro adabdhās (AV *no adabdhās*, TA. *me 'dabdhās*, MS ApŚ *'dabdhās*) *tanūpāh* AV. VS. MS. ŚB. TA ApŚ. SMB The preceding pādas, which show much variation in their enumeration of protectors, show the following number variants:

punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā ma (MS TB ApŚ HG *punar ākūlam*, TA. *punar ākūlam ma*) *āgāt* (VS. ŚB. āgan) VS VSK MS ŚB TB. TA ApŚ HG : *punaḥ prāṇaḥ punar ātmā na astu* (MG *punar ākūlir astu*) AV MG And the following:

punar manah punar āyur (SMB *ātmā*) *mā* (MS *nā*, ApŚ *om* the word) *āgāt* (VS ŚB āgan) VS VSK MS ŚB TA ApŚ SMB The texts are consistent thruout in their use of singular or plural

śāntir no astu MS : *śāntir me astu śāntiḥ* TA : *sā mā śāntir edhi* VS. *śivā tvam mahyam edhi* HG : *śivā na ihaidhi* AV.

śraddhā ca no mā vyagamat ViDh MDh BṛhPDh. AuśDh : *śraddhā me mā vyāgāt* ApŚ

sarvam svīṣtam suhulam karotu (AG HG † *karotu me*) ApŚ AG ApG HG · *svīṣtam suhulam karotu svāhā* (BṛhUK † *karotu nah svāhā*) ŚB BṛhU. BṛhUK.

sarvān mac chapathān adhi AV : *asmat su śapathān adhi* ApŚ

sarve kāmā abhi yantu mā (HG *nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB. HG. Followed by. *abhi rakṣantu mā* (HG *sravantu nah*) *prīyāh* ApMB HG

sahasva no abhīmātīm AV *sahasva me arātīḥ* VS

sā nas samantam anu parīḥi bhadrāyā ApMB : *sā mā* (MG *nah*) *saman-tam abhi pary ehi bhadre* MG. SMB

sā nah (KS *mā*) *supratīcī supratīcy edhi* (VSK MS KS *supratīcī bhava*, TS *supratīcī sam bhava*) VS. VSK TS MS KS ŚB

surāṣṭrā iha māvata (MS. *no 'vata*) TS MS. KS

suhavā nā ehi saha rāyaspoṣeṇa MS : *suhavā mehi saha prajayā saha rāyaspoṣeṇa* KS.

sa mām pātu KS : *so 'smān pātu* TS

devā varuna devayajnam no dehi svāhā (ApŚ °yajanam me dehi) PB.

ApŚ. Cf *deva savitar devayajnam me dehi devayajyāya* AB.

agnir mā tasmād enasah AV. VS TS MS KS. TB. TA AŚ. ŚŚ. KŚ.

ApŚ Kauś SMB.: *agnir nas tasmād enasah* MS KS MŚ

evāsmān (KS *evā mām*, AV *tenāsmān*) *indro varuno bṛhaspatih* AV. MS.

KS.: *tena no rājā varuno bṛhaspatih* TS ŚŚ.

mā mā (SMB. *no*) *hinsīṣṭa* VS PB. AŚ ŚŚ SMB. Vait

mā no (VS VSK ŚB *mā*) *hinsīṣ janitā yah prthivyāh* RV. VS. VSK.

TS. MS KS ŚB. ApŚ

mā mā hāsīn (MŚ *hāsīr*) *nāthito net* (MŚ. *na*) *tvā jahāni* (MŚ. °āmī)

AV.† KS MŚ : *mā no hāsīn metthito net tvā jahāma* TB ApŚ. *mā*

no hinsīd dhinsito dadhāmi (some mss om. *dadhāmi*) *na tvā jahāmi*

AŚ

yajatrā muñcateha nah (TB *mā*) AV TB.

yad bhadram tan na (TB. TA. ApŚ. *ma*) *ā suva* RV VS. TB TA ApŚ.

Kauś MahānU.

yo no (AV. *mā*) *dvā dipsati yas ca naktam* RV AV.

vājo nah (MS *me*, KS. *mā*) *sapta pradiśah* VS. TS. MS KS In the same verse:

vājo no (MS. KS *mā*) *vīśvair devair* VS TS. MS KS

varśvānarō raśmibhir mā (AV *nah*) *punātu* AV. MS. TB.

śam ca no mayas ca nah AV. Kauś - *śam ca me mayas ca me* VS TS. MS KS

ubhe ca no (ŚB *carnam*, ŚŚ. *carnam* [*na itī vā*]) *dyāvāprthivī anhasah pātām* MS ŚB TB. AŚ. ŚŚ ŚB. also has the reading *ubhe ca mā* etc, which it rejects, since *mā* would refer to the hotar, whereas

the yajamāna should be indicated. The difference between 1st and 3rd person then seems to depend almost wholly on brahmanic theorizing. However, MS, TB, AŚ., a school contested by ŚŚ., and the Kāṇva recension of ŚB read *no*, making no difficulty about including the officiating priests in the benediction.

ṛtān mā muñcatānhasah TB : *kṛtān nah pāhy anhasah* (TA. *enasah*) MS. TA

oṣadhībhyah paśave no (KS MŚ ApŚ. *paśubhyo me*) *janāya* (KS. MŚ. ApŚ † *dhanāya*) TS KS ApŚ. MŚ.

kalpatām me yogakṣemah AB.: *yogakṣemo nah kalpatām* VS. TS. MS. KSA ŚB. TB.

grhān nah pītarō datta VS, VSK ŚB ŚŚ. KŚ ApŚ SMB GG *vīram*
me (MŚ *no*) *datta pītarāḥ* AŚ MŚ : *vīrān nah* (Kauś *me*) *pītarō*
dhatta (Kauś *datta*) Kauś ViDh:

gopoṣam ca me (MŚ AŚ *gopoṣam ca no*, TB.† ApŚ *gopoṣam no*) *vīrapo-*
ṣam ca yacha (AV MŚ *dhehi*) AV TB 3 7. 2 7 AŚ ApŚ MŚ
tāsām te sarvāsām vayam (and °*sām aham*) AV. (both)

lasya bhājayateha nah RV. AV SV. VS TS MS KS TA ApMB :
lasyāgne bhājayeha mā TB

layāham vardhamāno bhūyāsam āpyāyamānās ca ApMB *vardhuṣimahi*
ca vayam ā ca pyāyīṣimahi (MS MŚ ApŚ † *pyāyīṣimahi ca*) VS MS
 ŚB TA ŚŚ ApŚ. MŚ ŚG. HG.

tan no (MahānU *me*) *varuno rājā* TA MahānU

tan me (VS. *no*) *astu tryāyuṣam* VS VSK ApMB HG MG

tan (GB *elan*) *no gopāya* MS KS GB ApŚ. *tan me gopāya* (Kauś
gopāyasva) MS KS ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś

tarpayata me (ŚŚ *nah*) *pitr̥n* VS ŚŚ. ApŚ SMB. BDh

lasya no (TS *mē*) *rāsva* TS MS KS ApŚ

tasmai no (AV *mā*) *devāḥ paridatteha* (KS MŚ °*dhatta*, PG °*dhatteha*)
sarve (MŚ † *viśve*) AV TS KS MŚ SMB. PG BDh

tābhīr no (MS *tebhīr mā*) *devaḥ savitā punātu* MS ApŚ : *tābhīṣ* (vā *devaḥ*
savitā punātu ApMB

agnīr nah (VSK *mā*) *pātu duritād avadyāt* VS VSK ŚB

agnīr nas (TA *mā*) *tasmād indrās ca* MS TA

agne jātān pra nudā nah (AV *me*) *sapatnān* AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB
 TA ApŚ MŚ

agne °*bhyāvartinn abhi mā nī vartasva* (TS *abhi na ā vartasva*, KS *abhi*
no nwartasva, MS *abhi māvartasva*, Kauś *abhi na ā vartasva*) VS.

TS MS KS ŚB Kauś

adhā cid indra me (SV *nah*) *sacā* RV AV SV

anamūtram no adharāt (VSK † *me adharāk*, KS *no adharāk*) AV. VSK
 KS In the same verse:

indrānamūtram (KS *ms* °*trān*, see §703 end) *nah paścāt* (VSK °*tram*
paścān me) AV VSK KS

abhayaṁ mitrāvarunāv iḥastu nah (AG °*varunā mahyam astu*) AV AG

abhi preḥi dakṣināto bhavā me (AV *nah*) RV AV.

abhiṣṭir (HG *abhiṣṭir*) *yā ca me dhruvā* (HG *ca no gr̥he*) RVKh HG

abhiṣṭir yā ca no gr̥he ApMB

arvācīnam vasuvīdam bhagam nah (AV *me*) RV AV. Ppp. VS TB
 ApMB.

mām (AV *asmān*) *punīhi* (MS *punāhi*) *viśvataḥ* (AV *cakṣase*) RV AV
 VS MS KS

ahar no atyapīparat SMB. MahānU. : ahar māy apīparah AV.

ādityās tasmān no (TB. mā) yūyam AV. TB.

ā no (VS. ŚB mā) goṣu vśatv auśadhīṣu (MS. ośadhīṣu, VS. KS ŚB ā tanūṣu) VS TS. MS. KS ŚB.

āśīr ṇa (TS. KS. KŚ ma, MS. nā) ūrjam uta sauprajāstvam (TS MS. KS KŚ supra°) AV. TS. MS. KS. KŚ.

*abhayam vo (ŚŚ * te) 'bhayam no astu (AB AŚ me 'stu) AB. AŚ. ŚŚ. (both): abhayam no astu MS KS ŚŚ ŚG : abhayam me astu (AB. † 'stu) AB ApŚ.*

āpo asmān (MS mā) mātaraḥ śundhayanantu (AV. MS KS sūdayantu, TS ApŚ śundhantu) RV AV. VS TS. KS MS. ŚB AŚ ApŚ

āganā pītarah pītmān aham yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsam suprajaso mayā yūyam bhūyāsta TS : āganā pītarah somyāsas teṣām vah pratīvittā ariṣṭāḥ syāma supitaro vayam yuṣmābhīr bhūyāsma suprajaso yūyam asmābhīr bhūyāsta MŚ.

pūṣā nā ādhāt sukr̥tasya loka MS : pūṣā mādhat (AV. mā dhāt) sukr̥tasya loka AV. TS KS.

bandhur me (AV no) mātā prīhvī mahīyam RV. AV N

bodhā me (TS. no) asya racaso yaviṣṭha RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB

deveṣu nah sukr̥to (VSK. deveṣu mā sukr̥tam) brūtāt (KS. brūta, PB MŚ. brūyāt) VSK. TS KS. PB MŚ : devebhyo mā sukr̥tam brūtāt (ŚB.

with ūha, voceh for brūtāt) VS ŚB : sukr̥tam mā deveṣu brūtāt TS pra mā (TS. ApŚ no) brūtād bhāgadām (TS. °dhān, ApŚ. °dhām, KS dhavirdā) devatāsu (KS °tābhyaḥ) TS. MS. KS ApŚ

§725. Of essentially the same sort are a few variants in which adjectives agreeing with the subjects of 1st person verbs vary between singular and plural:

edhamānah (Kauś °nāh) svagr̥he (Kauś. sve gr̥he) ŚB. BrhU. Kauś : edhamāna sve vaṣe ApMB

jīvā (TB ApŚ jīvo) jīvantīr upa vah sadema (TB. ApŚ. sadeyam) AV. KS TB ApŚ MŚ.

devā dhanena dhānam icchamānāḥ HG · dhanena devā dhanam icchamānāḥ AV. ApMB The verbs carāma, °mi occur in the preceding.

āyusmān jaradaśīr yathāśānī AV. : āyusmantō jarām upagachema devāḥ (KS. jīvāḥ) KS ApŚ.

gātrānām te jātrabhājo bhūyāsma (KS gātrabhāj bhūyāsam) TS KS tvaṣṭr̥mantas (MS MŚ tvaṣṭri°, ApŚ tvaṣṭu°) tvā sapema VS. MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ : tvaṣṭr̥matī (TS ApŚ. tvaṣṭi°, and so TA Poona ed. with v. 1 tvaṣṭi°) te sapeya TS TA ApŚ Cf. §849

ihava santah prati tad yūlayāmāḥ (AV prati dadma enat) AV TB ApŚ. :

ihaiṣa san niravadaye tat TS On this variant see Whitney's notes to AV 6 117. 1 and 2

§726. And a couple of others of the same sort in which there is inconsistency with the context

yatkāmās te juhūmas tan no astu RV AV VS TS KS ŚB ŚB TB TAA. SMB ApMB N. *yatkāma idam juhomi tan me samṛdhyatām* TB. The context of the latter is partly the same and has a plural *yac cāham eno vidvāns cakāra yac cāvidvāns* VS ŚŚ. *yac cāham eno vidvānsaś cāvidvānsaś carnaś cakṛma* MahānU. The comm to the latter attempts to remove the glaring inconsistency by supplying *akārṣam* with *āham*

2 The neuter singular (and plural)

§727. The neuter gender often carries with it (cf. §807) a tinge of generalization, and neuter singular forms (nouns or indefinite adjectives), which are indefinite or abstract or collective in force, vary with plural epithets of the same or other genders (On neuter adverbs see §734)

kṛṣṭapacyās (TS KS °yam) *ca me 'kṛṣṭapacyās* (TS KS °yam) *ca me* VS TS MS KS Preceded by *ośadhayaś ca me vīrudhaś ca me* '(Plants) which ripen under cultivation and not under cultivation'. 'that which ripens' etc

ekaśapham asṛjyata MS. *ekaśaphāḥ paśavo 'srjyanta* VS TS. KS ŚB In MS ('the whole-hoofed [kind of cattle]') followed by a parallel formula, *kṣudrāḥ paśavo 'srjyanta*.

āsyai brāhmaṇāḥ snapanīr (ApMB °nam) *harantu* AV. ApMB 'Let the brahmans bring her bathing-water' With *snapanīr* sc *āpah* Cf next

āpah pādyāḥ ApŚ : *pādyam* (Kauś —not HG —*pādyam bhoh*) Kauś HG. '(Water) for the feet' Cf prec

hotṛśadanam haritām hiranyayam AV : *hotṛśadanā haritāḥ suvarnāḥ* TB ApŚ With the latter supply *darbhāḥ*. '(grass) for the hotar to sit on, yellow, golden' AV feels *hotṛśadanam*, which means the same thing, as a neuter abstract: 'a seat for the hotar' etc Cf *darbhāḥ stṛṇta haritāḥ suparnāḥ* (KS † *suvarnāḥ*) KS MŚ

samṛddhikaranam tava (HG. °karanān mama) PG HG. Preceded by *imānī lājāḥ ā vapāmy agnau* (HG. *vapāmi*, om *agnau*), followed by *tubhyam* (PG *mama tubhyam ca*) *samvananam* 'I cast these kernels as increase-makers (a making of increase) a harmonizing' *tr̥mpantu hotrā madhvo yāḥ svīṣṭāḥ* (VSK *yat svīṣṭam*) VS VSK ŚB. Followed by:

yāh supṛīṭāh suhūtā yat svāhā VS. ŚB : *yat subhṛtam yat svāhā* VSK In VS ŚB : 'Let the priestly offices, which have been well offered, rejoice' etc In VSK. *yat* etc might refer to the unexpressed and indefinite object of the verb: 'let the priestly offices rejoice (in that) which is well offered' etc. But the change was surely suggested by *suhūtā yat svāhā* of VS, in which *yat* is a conjunction, 'when well offered with *svāhā*'. Most likely, therefore, *yat* is to be taken thus all three times in VSK. and the neuters are indefinite: 'let the priestly offices rejoice when good sacrifice has been made' etc

duraś ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāh RV. AV. : *turaś cid viśvam ṣarnavat tapas-rān* AV. The AV is corrupt; but *viśvam* seems clearly an indefinite neuter.

prajā vikṛṇvan (ApŚ *vikurvan*, MS *prajāh kṛṇvan*) *janayan virūpāh* (KS °*pam*) MS KS. ApŚ *virūpam* indefinite neuter in KS. (probably original); in the others *prajāh* is understood with it

taj (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yaviṣṭhya* RV. AV. VS TS. MS KS. ŚB The RV. *tā* refers back to *dārūni*, the other texts substitute the indefinite sing *tad*, with the same reference, possibly; but see §737. In different context, *tam ju° yo°* RV.

salakṣmā (MS. KS. °*ma*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS. MS KS ŚB °*pam*) *bhavātī* (MS. KS *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS MS. KS ŚB : *viśurūpā yat salakṣ-māno bhavatha* TS The pāda originally (in RV AV) occurs in the Yama-Yami hymn, the fem adjectives apply to Yami The YV texts apply it to a wholly different context, by 'phrase-inflection' (§848). Here it applies to the members of the slaughtered animal, here assembled, and most YV text use the indefinite neuter singular: 'that what is manifold may become of one sort'. (In VS. ŚB. only this can be intended, as *viśurūpam* shows, *salakṣmā* is anomalous, perhaps due to influence of the RV original, perhaps to be explained as having rhythmically lengthened final *a*, VV 2 §§459-60; the comm interprets as neuter.) In TS the members of the animal are directly addressed, and the adjectives are masc. pl : 'that ye, manifold, may become of one sort'

§728. So the indefinite *sarvam* 'everything' varies with *sarvān* 'all (men)'; but the variant *sarvān*, nom sg, 'heading everywhither', is likely to be more original than either:

amāsi (SMB *amā hy asi*, ŚG *amo 'si*) *sarvān* (AŚ *sarvān*, SMB *sarvam*) *asi* (SMB *anu*) *praviṣṭah* AŚ ŚG SMB Kauś

§729. Also *tad* and *tān*, neuter sg and pl, both indefinite, are interchangeable (see also *yasmā jātam [jātā]* etc, §810)

yas tad veda (AV.* VS. *tāni veda*, RV. AV.* TA * N *tā vjānāt*) *sa pītuṣ* (VS. MahānU. *pītuḥ*, TA. *savituh*) *pītasat* RV AV. (bis) VS TA (bis) MahānU. N.

§730. In substantive use, a pronoun introducing a predicate noun commonly agrees with that noun in number and gender, but may also be neuter singular without regard to the number and gender of the predicate, as in German ('das bin ich, das sind die besten Leute' etc.); cf. §§776, 812 So:

tad (VS. *tā*) *āpah sa* (VSK. *ta*) *prajāpatiḥ* VS VSK TA MahānU.

Note that TA. MahānU. are inconsistent, having the neuter in one of the two phrases, but agreement in gender (and number) in the other. VS. and VSK are (in different ways) consistent

3. Plural of *viśva* with singular noun (?)

§731. Twice the text of TS presents the form *viśve*, apparently nom. pl., where other texts have *viśro* (in the sense of 'every, each'), agreeing (even in TS) with a singular (*martah*); both are parts of the same stanza. The TS. version of the stanza is otherwise inferior, and Keith calls *viśve* 'senseless'. Yet the repetition seems to guarantee it as the genuine Tait reading; moreover ApŚ has the same. Either it is a Māgadhism, intended as nom. sg. (cf. Pischel, *Gram d Pkt Spr.* §363), or else a plural epithet going with a singular subject. Tho this would be a bizarre construction, it is not inconceivable that TS may have so intended; it would be an illogical blend of *viśro martah* 'every man' with *viśve martāḥ* 'all men.'—The same *viśve* apparently with a sing noun occurs a third time in TS., *atha viśve arapā cāhate gṛhah*, §457, q. v. *viśro* (TS ApŚ. *viśve*) *devasya nctuh* RV. VS. TS MS. KS AB. KB ŚB

AŚ ApŚ MŚ. MG. (delete KSA. in Conc.).

viśro (TS. *viśve*) *rāya iśudhyati* (TS °*si*) RV. VS TS. MS. KS ŚB.

Other shifts of sing. and pl with no essential change of meaning

§732. With this we conclude the subject of the generalizing singular and plural. There are however a few other variants in which, for one reason or another, singular and plural may interchange with virtually no difference of essential meaning. We shall take them up before proceeding to the cases of real and important change of meaning

4 Elliptic plural

§733. First, an elliptic plural may vary with the singular of one member of the group:

matrah (SV. *mutrās*) *pānty adruhah* RV SV. Preceded by *yam maruto yam aryamā*, in SV *aryamā* is a complementary singular to the elliptic plural *mutrās*, which means Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman; cf §§746-7

5 Adverbs

§734. Adverbial forms, singular and plural, and equivalent in meaning, may vary, or a neuter singular adverb may vary with a plural adjective without essential difference of meaning.

nīcād uccā svadhayābhi pra tasthau Ppp TS. KS : *nīcār uccāḥ svadhā abhi pra tasthau* AV.

trīm padāni (TA. MahānU *padā*) *nṛitā guhāsya* (TA. MahānU *guhāsu*) AV VS TA MahānU. Both *guhā* and *guhāsu* are quasi-adverbial *agnaye vo juṣṭān prokṣāmy amuṣmai vo juṣṭān* MS MŚ : *agnaye vo juṣṭam prokṣāmi* TS TB ApŚ. *juṣṭān* agrees with *vo* = offerings of food, *juṣṭam* is doubtless an adverb: 'agreeably to Agni' (otherwise Keith).

bhūyaś ca śaradaḥ śatāt VS MG : *bhūyaśḥ* (mss °śi) *śaradaḥ śatāt* AV *sa no nedīṣṭhā havanāni joṣate* (MS *havanā jujoṣa*) TS MS : *sa no nedīṣṭham havanāny āgamat* (and *havanāni joṣat*) KS *nedīṣṭham* adverb in KS

6 Adjectives agreeing with one or several of a group

§735. An adjective or participle may variously agree with all the members of a coordinate group of nouns (plural), or with only one, the nearest. In the latter case, however, we may assume that its application to the others is not really excluded. Cf Hamlet, Act 2, Scene 2: *King*. Thanks, Rosencrantz, and gentle Guildenstern *Queen*. Thanks, Guildenstern, and gentle Rosencrantz.—The same variation in verb forms, agreeing either with a plurality of subjects or with the nearest one alone, was noted in VV 1 §§353ff

candrena jyotir amṛtam dadhānāḥ (KS TB Poona ed. and comm. °nā)

VS KS TB : *śukram na jyotir amṛtam dadhānā* MS (p p °nāḥ)

The sing. agrees with Sarasvatī, the nearest subject, the plural with S and the Aśvins. On the phonetic aspect (final visarga present or absent) cf VV 2 §381.

tvaṣṭā viṣṇuḥ (MS *viṣṇus tvaṣṭā*) *prajayā samraraṇāḥ* (VS KS ŚB. °nāḥ) AV VS TS. MS. KS ŚB ApŚ ApMB. The verb, in the following *pāda*, agrees in number with the participle in all texts, except that in KS, which has the mantra three times with plural pple, the verb

is twice singular in the edition (but with *v* 1 plural in one case). See VV i p 262 under *yajamānāya dravṇam dadhāta* (°tu) Probably the plural should be read all three times (*idā sarasvatī mahī*) *bhāratī grṇānā* AV MS . (*idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahī grṇānā* (KS. *mahīr grṇānāh*) VS TS KS . *idā sarasvatī bhāratī mahīh* (TB *mahī*) VS TB In the last formula (in which the Poona ed. of TB separates *mahī* from the preceding, making it part of the next pāda), the TB comm interprets *mahī* as a plural (*mahatyah*), going with all the nouns (!)

Singular-plural variations with more definite change of meaning

§736. The phraseology used in this heading does not mean, of course, to deny that a change of 'meaning' in some sense occurs in the variants heretofore mentioned, we suggest only that such changes are not, as a rule, of the sort commonly and conventionally associated with the simple contrast between singularity and plurality of objects The variants now to be considered fall roughly into the following groups First, 'transfer of epithet': the variant word is applied to a different entity, in essentially the same context, necessitating a change of number Second, 'phrase inflection': the formula is used in a different context, involving a different application of the variant word Third, pluralization or the reverse in the same context: without change of context or verbal attraction to a different entity, the word is nevertheless understood of a plural entity in one form and of a singular one in the other, the entity referred to may be otherwise the same or different Fourth, other, miscellaneous changes are involved, in some of them form attraction to some other word (other than what we term 'transfer of epithet') seems to have been influential

7 Transfer of epithet

§737. We have met this phenomenon frequently under variations between the cases; see §14 for a general statement Many of the transfers listed under the various shifts of case involve also change of number; these will not be repeated here The following are those which involve shift of number only (or, in a few cases, also of gender), between singular and plural:

indrēṇa devaīh saratham turebhīh (AV *turena*) RV. AV. Tho the contexts of the mantra are different, the epithet *tura* is transferred within its pāda from *devaīh* to *indrēṇa*
uśvā rūpāni sambhṛtā (JB °*lam*) SV. JB ŚB. LŚ. Preceded by *gāya-*

tram traṣṣubham jagat; JB. makes the epithet apply to (presumably) the last of the singulars in the preceding pāda

taḥ (RV. *tā*) *juṣasva yanṣṭhya* RV AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB. Preceded by *yad agne kām kām cid, ā te dārūni dadhmasi* (with slight variants) RV. refers *tā* to *dārūni*; the others with *taḥ* refer either to the same indefinitely (§727), or specifically to what is denoted by *yad*

niṣkrīḥ sa (TS *niṣkrīto 'yam*, KS. MŚ *niṣkrīlās te*) *yajñīyam bhāgam etu* (KS MŚ *bhāgam yantu*) AV. TS KS. MŚ Singular refers to *paśupati*, plural to the cattle themselves

ā yat tṛpan maruto vāvaśānāḥ (MS *'nah*) RV. TS MS KS Preceded by *prīḍ vo nāma huve tūrānām* The epithet is apparently transferred from the Maruts to the subject of *tṛpat*; Ludwig makes the plural refer to this! The verse however is very troublesome; see Oldenberg

idāno (KS *'nā*) *vahnur* (KS *'nim*) *namasā* AV VS. VSK TS MS KS. The latter makes the epithet agree with *sruco* in the next pāda; see §399.

uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ VS. TS. MS. KS.: *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā patyamāne* AV. The YV. texts make *uru*^o agree with *dvāras*; AV. has a false verse division and makes it agree with *dhāmnā*.

anābhṛṣṭā apasyo vasānāḥ (KS † *'nah*, mss *vamānah*) VS. MS KS ŚB.: *anābhṛṣṭā apasyuvo vasānah* TS Pischel VSt. 2. 213 has made it probable that the original had *vasānah*, epithet of Varuṇa in the following pāda In VS. MS. it is transferred to *āpah* in the preceding; the adjoining plural forms helped in the shift.

mayobhūvo vṛṣṭayah santu asme TA. In the latter the adjective is made to agree with *vāto*, which is itself a secondary intrusion in TA.

dhanur haslād ādadāno (TA *'nā*) *mṛtasya* RV. AV. TA. AG "Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man." With Oldenberg on RV. 10 18 9 we understand *tvam* in the following half verse (*atṛiva tvam iha vāyam suvīrāḥ [susevāḥ]*) of the dead man; TA. comm understands it of the widow and makes *ādadānā* fem sg agreeing with it; we take the pple as *ādadānāḥ* nom pl. masc going with *vāyam*, cf. Oldenberg's remarks; the sg. doubtless refers to the son of the deceased.

tābhiḥ tvābhiṣṭcāmī MG.: *tena tvām abhiṣṭcāmī* YDh Preceded by *sahasrākṣam śatadhāram ṛṣibhiḥ pāvanam kṛtam*, and followed by

pāvamānīh pūnantu tvā (with minor variants) YDh has adopted for *tena* the number and gender of *pāvanam*, instead of *pāvamānīh* §738. In the following, the variant word is in one form of the variant an independent form rather than, strictly speaking, an 'epithet' of another word (§15):

asme (ApŚ *asmat*) *karmāne jātah* MS ApŚ 'Born for us for the rite (for this rite)' Cf VV 2 §704, and above §721

asme devāso vapuṣe cikitsata TS ApŚ *śrad asmat naro vacase dadhātana* VS Keith and Caland assume *asmat* as intended, cf prec But *asme* might at a pinch be interpreted as 'ethical dative' 'O gods, regard the wonder which we tell' The change is really phonetic in character, however

hṣulpipāsāmālā jyeṣṭhāh (TAA °*malam jyeṣṭhām*) RVKh TAA Scheftelowitz reads *jyeṣṭhām*, which is doubtless the correct reading (= Misfortune, eldest sister of Lakṣmī), if *jyeṣṭhāh* be kept it can be construed as an adjective, with the following *alakṣmīr* (for which Scheft adopts the monstrous *alakṣmīn*) If °*malā* can stand it is doubtless a fem acc pl, epithet of *alakṣmīr* ('stained by hunger and thirst'), the alternative would be to take it as Vedic n pl (for °*malāni*), °*malam* would be an independent coordinate noun, 'the stain of hunger and thirst'

8 Phrase inflection

§739. This has also been met above, under variations in the cases, cf §§21-2 It is essentially a matter of adaptation of old material to a new context

adharācīh parā suva VS MS KS (sc *yātudhānyah*): *adharāñcam parā suva* AV (sc *takmānam*)

vīprā viprasya brhato vipaścitah RV VS. TS MS KS ŚB TA ŚvetU.: *vīpro viprasya sahaso vipaścit* ĀV. The latter refers, in a new context, to a goat (*ajā*)

viśvāhā dhātām anapasphurantīm RV. VS ŚB ApŚ *viśvāhā santv anapasphurantīh* AV TA 'Ever not shrinking from being milked', of a cow or cows, in different contexts

trīr varān vṛnīṣva Kauś · *varam vṛnīṣva* ApMB HG Not true variants *sarāh* (RV VS *sīrāh*) *patatrini(h) sthana* (KS *stha*) RV VS TS MS KS : *sarā patatrini bhūtvā* AV Reference is to a plant or plants, in different contexts

indro vah (AV *me*) *śarma yachatu* RV. AV SV VS TS Different contexts

- trir ā dwo vidathe patyamānah* (°nāh) RV. (both).
yalamānā (°no) *raśmibhīh sūryasya* RV. (both)
ratnam devasya śavitur iyanah (°nāh) RV. (both).
rakṣohano (VS ŚB °hano vo) *valagahanah prokṣāmi vaiṣṇavān* (ApŚ.* °vam) VS VSK TS ŚB. ApŚ (bis). In ApŚ 11 12 5, where *vaiṣṇavān* is found, the ritual context is the same as in TS. and the rest, the plurals refer to the 'sound-holes'. In 12 2 15 the skin (*carma*) for the soma-pressing is addressed in a different context, and the formula is partially adapted, the sing *vaiṣṇavam* being appropriate. Nevertheless the plural forms of the first two adjectives are inappropriately retained from the original form of the formula; perhaps they are understood indefinitely, as referring to any 'demon-slaying' entities
rāyas poṣe yaṇṇapatim ābhajantīh (TS * °t) VS TS (both) MS. KS ŚB *rodēna kṛvatīr* (*kṛvaty, kṛvanto*) *agham* AV (ter)
saṃjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV SV N.: *saṃjagmānā abibhyuṣīh* (MS *avīhrutāh*) AV. MS.
kas tvā yunakti sa tvā yunaktu (VS ŚB °t) VS TS KSA. ŚB. TB. ApŚ : *ko vo yunakti sa vo yunaktu* ApŚ. MŚ : *kas te yunakti* MG. Also with forms of *in-muc*; to different ritual entities
adabdhena tvā (KS * ApŚ.* *vaś*) *caṣṣuṣāvapaśyāmi* VS KS. ŚB, ŚŚ ApŚ : *adabdhena tvā* (ApŚ.* *vaś*) *caṣṣuṣāu kṣe*. TS MS. ApŚ MŚ MG (delete KS reference in Conc).
sumṛdīkān abhiṣṭāye RV TS MS : *sumṛdīkāṃ abhiṣṭāye* RV. VS. BSK TS MS. KS. ŚB.
tasya vāyam sumatau yaṇṇīyasya RV AV. VS. TS MS KS. TB : *teṣām vāyam sumatau yaṇṇīyānām* RV. AV VS TS KS MŚ SMB PG N Several different contexts.
yathāham asya vīrasya RV. ApMB : *yathāham eṣām bhūtānām* (AV. *vīrānām*) RV AV. The sing is said by a woman of her husband; RV *bhūtānām* by a king of his subjects, and so AV. *vīrānām*, but apparently influenced in its choice of epithet by reminiscence of *vīrasya* in the different RV. context
evā trīnāmān ahīnīyamānah (TS °nāh) AV. TS.
ghṛtapruṣā manasā (TB. *madhunā*) *havyam undan* (VS *manasā modamānāh*) RV VS MS KS TB. Several different contexts
anhoś cid asmā urucakrīr adbhutaḥ RV : *anhoś cid urucakraīyah* RV : *anhoś cid urucakrayo 'nehasah* RV
ado grībhīyo adhi yat pradhāvasi TB.: *ado yad avadhāvatī* AV.: *amī ye ke sarasyakā avadhāvatī* HG ApMB

asmabhyam gātuntamāh (RV.* °mah) RV (bis) SV. As both refer to soma, the variant might perhaps be put with §712, tho the contexts are different

īśānam vāryānām RV. AV. SV TS MS KS JB : *īśānā vāryānām* RV AV MS TB. TA

lāns te paridādāmy aham ApŚ · *lām te paridādāmy aham* (TA *paridādāmi*) TA ApŚ

ya (AV * *ye antarikṣa*) *oṣadhīṣu paśuṣu apsu antah* (KS *paśuṣu ānveṣa*) AV (bis) KS

bhakṣīya te (and vo) *'vaso dawyasya* RV (both) Sing Indra, pl the Maruts

bhūtya tvā (Kauś vah) KS TA ApŚ Kauś Hardly true variants
tān (TS * *īam*) *rakṣadhvam mā vo dabhan* (TS * *dabhat*) VS TS (bis) MS KS ŚB

mayi vah kāmādhāranam bhūyāt (ŚŚ om *bhūyāt*) VS ŚB ŚŚ : *mayi te kāmādhāranam bhūyāt* VS. TS MS KS ŚB TB.

āyātu (TB * *āyāntu*) *yajñam upa no juṣānah* (TB * °*nāh*) VS MS. KS TB. (both)

subhūtāya tvā (ŚŚ. vah; HG. adds *paridādāmi*) ApŚ. ŚŚ HG Hardly true variants

anehasas tvotayah RV : *anehaso va ūtayah* RV.

ayam vo garbha rtvayah VS TS, MS KS ŚB. : *ayam te yonir rtvayah* RV AV VS TS MS KS JB ŚB. TB AŚ MŚ ApŚ JābU. Different contexts and probably not true variants.

mayi vo (TS * *te*) *rāyah śrayantām* TS (both) MS KS LŚ

indraghoṣas (KS MS. °*ṣās*) *tvā vasubhīh purastāt pātu* (KS † *tvā vasavah pu° pāntu*, MS *tvā purastād vasubhīh pāntu*) VS. TS MS KS ŚB : *indraghoṣā vo vasubhīh purastād upadadhatām* TA. This and four parallel formulas are used all together, in TA. (with plural acc pronoun) addressed to a layer of bricks, in the others (with sg) to the altar. The settings are wholly different; obviously TA has borrowed the whole passage and applied it to a new purpose. Two of the parallel mantras are quoted §412 under *manojavās* and *pracetās* The other two are:

tvāṣṭā tvā rūpāir uparīṣṭāt pātu KS ApŚ · *tvāṣṭā vo rūpāir uparīṣṭād upadadhatām* TA And:

viśvakarmā tvādītyair uttaratah (MS KS *uttarāt*) *pātu* VS TS MS. KS ŚB. *viśvakarmā va ādītyair uttarata upadadhatām* TA

devas tvā savitā punātv (MŚ GG. KhG *savitāpunātv*) *achidreṇa* TS. MS KS MŚ GG KhG · *devo vah savitā punātv achidreṇa* MS

KS

upahūta (LŚ °tā) *upahavam te* (LŚ. vo) 'śīya TS. MS. KS ŚŚ. LŚ
akṣans tām VS. KS TB.: *aghat tam* VS.: *aghatām tam* MS TB. 3 6.

15. 1 The pronouns refer to sacrificial animals, in different but related contexts.

mama vaśeṣu hṛdayāni vah kṛnomi AV.: *mama vrate te hṛdayam* (AG. ŚG.
vrate hṛdayam te) *dadhāmi* (SMB. MG *dadhātu*) AG. ŚG. SMB
 PG. MG : *mama hṛdaye hṛdayam te astu* HG. The AV. addresses
 the subjects of a king; the others the guru's śiṣya at the upanayana
rakṣānsi tayā (and *lābhur*) *daha jātavedah* Kauś (both)

vrām vahanā (ApMB. *vahatā*, MG *vahantī*) *ghṛtam ukṣamāṇāh* AŚ. ApŚ
 AG ŚG ApMB. MG.: *vrām vahanāh sumanasyamāṇāh* HG In
 different contexts; MG refers to the bride But the adaptation
 of the formula in MG is imperfect; we fail to see how Knauer can
 defend the correctness of his text as he does

ayakṣmāya tvā samśrjāmi prajābhyah VS TS MS KS ŚB. *ayakṣmā vah*
prajāyā samśrjāmi KS TB ApŚ. Different contexts

9 Pluralization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§740. Thirdly, in some cases where the context is the same, and where there is no formal 'transfer of epithet', the ritual entity designated by the variant word is pluralized in one variant by the inclusion of other individuals, or by the substitution of a plural entity for a singular one: or vice versa For example: *ṛtena* (MG. *ṛteva*) *śhūṇām* (ApMB. MG *śhūṇāv*, MG *śhūṇā*) *adhi roha vaṇśa* (MG. *vaṇśah*) AV AG HG. ApMB. MG, 'mount, O pole, upon the post(s)' or the like The dual form of ApMB HG. can have no standing and is best regarded as a phonetic corruption (*v* for *m*, VV 2 §237) The verse is used in mounting the ridge-pole of the house on the middle post (and others), either singular or plural makes sense, but not dual. The plural of MG. may be defended, tho KG. 11 3 has *śhūṇām*; Ppp. is quoted by Roth as *śhūṇā dhī*.

Other instances:

mahād ādya bharatasya (and *bharatānām*) ŚB (both): *mahākarma bhara-*
tasya AB The singular refers to Bharata Dauḥṣanti, the plural
 to the Bharata family

atharvaṇe svāhā ŚB : *atharvabhyah* (sc *svāhā*) BDh Hardly to be con-
 sidered variants The plural means the (hymns of the) Atharva
 Veda, the singular the ṛṣi Atharvan.

ādityās ca me sāvitrās ca me TS : *ādityās ca mā vndrās ca me* MS Same
 context, sc in both 'prosper by the sacrifice'. In TS *grahā* is
 understood: 'the cup for Āditya (or Aditi)'; in MS 'the Ādityas'

brāhmaṇas tvā nāthakāma upadhāvāmi (ApMB °kāmaḥ prapadye) SMB PG ApMB HG : *brāhmaṇo vo nāthakāma upadhāvāmi* SMB Singular is addressed in several successive mantras to various gods; plural to them all collectively.

abhayaṁ 10 (ŚŚ * *te*) 'bhayaṁ no astu (AB. AŚ. *me* 'stu) AB. AŚ ŚŚ (both) The formula with *te* is repeated at each of the three altars, and then with *10* referring to all three as in the other texts.

idaṁ tam (and *tān*) *atī srjāmi tam* (and *tān*) *mābhy avanikṣi* AV. (both) Both in the same litany, addressed to various ritual entities *eṣa vo deva savitah somah* TS ApŚ : *deva savitar eṣa te somah* VS MS KS. ŚB. MŚ Followed by *mā tvā* (TS *10*) *dabhan* (TS *dabhat*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural pronoun refers to the gods including Savitar.

mitrasya tvā cakṣuṣā pratilṣe (with variants) VSK. TS. KS KB. TB. AŚ. ŚŚ. LŚ KŚ ApŚ MŚ. AG : *mitrasya vaś cakṣuṣā prakṣe* (*cakṣuṣānuvikṣe*) MS AŚ. MŚ Reference to various ritual entities, in same context.

utemāḥ paśya TS : *utemaṁ paśya* MS. MŚ. In the same context, but with different reference; in TS to waters, in MS MŚ to *yajña* *derasya tvā* (MS. *1aḥ*) *sacituh prasave...samvapāmi* VS. MS TB. ŚB (Delete reference to MS. under *derasya tvā* in Conc.) Singular refers to rice, plural to rice and water.

aniśilāsi sapatnakṣit VS : *aniśito* 'sī *sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB.: *aniśitāḥ* (KS ApŚ. add *stha*) *sapatnakṣayaṇīḥ* MS KS ApŚ. Used in the same ritual context of various implements, one or several (*sruc*, *sruva*).

raḁṣoḥaṇam tvā valagahanam arasiñcāmi (and *avastṛñāmi*) *vaiṣṇavam* MS MŚ.: *raḁṣoghno valagaghno* 'vasiñcāmi (and 'vastṛñāmi) *vaiṣṇavān* KS.: *raḁṣoḥaṇo* (VS ŚB. add *vo*) *valagahano* 'vastṛñāmi *vaiṣṇavān* VS VSK. TS. ŚB. Four holes are referred to; MS MŚ address them one by one

yā (ApMB. HG *yām*) *āharaj jamadagnīḥ* PG. ApMB. HG. In the same context; singular refers to a wreath, plural to flowers *pratnaṁ ni pāti kāvyam* RV.: *†pratnāni* (Conc *pra tvā ni*) *pāti kāvyah* KS. See §403.

10 Form assimilation

§741. Among the remaining, miscellaneous variants between singular and plural, some seem to involve external form attraction—that is, the shift is due to the influence of some other form in the vicinity, altho the variant cannot be classified as showing 'transfer of epithet'. Thus:

trih sapta mātuh paramāṇi vīdan RV : *trih sapta paramam nāma jānan* ArS. Preceded in both by *te manyata prathamam nāma dhenoh* 'They thought out the first name of the cow, they found the thrice seven supreme (names) of the mother (cow)', or 'they knew the thrice seven (names), the supreme (name, of the cow).' The change to singular in ArS is due to the preceding singulars

abhi priyā (SV. *priyam*) *divas padam* RV SV. It is obvious that SV has assimilated the adjective to *padam*. This is a lect fac, the sense requires such a construction. The RV. *priyā* must be taken with Lanman *NInfl* 349 and Oldenberg *Noten* ad loc. as acc pl neut, sc *padāni* 'unto the dear (places), the place of heaven'. Cf RV 9 12 8

vāto vā (VSK *vā vo*) *mano vā* VS VSK ŚB : *vāyur vā tvā manur vā tvā* TS MS KS TB ApŚ MŚ N. The pronoun *tvā* refers to the horse mentioned in pāda c (*aśvam* in all), *vo* of VSK can scarcely have any other reference, the plural may be due to thought of the 'horses' mentioned in the preceding verse

lavīn pṛchāmi vidmane (AV. *vidvano*) *na vidvān* RV. AV. See §487.

11. Change of words or meanings of a word

§742. In the rest different words are used, or else the same word in different meanings, requiring different numbers:

ūrjasvatī rājasvaś (TS *rājasūyāya*, MS KS *rājasūyāś*) *cūtānāh* VS. TS MS KS ŚB. '(Waters) rich in food, king-creating, wise (or, wise unto king-creation)' In this *rājasū* or *śūya* as adjective varies with the commoner abstract noun *rājasūya*. Cf next *svāhā rājasūyāh* MS MŚ · *svāhā rājasūyāya cūtānāh* TS : *svāhā rājasvah* VS. ŚB Cf preceding, which comes shortly before this in the texts

drapsaś caskanda pṛthuvīm anu dyām (RV *caskanda prathamān anu dyān*) RV AV. VS. TS MS KS ŚB. TA. Here the two meanings of the stem *dṛ* are concerned RV 'thruout the earliest days'; the others 'thru earth and heaven'

tasmai brahma ca brāhmās (TA *brahmā*) *ca* AV. TA. Whatever *brāhmās* of AV may mean, which is uncertain, TA has a different word and means the personalized Brahman

indrasya hārdy (AV *hārdim*) *ānśan manīṣibhih* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV. 'By the wise (priests)': 'by wisdom'

jaghāna vṛtram yatir na SV AŚ ŚŚ : *vṛtram yo jaghāna yatir na* AV. Obscure, cf. Whitney on AV 2 5 3

CHAPTER XXVIII

DUAL AND OTHER NUMBERS

1 Elliptic dual, and devatā-dvandvas

§744. The most interesting group of variants between the dual and other numbers is that which concerns the elliptic dual and double-duals, known to the Hindus as *devatā-dvandvas*. These double dual forms denoting a pair of entities have been explained by Edgerton (*KZ.* 43. 110 ff., 44. 23 ff.) as an outgrowth of the Indo-European elliptic dual, in which a pair is denoted by the dual form of one member alone, an idiom which is still very much alive in the Veda. The first step in the development was the addition to the elliptic dual of the singular of the second member of the pair (*mitrā* [= Mitra and Varuna], followed by *varunaś ca*). We then have an illogical association of a dual and a singular form, referring together to only two entities. There is evidence for the view (Edgerton, l c) that this illogical association existed in Indo-European. In most languages, however, it was supplanted by an association of two singulars; so also to a large extent in Sanskrit. In Indo-Iranian, however, the assimilation of the two forms may work the other way, the complementary singular being replaced by a dual, so that the result is a double dual; e.g. *mitrā-varunau*.

§745. The variants illustrate these rather complicated processes at various points. To begin with, an elliptic dual may vary with the singular of the prior member of the pair. The meaning is then of course different; the singular can scarcely have been felt as including the unexpressed member:

añghrinā viṣṇo mā tvāva (KS *viṣṇū mā vām ava*) *kramiṣam* VS. KS ŚB : *agnāviṣṇū mā vām ava kramiṣam* TS TB ApŚ. In most texts including KS. the pair Agni and Viṣṇu are addressed (in KS by the elliptic dual *viṣṇū*), while VS ŚB address Viṣṇu alone *kṣāman* (KS *kṣāmā*) *ruruca uṣaso na bhānunā* (MS KS *ketunā*) RV. VS TS MS KS. See §547. The original *kṣāman* = 'on the earth', KS. has an elliptic dual, 'the two earths' = heaven and earth. More commonly *dyāvā* 'the two heavens' is used in this sense.

latra paśyema pitarau ca putrān (TA *pitarām ca putram*) AV. TA The elliptic dual *pitarau* (= father and mother) is replaced in TA by the singular 'father'

§746. Once a sūtra text presents a complementary singular expressing the second member of the pair after an elliptic dual In this case the form of the variant which is presumably older (SV) has a second dual, forming therefore a double dual, yet this chronology cannot be regarded as certain

dyāvā hotrāya prthivī (ApŚ °vīm) SV ApŚ

§747. More or less the reverse of this is found in a variant in which the undoubtedly older form has an elliptic dual with complementary singular, a secondary text removes the logical inconsistency by substituting a singular for the dual, thus presenting two coordinate singulars: *ubhāv indrā* (ŚB *indro*) *udīthah sūryaś ca* VS ŚB There is no reason to emend the ŚB reading with Eggeling and the Conc, *indrā* means Indra and Sūrya, who are here, to be sure, equated by ritualistic-mystic symbolism with Mitra and Varuna

§748. More frequently we find double duals varying with double singulars, both referring to the same pair The two dual forms may be separate words, sometimes even separated by other words.

viṣnum agan varunam pūrvahūtāh AV : *viṣnū agan varuṇā pūrvahūtau* (MS °tim) VS MS. ŚB ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ

agnim indram vṛtrahanā huve 'ham (MS °hanam *huvema*) AV MS . *agnī indrā vṛtrahanā huve vām* TB The double dual *indrā agnī* occurs twice in RV, and the compound *indrāgnī* (often pronounced as four syllables) is common Note the singular adjective in MS, cf §757

§749. It is more usual to find the double dual forming a single compound word, which may vary with two singulars

ā mitrāvaruṇā bhagam RV *ā mitre varuṇe bhage* SV

indrāsūrā janayan viśvakarmā TB *indrāh sūrah prathamo viśvakarmā* AŚ

śatam indrāgnī (AV * *śatam ta indro agnīh*) *savītā bṛhaspatīh* RV AV (both) N Note that AV is metrically bad

iṣam no mitrāvaruṇā kartanedām AA *ūrjā mitro varunah pinvatedāh* SV

ayaś śando marka upavīra ulūkhalah ApMB †. *śandāmarkā* (HG *śando marka*) *upavīrah* PG HG The ed of PG prints *śandā markā* as separate words

namo dve namah prthivyai AV VSK TS MS GB TA AŚ LŚ ApŚ : *namo dyāvāprthivībhyām* VS ŚB ŚŚ ŚG

§750. The normal dvandva compound of Sanskrit develops out of the double (*devatā*) dvandva of the Veda by the substitution of the stem form for the nom.-acc dual form in the prior member. This also appears fairly early, and varies in Vedic texts with two singulars as in the preceding paragraph:

rṣi bodhapratibodhau AV.: *rṣir bodhak prabodhak* ApMB.: *bodhaś ca tvā* (KS. MG *mā*) *pratibodhaś* (MG *prati*°) *ca* AV. KS † MG. ApMB.

Note sing *rṣir* in ApMB, see §757.

śākvaram rawatam sāma KS : *śākvararawate sāmanī* VS. TS. MS. KS.

Again cf §757.

mayi dakṣo mayi kratuh VS. MS. TB. ŚB TA. ŚŚ. *man dakṣakratū* ApŚ AG HG.

vairūpam ca vairājam cāparau AB.: *vairūpavairūje anūci* LŚ
śarma varūtham (HG. *śarmavarūthe*) *punatī na āgāt* ApMB HG. But for the separate accents, *śarma-varūtham* of ApMB might be considered a singular dvandva, cf. next §

brhatā tvā rathamtarena triṣṭubhyā (KS. *triṣṭubhā*) *varṭanyā* MS. KS.: *brhadrathamtarayos tvā stomena triṣṭubho varṭanyā* TS
brhac ca te rathamtaram ca pūrvau pādau bhavatām AB : *brhadrathamtare te pūrvau pādau* LŚ

§751. Still later, no doubt, but already found even in early Vedic texts, is the singularization of dvandva compounds (as neuter collectives) We find several variations between such neuter singulars and dual dvandvas:

kṣutpipāsābhyām (TAA °*sāya*) *svāhā* SMB TAA GG
iṣṭāpūrte kṛṇavāthāvīr (*kṛṇavāthāvīr*, *kṛṇutād āvir*) *asmai* (MŚ *asmāt*) VS VSK. TS TB ŚB. MŚ. *iṣṭāpūrtam sma kṛṇutāvīr asmai* AV.: *iṣṭāpūrtam kṛṇutād āvir asmai* KS

dakṣakratū (MS ed. † °*tu*, v 1 °*tū*) *te matrāvārunah pātu* MS ApŚ.
jīmūtān hrdayaupasaḥbhyām (VS. °*śena*, VSK °*śena*) VS. VSK TS MS KSA The p p of TS divides *hrdaya-upaśa* The meaning of the second member is quite unknown Mahīdhara takes the cpd as a tatpuruṣa, 'the fleshy parts of the heart', but the dual of the other texts suggests that it is rather a singular dvandva

2. Collective singular varies with dual

§752. Leaving now the subject of dvandva compounds, we take up first expressions for dual entities, which may however be thought of as units, being then expressed by singulars A simple example is the word for 'nose', which may be either singular or (when thinking of the two

nostrils) dual Such variants occur especially with parts of the body, but also with other entities We shall mention first a case which is particularly interesting as presenting a neuter singular collective instead of a fem. dual This reminds us of the use of the neuter singular in dvandva compounds, mentioned in the last paragraph; and so far as we know neither this nor any similar form has been noticed heretofore: *visākhe nakṣatram* TS : *visākham nakṣatram* MS. KS.† So von Schroeder reads in KS. with two mss ; one ms *visākḥā*, which must be fem and may be understood as either sing or plu Only one ms of MS has *visākhe* The constellation is made up of either two or four stars, and its name occurs in sing , dual, and plural, but is otherwise recorded only in the fem. gender, cf. §798

§753. The other words recorded here keep the same gender in sing and dual.

apānena nāsike (MS. °kām) VS MS

asyā (MG † *asyām*) *nāryā gavīnyoh* (MG °yām) AB. MG : *asyām nāryām gavīnyām* RVKh ApMB. The word *gavīnī* (and *gavīnikā*, AV.) is regularly dual; it denotes some obscure pair of organs in the abdomen.

ānandam nandathunā (KSA °thubhyām) TS. KSA *nandathu* is nowhere recorded, not even in Hindu lexicons, as name of a part of the body, and its meaning can only be guessed from the context The dual of KS. suggests perhaps 'testicles'; 'penis' would be more natural and may be intended in TS (comm. *guhyaendriyam*) A series of duals follows, and possibly the dual of KS is due to mechanical form-assimilation to these

aṣṭrām tādam pratīnāhā (ApŚ *tālam pratīnāham*) MS. ApŚ Refers to some unknown part of the plow Caland adopts the MS reading for ApŚ, but since no one knows what the word means, we see no good reason to question the sing

punarvasur (TS °sū) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS Usually dual

3 Dual and plural of parts of the body

§754. Like the singular (*ante*), the plural also varies with the dual in names of parts of the body, usually both are comprehensible Thus the word *jambha* or *jambhya* means either 'tooth' or 'jaw' (originally 'crusher, grinder'), in the former meaning it is naturally plural, in the latter dual:

jambhābhyām (VS TS. °bhyaḥ, KS °bhyebhis) *taskarān* (°ran, °rān) *uta* VS TS MS. KS

javam jaṅghābhīh (VS °bhīām) VS. TS MS. KSA The 'shanks' of the horse, here referred to, are of course four, hence the plural is proper; VS must have carelessly used a form appropriate to human beings only

gūrīn plāśībhīh (MS °śībhīām) VS TS. MS KSA The stem *plāśī* is usually sg or plu, its meaning is quite unknown and the guesses of the comms are not worth quoting

4 Other entities conceived as dual or plural

§755. Besides parts of the body, other entities may be thought of as dual or plural groups. Thus the constellation *phalgunī* is a group of two plus two stars, and may be thought of as dual because consisting of two pairs, or as plural:

phalgunīr (TS °nī) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS

phalgunīṣu (ApG. °nībhīām) *vy uhyate* (ApG. ūh°) AV Kauś ApG.

marutah sadohavīrdhānāh (TA °dhānābhīām) MS. TA.: *aditiḥ sadohavīrdhānābhīām* KS. The *havīrdhāna* itself is referred to as either sg or dual (cf. TS. 3 1 3 1); combined with the sg *sadas*, the compound is either dual or plural.

vi yo mame rajasī sukratūyayā RV : *vi yo rajānsy amūmīla sukratuh* RV. The 'spaces' (*rajas*) are either two or three (or even more) in number

5. Generalizing dual (for sing.) and plural

§756. In one group we find dual and plural forms varying in essentially the same way as the 'generalizing singular and plural' forms treated above, §§685 ff. Here, instead of the singular, we find the dual because the 'single' entity happens to be a pair; otherwise the psychological relation between the two variants, and the motivation of the change, is exactly the same. The dual may be a single uncompounded word, an elliptic dual, or a dvandva compound; in all cases there is substantially no difference of meaning:

ud eṣām bāhū (MS MŚ *bāhūn*) *atīram* VS TS MS KS ŚB TA. ApŚ.

MŚ Since the 'arms' belong to a plurality of individuals, the plural is comprehensible; but since each person has 'two arms', the dual may also be used exactly as the 'generalizing singular' would be possible in the case of a singular entity.

apochatu (AV °ntu) *nithunā yā kimīdinā* (AV. *ye kimīdinah*) RV. AV.

The *kimīdins* are apt to go in pairs (§764); the RV. dual here is the

substantial equivalent of a generalizing singular, since it really means *any* pair of demons, or all of them

ahorātrayoh samdhībhyo jatūh VS *ahnah samdhībhyām jatūh* MS

Since there are two 'joints' or twilights of day and night, the dual does duty as the equivalent of a 'generalizing singular'.

ahorātrās (KS TA °trānī) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA ° *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB 'Day-and-night'. 'days and nights'

śam ahobhyaḥ (TS *ahobhyām*) VS TS ŚB KŚ Here the relation is not quite the same, TS has an elliptic dual which must mean 'day and night', the plural of the other texts doubtless means 'days' in the sense of days of 24 hours, that is a plurality of days and nights. That *ahan* may mean this is proved e.g. by the preceding variant but one, since the 'twilights of day' can only mean twilights of the 24-hour day

utkūlanūkūlebhyas triṣṭhnam VS *utkūlanūkūlābhyām triṣṭhnam* TB Fanciful entities to which homage is offered at the Puruṣamedha. The plural apparently can only mean a collection of the dual entities

6 Different agreement of adjectives and other epithets

§757. An adjective or other epithet sometimes agrees alternatively with a dual, or with one member of the pair, of the like variation between singular and plural, §735. Some cases of this sort will be found in §750. Also:

yasya dyaur urvī prthivī ca mahī AV : *yena dyaur ugrā prthivī ca drdhā* (TS *drdhe*) RV. VS VSK TS MS KS Here the original makes *drdhā* apply only to *prthivī*; TS applies it to *dyaus* also

§758. Similarly an adjective or epithet may vary between dual, applying to a dual entity, and plural, including some other entity.

vipipānā (VS °nāh) *sarasvatī* VS MS The dual refers to the Aśvins, the plural to them and Sarasvatī

(*āyushṛd āyushpatnī svadhāvanlau*) *gopā me śtam . ātmasadau me śtam* AV (*āyusṛd āyushpatnī* [read *āyushṛd āyushpatnī*?] *svadhāvo*) *gopā nah śtha rakṣitārah* KS (*āyushṛd āyushpatnī svadhā vo*) *goptryo me śtha ātmasado me śtha* ApŚ Explained VV 1 §357

§758a. Once a sing., doubtless felt as an abstract, in predicative apposition to a dual, varies with a dual concrete epithet

saritur bāhū śtho devaḥjanānām vidharanīh (KapS °nī) KS KapS (Oertel 137) Two blades of grass are addressed; KapS surely intends a dual, 'two supporters', KS, 'a support'. The stem *vidharanī* is not recorded in the lexicons

§759. Two dual epithets of an adjoining dual noun may vary with two singulars, each then applying to one of the pair:

ugrampaśye ugrajitau tad adya AV.: *ugrampaśyā* (MS text *ugrampaśyāc*, VV 2 §405) *ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tān* MS TA : *dūrepaśyā ca rāṣṭrabhṛc ca tān* TB Followed by *apsarasān* ; the epithets agree with this word (AV), or apply to the two individuals denoted by it (probably felt as proper names in the latter case)

§760. Once what appears to be an adjectival dvandva, in dual form, is allowed to agree with a singular noun (!); in the other form of the variant the uncompounded, single adjective is singular. The variant strikes us as bizarre, but is psychologically comprehensible:

anuvatsarīṇām svastim āśāste TB ApŚ : *anuvatsarīyodvatsarīye svastim āśāste* MŚ. He desires well-being lasting for an *anuvatsara*: 'I desire well-being lasting for an *anuvatsara* and for an *udvatsara*'

§761. Perhaps somewhat similar is the following, if the reason for the dual in MŚ. is the dual character of the adjective compound rather than its reference to two entities. The context deals, however, with the *śukra* and *manthin* drafts of soma, and it may be that MŚ. thinks of the word as applying to two oblations only (tho the neuter gender makes it impossible to supply *śukramanthīnau* [*grahau*] with it, and in fact the mantra can hardly be applied specifically to those two drafts, which are not, of course, offered by the *camasādhvaryus*).

madhyatahkārīnām camasādhvaryavo vaṣaṭkṛtānuvaṣaṭkṛtān (MŚ. °te) *juhuta* ApŚ. MŚ. '... offer the (MŚ. two?) oblations (in ApŚ. *somān* is apparently understood) accompanied by *vaṣaṭ* and by the secondary *vaṣaṭ*'

7. Transfer of epithet

§762. As with cases of transfer of epithet between singular and plural (§737), we shall list here only variants which do not involve change of case, these latter being treated above under case variations. Variations between singular and dual are:

te asya yoṣane divye (KS *divyah*) VS TS. MS KS The sing. of KS. agrees with *yonir* in the next pāda

ubhā kavī yuvānā (PG *yuvā*) AŚ ŚŚ Vait ApŚ PG.: *mahā kavī yuvānā* MŚ. Followed in PG by *yo no dharmah parāpatat*, Stenzler translates *yuvā* with *dharmah* but observes that the text is corrupt, and Oldenberg abandons it

dirghaprayajyum atī yo vanuṣyati RV. TS MS N : *dirghaprayajyū hanṣā vrdhānā* MS TB. The latter occurs in a modification of

the RV. verse (which MS elsewhere repeats without change), with transfer of the epithet to the dual divinity addressed (originally Indra-Varuna, here Mitra-Varuna).

viśvakarmaṁś tanūpā asī ŚB : *viśvakarmānau tanūpau me sthah ŚŚ*.

Explained VV 1 §351.

indrasya vām (TB te) vīryakṛto VS. VSK ŚB. TB. See §521

aśvinendram na jāgrvī (TB °vī) VS MS. TB. Comm. on VS takes jāgrvī as dual adjective, but it is rather an adverb (so BR and VV 2 §525). In TB it is made to agree with aśvinā

§763. Transfers of epithet between dual and plural are:

navena pūrvam dayamānāḥ syāma (VS. TB. dayamāne) VS. MS. KS † 19 13 TB. (both). The plural agrees with the subject, the dual with devī to whom the passage is addressed

sa viśvācīr (KS °cī) abhi caṣṭe gṛtācīh (KS. °cī) RV VS. TS MS KS. ŚB The original probably applies to sacrificial ladles, tho no noun is mentioned, cf ŚB 9 2 3 17. KS. attracts the adjectives into agreement with *rodasī* For the phonetic aspects of the change see VV 2 §357

8. Phrase inflection

§764. Here are presented cases in which the shift of number is due to adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes all three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, occur in different forms. Thus: *sakhāyau saptapadāu abhūva (ApMB.† °padā babhūva) ApMB HG : sakhā (PG. sakhe), saptapadī (ApMB PG °dā) bhava AG ŚG KauŚ ApMB. PG. SMB MG sakhāyah saptapadā abhūma TB ApŚ See VV 1 p. 274.*

yātudhānam kimīdīnam AV : yātudhānān kimīdīnāh AV. : yātudhānā kimīdīnā RV. Different contexts Friends are otherwise known to go in pairs (mithunā precedes in RV), cf apochatu etc, §756 tā no mṛdātā idṛṣe RV SV VS VSK TS KS te no mṛdantv idṛṣe AV sa no mṛdātīdṛṣe RV AV. TS. MS KS ApMB N.

§765. Variations between dual and singular:

*grṇānā (RV * SV * °no) jamadagnīnā RV. (both) SV. (both) AŚ ŚŚ AG. ŚG*

tanvāno (TB °ne) yaṣṇam puruṣeśasam dhīyā RV. TB The latter lifts the pāda from an Agni verse and uses it in a different one to *dyāvāprthivī*

*yaṣṇasyāyuh pratīran (KS * †2 7, MŚ pratīrantau) MS KS (both) MŚ* Two wholly different contexts in KS ; MS agrees with one, MŚ with the other

viśvair devair pitrbhiḥ samvidānah RV. TS.: *viśvair devair yajñīyair samvidānau* (TS. KSA. °*nah*) TS. KSA. TB. AŚ. In TS. KŚ. two different verses, one adopted from RV.; in TB. AŚ. this single pāda is used in a wholly different context.

devā devebhur yajatā (and °*te*) *yajatraih* RV. (both): *devā deveṣu yajatā yajatra* RV. AV. MS

tasyām (ApŚ *tayor*) *devā adhisamvasantah* TS. TB. ApŚ : *tasyām devair samvasanto mahutvā* AV.: *yasyām* (v. 1 *asyām*) *devā abhisamviśantoh* MŚ Half a stanza is adapted to a different purpose in ApŚ

jyotiṣe tvā VS. TS MS. KS ŚB TA KŚ ApŚ MŚ.: *jyotiṣe vām* KS. ApŚ Different contexts; dual only in one passage of KS ApŚ. Also *tejase tvā* (vām), *cakṣuṣe tvā* (vām), *varcase tvā* (vām), and *prajābhyaḥ tvā* (°*bhyo* vām); sings in various texts, duals only KS. ApŚ.

āśāsānā medhapatibhyām (MS KS °*pataye*) *medham* MS KS. AB KB. TB. AŚ ŚŚ The ūhas *medhapataye* and °*patibhyah* are prescribed in the sequel in AB; see Schwab, *Tieropfer*, 102. Really this involves all three numbers and so belongs in §764.

bhadrā te pūṣann (TA * *bhadrā vām pūṣannv*) *iha rātr astu* RV. SV. TS. MS KS TA (both) N. Here a whole stanza is adapted to a different context in TA The sing is addressed to Pūṣan, or according to the TA comm to *samvatsara*; the dual, to *dyāvapṛthivī* The next two occur in the same verse:

śukram vām anyad rajalam (Poona ed *yaj*°, v. 1 *raj*°) *vām anyat* TA.: *śukram te anyad yajalam te anyat* RV. SV. TS MS KS AB. KB. TA AŚ. Svidh N And:

viśvā hi māyā avasī svadhāvah (SV. °*van*, TA * *avathah svadhāvanau*) RV. SV TS MS KS TA (both) N. See prec

devas tvā (ApŚ. *devo vām*) *savitā madhvānaktu* VS TS. MS KS. MŚ. ApŚ.

viśvet tā te (RV. * *vām*) *savaneṣu pravācya* RV. (both).

stomebhur havanaśrutam (and °*tā*) RV. (both).

dṛgham vām (and *ta*) *āyuh savitā kṛnotu* AV. (both). In different parts of the marriage ceremony, sing is the wife, dual husband and wife Might perhaps be called a *vikāra* and placed in §769.

patī (RV. * *patim*) *turasya rādhasah* RV. (both) KS

rājantam adhvarāṇām RV VS TS MS KS. ŚB.: *rājantāv adhvarāṇām* RV.

sāmrājyāya sukratuh (RV. * °*tū*) RV (both) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB. *arvāñcā vām* (and *arvāñcam tvā*) *saplayo dhvaraśriyah* RV. (both) See

RVRep on 1 47 8, which calls the sing an ūha of the dual, it is hardly that in the strictly technical sense, tho in a wider sense all these variants might be called ūhas

āyur vām (AV MG **āyus̄ ṣe*) *śaradah śatam* AV MG (both)

anu (MS *nu*, read *anu*, KB ŚŚ *upa*) *vām jīhvā ghṛtam ā caranyat* MS
KS KB ŚŚ : *prati te jīhvā ghṛtam uc caranyet* (MS KS °*yat*, VS
ŚB °*yat svāhā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB *prati vām jīhvā ghṛtam uc*
(AV * TS * *ṣā*) *caranyat* (AV °*yāt*, TS °*yet*) AV (bis) TS (bis)
MS KS KB AŚ ŚŚ

catuhśikhandā yuvatiḥ supesāh (KS *supatnī*) KS TB ApŚ *catuhśi-
khande yuvati kanīne* ApŚ In the latter a largely new verse is
constructed for a different context See next

ghṛtapratikā (ApŚ * °*ke*) *bhuvanasya madhye* TB ApŚ (both) Follows
the prec

dārgḥam āyuh kṛnotu me (AV * ApMB *vām*) AV (ter) JB Kauś ApMB
tāv imā upa sarpataḥ SV JB . *emām anu sarpata* MS It seems that
MS has adapted the SV original to a different ritual context The
interpretation of this and the surrounding mantras in MS is
obscure, see ApŚ 4 10 4, with Caland's translation, which deals
with the same ritual With Benfey we understand *imā* as dual,
imām of MS would seem to refer to *idā*

nīlaloḥitam bhavati RV AV *nīlaloḥite bhavataḥ* ApMB Whitney says
that ApMB speaks as if the bridal garment which is given away
were two (or better, made of two parts) Perhaps the variant
did originate in that way, but ApG uses the mantra in referring
not to the bridal garment, but to two threads put one in each
wheel-track of the car on which the bride is brought to her husband's
house, that is in a different context, tho still part of the wedding
rites

mā tvā vṛkṣaḥ (TA *vṛkṣau*) *saṁ bādhiṣṭa* (TA °*ām*, and *bādhetām*) AV
TA (bis) According to Kauś 82 32 the AV verse is used in
burying the bones of the burned corpse at the foot of a tree TA
uses it twice in a different part of the funeral rites, namely in con-
structing the funeral pyre, the 'two pieces of wood' refer to the
paridhis (of which there are four) surrounding the pyre, the verse
is applied once to the north and south pair, once to the east and
west pair

vidhṛtir aśi TA ŚŚ : *vidhṛti śtāh* MS

§766. Phrase inflection, variations between dual and plural

indravantā (TB °*au*) *havir idam juṣethām* TB ŚŚ *indravanto havir
idam juṣantiām* TB ApŚ

yahvī ṛtasya mātārā RV : *yahvīr ṛtasya mātārāh* RV.

uruvyacasō dhāmnā palyamānāh VS TS MS KS . *uruvyacasāgner dhāmnā palyamāne* AV

puruṣe 'dhi samāhūtāh (and °*te*) AV Both in the same verse, the dual goes with *amṛtam ca mṛtyuś ca*, the plural with *nādyah*

asme vo (vām) astu sumatīś canīṣṭhā RV (both)

agner vo 'pannagrhasya (TS * TB ApŚ * *vām apanna°*) *sadaśi sādāyāmī* VS TS (both) MS KS TB ŚB ApŚ (both) MŚ.

ayam śraīṣṭhye dadhātu nah (PG *nau*) ŚG. PG The dual refers to the householder and his wife, the plural, in a different context, is generalizing or 'editorial'

ṛtāvānā (°*vāno*) *jane-jane* RV (both)

sam u vām (vo) yaṣṭām mahayam (°*yan*) *namobhūh* RV (both)

saha nah sādhuṣṭyā ŚB LŚ KŚ : *sahawa nau suṣṭam saha duṣṭam*

Kauś : suṣṭam nau saha Kauś

sam vām (AV MS * KS * *vo*) *manānsi sam vratā* AV VS TS MS (both) KS (both) ŚB.

9 Dualization, or the reverse, in the same ritual context

§767. The next group includes variants in which the form shifts from dual to singular or plural, or vice versa, in the same context, in accordance with a change in the number of the entity designated, which may be the same or different. Included are some ritual ūhas and vikāras where the context seems to us to be the same, the number of the entity only shifting. It is perhaps doubtful where the line should be drawn, or whether it should be drawn at all, between this and the preceding group, we have tried to draw it at the point where the context ceases to be 'different' and becomes essentially 'the same', but these terms are not strictly definable, and ritual ūhas perhaps belong rather with the preceding — When the change of number involves transfer of an epithet, it is of course treated above, §§762 ff, and when, without such transference, the change of number seems to be due to some sort of formal or external adaptation or assimilation, it is included below in §§773 ff

§768. Variations of all three numbers:

tasya te datlām yasya (and *yayoh*) *prāno 'si svāhā* TS : *tasya te dadātu yeṣām prāno 'si svāhā* TS : *tasya te dadātu yasya prāno 'si svāhā* TS. Modulations in the same passage. For *yasya* after *datlām*, *yayoh* is to be expected; perhaps a mere error?

layā devatayāñgirasvad dhruvā sīda VS TS etc . . *dhruvāh sīda* VS ŚB TA : *dhruve sīdatam* VS : *dhruvāh sīdata* TS. Also *tena brahmanā* etc, see Conc

āgneyah kṛṣṇagrīvah VS TS KSA : *āgneyau kṛṣṇagrīvau* TS KSA ;
kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṇe (MS *lalāṇe*) *purastāt* VS MS . *kṛṣṇagrīvā*
āgneyāh VS MS ApŚ All in lists of animals at the *aśvamedha*
 TS. KS. have sg and dual in adjoining formulas Probably the
 plural is a substitute for the dual; but this may itself be a mere
 ūha of the sing

yāni gharṃe kapālāni TS MS KS. KŚ MŚ In MŚ two ūhas. *yad*
gharṃe, and *ye gharṃe*

agnim adya hotāram avṛṇitāyam yajamānah MS (and the next five
 items in Conc) *agnim adya hotāram* (*avṛṇitām imau yajamānau*,
 and *avṛṇateme yajamānāh*) ŚŚ See Conc

agnaye prahrīyamānāyānubṛūhi ŚB. KŚ MŚ : *agnibhyām prahrīya-*
mānābhyām anubṛūhi KŚ . *agnibhyah prahrīyamānebhyo 'nubṛūhi*
 ŚB

asāv (asā) anu mā tanu (LŚ *tanuḥ jyotiṣā*) MS KS. LŚ MŚ ApŚ .
amū anu mā tanutam, and *amī anu mā tanuta* MŚ Ūhas

punah kṛṇwāns tvā pītaram yuvānam TS : *punah kṛṇvantah pītaro yuvā-*
nah MS : *punah kṛṇvānā* (KS *kṛṇvantā*) *pītārā yuvānā* VS KS †
 ŚB. We cannot interpret this passage It seems that the dual,
 as in VS KS, is probably original; Mahidhara takes *kṛṇvānā* as
 plural, for 'nāh' Even such violence helps little

§769. Dual and singular:

sanījagmāno (KS °nā, MS TB ApŚ MŚ °nau) *divā* (TB ApŚ *diva ā*)
prthivyā VS MS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ Same context, but in VS
 ŚB the formula is repeated, once each with the *śukra* and *manthā*
grahas, while in the others it goes with both together See §576
 In VS MS KS immediately followed by·

śukrah śukraśociṣā VS TS KS ŚB TB ApŚ . *śukrau śukraśociṣau* MS
 As preceding, but here KS follows with a separate formula *manthā*
manthiśociṣā, while TB ApŚ do not connect this immediately with
 the preceding.

kṛṇutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau MŚ : *kṛṇotu so adhvarāṇi* (VS TB °rā)
jātavedāh VS MS KS. TB AŚ . *so adhvarā* (AB 'dhvarā karatī)
jātavedāh AB ŚB See VV 1 p 263, under *ayād agnir* ; also next
yakṣat svam mahimānam VS MS KS ŚB TB AŚ : *yakṣatah svau*
mahimānau MŚ In same context as prec, *mahiman* pertains to
 the subject and varies in number with it

prāṇāya me varcodā varcase pavasva VS VSK TS ŚB : *prāṇāpānābhyām*
me varcodasau pavethām MŚ See VV 1 §368

tasyai (tābhyām, in 11 2 27 read tasmai) namo yatamasyām dīśīlah

AV. (all three). All in the same hymn, referring to Bhava or Rudra and Bhava or their weapon; practically ūhas, but perhaps better to be placed in §765

veṣāya vām (TS. TB ApŚ. *tvā*) VS.† 1. 6, TS. MS. ŚB. TB. ApŚ. MŚ. Kauś Sing used by TS addressing ladle and winnowing-basket separately, dual by VS. in addressing both together. Also used in other contexts, the dual having other applications

te te dhāmāny uśmasi gamadhye TS : *tā* (VS ŚB. *yā*) *te* (RV. KS N. *vām*) *dhāmāny* (RV KS. N. *vāstūny*) *uśmasi gamadhya* RV. VS. MS. KS. ŚB N. In a Viṣṇu hymn; the dual is understood to refer to Indra and Viṣṇu, who are however nowhere mentioned in the hymn. Even the latter part of this verse mentions Viṣṇu alone in the sing. The secondary change, to the singular pronoun is therefore very natural.

śmeva tvam sthūrā (MG ApMB * HG. * †1 4. 1 *sthiro*) *bhava* AG. ŚG. SMB. PG. ApMB. (bis) HG. (bis) MG.: *śmeva yuvām sthūrau bhavatam* MG. Sing fem refers to the wife, dual to wife and husband, in the same context The masc. sing. is used in a different context.

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS °ny) *asī* TS MS KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanā sthah* VS. ŚB. Explained in Keith's note 7, HOS 18 27.

eṣā te agne samit tayā (MŚ *tayā tvām*) *vardhasva cā ca pyāyasva* VS ŚB ŚŚ. MŚ ApŚ. ŚG ApMB HG : *ele vām agnī samidhau tābhyām vardhethām cā ca pyāyethām* KŚ (an ūha quoted in KŚ. comm) *āyuskrd āyuspatnī svadhāvantau* AV : *āyus tad āyupatni* (ms °nḥ) *svadhāvah* KS . *āyukrd āyuhpatnī svadhā vah* ApŚ The reference seems to be to the sacred fires; so at least in ApŚ.; obscure in the others. AV continues with dual forms, KS. ApŚ. with plurals; see *gopā me stam* (*gopā nah stha, goptryo me stha* .), §758.

āmātārā sthāpayase jīgatnū RV AV.: *āsthāpayata mātaram jīgatnum* AV. In RV. the 'two mothers' (parents?) are heaven and earth. In AV. *mātaram* possibly refers to Indra's mother, suggested by Indra's heroic deeds in the following pāda; cf. RV. 8. 45. 4, 77. 1.

grāvacyuto dhiṣṇayor upasthāt VS ŚB.: *bāhucyuto dhiṣṇāyā* (TS *dhiṣṇayor*) *upasthāt* (KS. °sthe) RV TS. KS. GB Vart. MŚ. See Hillebrandt, *VMyth* 2 1, p 426 ff. According to H. *dhiṣṇā* originally means 'earth' (dual in RV. only 'heaven and earth'); then the *ved* identified with the earth If so, VS TS. have reinterpreted the old word in a new sense; the comm makes it refer to the 'pressing planks.'

viṣnor manasā pūle sthah (Kauś * *pūtam asi*) MS KS ApŚ MŚ Kauś (both) GG KhG Refers to two 'purifiers' of *kuśa* grass, or once in Kauś to a single one

ṣaṣṭis cādhvaryū (ApŚ °yo, AŚ † °yor) *navatis ca pāśāh* AŚ ŚŚ ApŚ Spoken by the hotar as he touches the *adhvaryu* and the *agnīdh*, in the dual form both are addressed Since the *agnīdh* belongs to the class of *adhvaryu* priests, the dual need not be considered elliptic The AŚ probably has a misprint (§369).

upasrjan (ŚG *upa srjam*) *dharunam māt্রে dharuno mātaram* (LŚ MŚ *māt্রে mātaram dharuno*, ApŚ *māt্রে mātārā dharuno*) *dhayan* VS. ŚB JB LŚ ApŚ MŚ ŚG . *upasrjan* (AŚ *upasrjam*) *dharunam mātaram dharuno dhayan* AB AŚ The 'dam' is earth Caland suggests that the dual *mātārā* may mean 'heaven and earth', this may be the intention but it seems inappropriate. Obscure

§770. Variants between dual and plural:

samprca (°cah, °cas) *stha* VS VSK KS ŚB. TB. ApŚ MŚ : *samprcau sthah* VS ŚB Also, in same passage.

viprca (°cah, °cas) *stha*, and *viprcau sthah*, same texts See VV 1 p 259 *etā asadan sukr̥tasya loke* TS TB . *etā asadan*, and (ūha) *etāv asadatām* (pratikas) ApŚ

srucah sammr̥ddhi ŚB KŚ MŚ : *srucau sammr̥ddhi* MŚ . *sruvam ca srucaś ca sammr̥ddhi* ApŚ

ā mā gantām (VSK *gantam*) *pitarā mātārā ca* (VSK † *gyvam*) VS VSK. 10 3 12c, TS KS ŚB : *ā mā ganta pitaro viśvarūpāh* MS It is not clear who are meant by the 'parents' or 'fathers'. For the added *ca* after a double dual see Macdonell *Ved Gr.* p 156. Add to VV 1 §§337, 352

mathavyān stokān apa yān rarādha AV. : *madhavyau stokāv* (MS *stokā*) *apa tau rarādha* TS MS. Why TS MS should think of the lost drops of soma as exactly two is not clear to us Followed by:

sam nas tābhyām (AV *tebhūh*) *sr̥jatu viśvakarmā* AV TS MS The interpretation depends on that of the preceding

svasāro mātariḥbharīr (AV. text °*śvarīr*, read doubtless as RV) *ariprāh* RV AV *svasārau mātariḥbhvarī* (text em °*śvarī*, read with mss. and Whitney °*bhvarī*) *aripre* AV Part of a mystic verse, it is not clear who the 'sisters', dual or plural, are. Ludwig suggests 'heaven and earth' and apparently believes the dual to be original, relying doubtless on the preceding verse, *ā mātārā sthāpayase jagatnū*, cf §769 But this would involve the rash assumption that AV. is more original than RV.

dawyā (AV. Ppp *dawā*) *holārāv ūrdhvam* (VS. °rā ūr°, KS *holārordhvam imam*, MS. °rā ūrdhvam *imam*, AV. °ra ūrdhvam, Ppp. °ra [but intending °rā since dual verb follows] *imam*) *adhvaram nah* AV. Ppp VS TS MS KS 18 17a

§771. In a number of variants the plural which varies with the dual is a first-person form or epithet of the subject, referring to the priests and their associates generally, and 'generalizing' or 'editorial' in character, like the variants treated in §724; while the dual is specific, including in the pair the speaker.

yathāyatham nau (KS. *no*) *vratapatē* (KS °pā) *vrātāni* (TS MS. *vrātinor vrātān*, KS *vrātinām vrātāni*) VS. 'S MS KS. ŚB. The dual includes Agni (*vratapatī*) and the yajamāna; KS's plural either refers 'editorially' to the yajamāna alone or to his associates. From the phonetic standpoint this and several others in this paragraph belong in VV 2 §732.

tan (AV. *tatra*) *nau samskṛtam* AV. VS 4. 34, KS : *tan nah samskṛtam* TS. MS. The dual is taken to refer to the sacrificer and the offering addressed (perhaps better to him and his wife?); the plural refers to him and his associates, or perhaps really to him alone.

sā no (AV. *nau*) *nābhīḥ paramam jāmi tan nau* RV. AV. The ('editorial') plural occurs also earlier in the verse. The dual of AV. is doubtless secondary (cf. Oldenberg on RV. 10. 10 4); it refers to Yama and Yami, and is doubtless assimilated to the following *nau*, which has the same reference

puṣām bahūnān mātara syāma (MG. °rau *syāva*) ApMB. MG. Addressed to the wife by the husband; the dual means 'parents', the plural is 'editorial'.

ṛṣabhā janayanti nah (ApMB. °yantu *nau*, HG. °yantu *nah*) ApMB (bis) HG : *puruṣā janayanti nah* ŚG. Spoken by the husband, as in prec ApMB. has the two forms in adjoining verses in the same context

asthūrī no (no, KS *nau*, MŚ † *nau*) *gārhapatyāni santu* (VSK adds *śalam himāh*), *īgmena nas tejasā* (TS *no brahmanā*, KS *nau brahmanā*) *saṁ śiśādhi* RV. VSK TS MS. KS TB. MŚ The dual doubtless thinks of man and wife together as possessors of 'household affairs'; the plural is 'editorial' Note the inconsistency of MŚ.

§772. Similarly the next, where the dual is 2d person, apparently referring to the sacrificer and his wife (and spoken by a priest):

idavāsmān (RVKh Muller, followed by Scheft, *iḍava vām*) *anu vastām vrātēna* (RVKh as before *ghṛtēna*) RVKh AV : *idāsmān anu vastām ghṛtēna* ApŚ MŚ.

10 Form assimilation

§773. In a group of cases the number is changed by attraction to the number of some other word in the context, in a rather external way, the change in meaning, tho apparently real enough, is not dictated by the logical requirements of the situation; in essence the variation is one of mechanical form assimilation. Thus, all three numbers of the vocative of *vāyu* are found in the HG form of the following. With cunning inanity, HG. makes the number of the vocative agree each time with the number of the pronoun, which refers to sacrificial posts. Oldenberg fails to understand HG, not having in mind the MS parallel, and translates all the nouns as nominatives, emending *vāyo* to *vāyuh*, so as to make the nouns predicates to the pronouns:

ete te vāyo (HG. *vāyavah*) MS. HG : *ēṣa te vāyo* MS MŚ HG : *etau te vāyū* HG : *vāyav eṣa* (and *ete, etau*) *te vāyo* ApŚ 'This is (these are) thine, O Vāyu (HG also O Vāyus, dual and plural)' Note that, inconsistently, the pronoun *te* is always singular, even in HG

§774. Other cases, first those involving singular and dual, are:

vr̥ṣanam (MS °*nā*) *āṇḍābhyām* VS MS In the *aśvamedha* 'I gratify the bull (the two bulls) with his testicles.' The bull or bulls are imaginary, transcendental beings, and there is no reason for the duality except the duality of *āṇḍābhyām*. So with the next two, which occur in the same context

karnābhyām śrotam (MS *śrotre*) VS MS See prec

vidyutam kanīnakābhyām (MS KSA *kanīni*°) VS MS KSA : *vidyutam kanānakābhyām* TS Cf. prec two

śrotam (AV. *śrotre*) *te cakre āstām* RV AV. The AV makes *śrotam* dual because of the predicate *cakre*, 'thy two wheels'.

yena strīyam (PG *strīyam*, ŚŚ *strīāv*) *akṛṇutam* (PG. °*tām*, ŚŚ *akurutam*) ŚŚ PG SMB. GG. 'By which ye two (Āśvins) made woman (two women)' ŚŚ's variant is phonetic in character (VV 2 §237), with the help of attraction to the number of the Āśvins.

§775. In a couple of instances, however, the assimilated dual form seems to be the original, and the singular is substituted for it in secondary texts because for one reason or another they feel that the entity designated should be singular, despite its reference to a duality:

putrah pītarāv (AV °*ram*) *avṛṇā pūṣā* RV. AV In both texts the reference is to the Āśvins; the singular of AV. is secondary and may be due to a feeling that paternity should be single, tho phonetic considerations are also involved (VV 2 §237).

duhāhām gharomadughe va dhenū AV (in Conc. preceded by *vāmam*, which belongs to the preceding pāda): *samduhāhām gharomadugheva dhenū* TB The dual entity heaven and earth is compared to a milch cow, or in AV. to two cows; the assimilation in this case is natural enough, and is doubtless the original form.

§776. A special case of this form-assimilation is constituted by the variation in the form of substantive pronouns, which may be either neut. singular (indefinite) without reference to the number and gender of the predicate noun, or on the other hand may agree in gender and number with the predicate; the latter is the more common usage in the Veda, and is found in the original (RV.) form of the following variant, while secondary texts use a neuter singular (cf. §§730, 812):

mukham kim asya (VS *asyāsū*) *kau* (AV. VS *kim*) *bāhū, kā* (TA. *kāv*, AV. VS *kim*) *ūrū pādā* (TA *†pādāv*) *ucyete* RV AV. VS. TA.

§777. Form assimilation between dual and plural occurs in the variant *sā no* (nau) *nābhū* etc., §771, and in the following:

śeṣe vaneṣu mātroh (SV. *mātrṣu*) RV. SV 'Thou lurkest in the sticks of wood, thy (two) mothers' Dual in RV. because reference is to the two *araṇis*; plural in SV by attraction to *vaneṣu*

vājino vājanto vājam. VS. TS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ.: *vājīnau vājāntau vājam*. MS. KS. MŚ. See the several entries in Conc. Two associated formulas; in KS (probably original) one (dual) is addressed to one pair of the racing team, the other to all the team (cf. KS. 14 7: 206 22 f.) The other texts assimilate in one direction or the other; both are dual in MS, both plural in VS. TS.

11. Corruptions and errors

§778. The following seem to be due to corruptions and errors:

devī dvārau (Vait *devīr dvāro*) *mā mā samlāptam* TS. AŚ. Vait. The dual of the word for 'door' may be used, with reference to the two panels (here the two doorposts are actually addressed) The plural is equally familiar. But the dual verb makes it almost impossible to construe the plural of Vait, and Caland's translation seems silently to abandon it. The form *dvāro* may be regarded as a phonetic corruption for *dvārau* (VV 2 §732).

saha nau vratapate (TS MS add *vratīnor*, KS text *vratapā vratīnām*) *vratāni* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. The plural of KS. is inexplicable, in view of the dual *nau*; the best ms in fact omits *vratīnām*, and so KS should probably be read; *vratīnām* probably crept in in the

- inferior mss of KS from the mantra *agne vratapā punar vratapā
vratinām vratāni*, which shortly precedes
- tā mandasānā manuṣo durona ā* RV ApMB . *sā mandasānā manasā
śivena* AV. The original refers *mandasānā* (dual) to the Aśvins,
to whom AV. also refers in the sequel Apparently *sā*, nom sg
fem., is due to a stupid misunderstanding of the endings -ā, no
feminine entity can be concerned here
- apsarasāv anu dattām ṛnāni* (AV *ṛnam nah*) AV TB TA . *apsarasām
anu dattānṛnāni* MS Phonetic corruption in MS , VV 2 p 122,
1 p 282
- [*śākhābhyah svāhā* VS TS MS KSA Conc quotes *śākhābhyām* for
VS. TS]
- [*śrotṛāya me varcodā varcase* (MŚ *me varcodāh*) *pavasva* VS VSK ŚB
MŚ.. *śrotṛāya* (*me varcodau varcase pavethām*) TS Conc Similarly
under *añgebhyo me* See VV 1 §372a]

CHAPTER XXIX

GENDER

1. Male and female persons and animals

§779. We shall begin our treatment of gender (see §§118-25 for a summary) with variations between names of male and female animals or persons, varying with each other. They usually occur in contexts where either is equally appropriate; sometimes we think we can see the motive of the change, but often we find none. Thus, first, male and female animals:

holā yakṣat sarasvatīm meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *vapāyā* VS KS. It is likely that KS uses a female animal as more appropriate to the sex of Sarasvatī. So in the next two:

ayāt sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS KS

yatra sarasvatyā meṣasya (KS. *meṣyā*) *haviṣah* VS. KS.

ṛṣabhāya (MS *vrṣ*^o) *gavayī* VS. MŚ : *ṛṣabhāya rājñe gavayah* TS. KSA. *yad dharino* (TS. KSA. TB *ṛñ*) *yavam atti* VS TS MS. KSA ŚB TB.

ŚŚ. Possibly gender-attraction from *śūd-ā*, in a parallel sentence in the second half-verse

anāśur aśvo 'yāmī (ŚŚ and AV. mss. *aśvāyāmī*) AV † ŚŚ.†. *svāśur aśvah suyāmī* (ŚŚ *aśvā yāmī*) AV ŚŚ.

ākhuḥ śṛjayā śayanḍakas te maitrāh (KSA ms *śayāṇdakās te maityāh*) TS KSA.: *śārgah śṛjayah śayāṇdakās te maitrāh* VS MS Name of an unknown animal, male or female The ed of MS follows the p p.; the other mss. have *śṛjayā*.

ajo (TS *ajā*) *hy agner ajaniṣṭa śohāt* (TS *garbhāt*) AV. VS. TS MS KS ŚB.

§780. Dependent on the change of gender in the last-quoted pāda, in which TS. makes the goat female, are the three following pādas, in the same stanza, with pronouns referring to *ajo* or *ajā*:

so (TS. *sā vā*) *apaśyāj janitāram agre,*

tena (TS *tayā*) *devā devatām agra (agram) āyan,*

tena (TS *tayā*) *roham āyann upa* (AV. *rohān ruruhur*) *medhyāsah*, all in the same texts

§781. Similarly with an adjective referring to unexpressed animals, male or female:

ślpā varśvadevāh (MS. °vāh) VS MS · *ślpās trayo varśvadevāh* TS
KSA 'The (three) varicolored (animals) are for the Viśvadevas'
The animals are male in TS. KSA, female in VS MS

§782. Names of human or superhuman beings, varyingly male and female:

śilāyāñjanikārīm (TB °ram) VS. TB 'An ointment-maker' (female VS, male TB)

piśācebhyaś bidalakārīm (TB °ram) VS TB

yātudhānebhyaś kañjakakāram (VS. *kañjakikārīm*) VS TB Note the curious accord in the grammatical gender of the word for 'thorn', which is fem in the compound 'female thorn-worker', masc in the other

pra devāh (AV. *devāh*) *protā sūnṛtā* RV AV TS MS. Possibly gender-attraction to *sūnṛtā* in AV.

kātyāyanāya (MahānU °yanyai) *vidmahe* TA MahānU Epithets of Śiva or his consort

ākṛayāyā ayogūm VS : *ākramāyāyogūm* (Poona ed *ākṛayāyā*°) TB A nonce-deity, *ākṛaya* or °yā

yamāya (TB *yamyai*) *yamasūm* VS TB.

pratīkṣante śvaśuro devarāś ca AV : *pratīkṣantām śvaśruvo devarāś ca* ApMB.

2 Variation of nouns in grammatical gender

§783. We come now to variants involving shift of grammatical gender in nouns This shift may be signalized by a change in the form of the noun itself, as when a masculine or neuter *a* stem varies with an otherwise identical feminine *ā* or *ī* stem of like meaning; or when an *n* stem appears now with a nominative in *ā* (masc), now with one in *a* (neut) It may on the other hand appear only in the gender of a modifying adjective or pronoun, because the noun itself has the same form in either of the varying genders; this is true for instance of many case-forms of the *i* and *u* declensions and of the diphthongal stems We shall not separate these two types in our list, but shall divide the materials first according to the genders which interchange, and secondly according to what appears to be the regular or primary gender of the word In some cases the change in gender seems to be due to assimilation to another word in the context

Masculine and feminine

§784. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or primarily masculine, the feminine forms being apparently exceptional or at least

historically secondary. Thus the word *yonī* is always masc in RV, and the fem is rare in the older language; its origin may be connected with the word's meaning, 'womb', which suggests fem gender. Among the variants, MS. and KS, the oldest YV. texts, show only masc gender, with one exception (the first) in MS:

sapta yonīr (KS *yonīnr*) *ā pr̥nasva* (°vā) *ghṛtena* VS TS MS KS ŚB TB.

svam (TS † only *svām*, thrice) *yonim ihāsadaḥ* VS TS MS KS *svām* (MS KS *svam*) *yonim gacha* AV VS TS MS KS ŚB. *svayonim gacha* MG (with v 1 *svam yonim*, which Conc suggests reading because of the MS reading).

agne svam (TS TB *svām*, ŚB *tvam*, for *svam*?) *yonim ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS MS KS ŚB TB

dhruvam (TS *dhruvām*) *yonam ā sīda sādhyā* (VS ŚB *sādhuyā*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB.

yajño bhūtvā yajñam ā sīda svām (MŚ *svam*) *yonim* TB ApŚ MŚ *mā mā* (KS *mām*) *hinsīṣam svam* (KS *yat svam*) *yonim āviśantau* (KS *āviśāhah*) MS. KS : *mā mā hinsīḥ svām* (KS † *svām*) *yonim āviśantī* (KS TB ApŚ *āviśan*) VS KS. ŚB TB ApŚ. *mānam hinsīṣam svām yonim āviśantau* AB.

ebhyo (Kauś *ābhyo*) *yombhyo adhi jātavedāḥ* VS. MS. KS. AŚ. Kauś. *yasyai* (VSK *yasyā*) *yonir hiraṇyayāi* VS. VSK ŚB *atho yonir hiraṇyayāi* TS : *yonir yas te hiraṇyayah* KS

§785. Next the stem *rayī* or *rai*. Wackernagel 3 p. 216 notes that the word is regularly masc in RV. and suggests that the fem is due to influence of *puṣṭi* or the like

sa no dadātu tam (AV *tām*) *rayim* AV AA ŚŚ *athāsmabhyam sahavīrām* (AV VSK MS KS °vīram) *rayim dāḥ* AV VS VSK TS MS KS HG Wackernagel 1 c mentions *rayim sahavīram* and *sarvavīram* (see next) among the RV phrases in which AV. keeps masc gender; otherwise the word is regularly fem in AV. But note that this pāda, as a whole, is not R̥gvedic *rayim ca nah sarvavīram* (TS † °īām) *ni yachatu* (AV *yachāt*) AV TS MS : *sa no rayim sarvavīram ni yachatu svāhā* (VSK. om *svāhā*) VS VSK ŚB. *somo rayim sahavīram ni yansat* KS Cf RV 10 15. 11d, and see prec

§786. The stem *dū* (*dyu*) is regularly masc in the early language, later fem ; see Wackernagel 3 p. 221.

abhīmam (TS MS † °mām, MS MŚ v. 1 °mām) *makinā* (VS. °mā, delete MŚ v 1 in Conc) *divam* (MS *divah*) VS TS MS TA ApŚ. MŚ

§787. The word *kalaśa* is regularly masc; in the following ApMB. seems to show a fem. form *kalaśir*, but this may be a phonetic corruption for *kalaśair*, cf. §412 and VV 2 §701.

ā *dadhnah kalaśair* (ApMB °śir, MG. °śam) *aguh* (*ayān*, etc.) AV. AG. ŚG. PG HG. ApMB. MG.

§788. We come now to words in which fem. gender appears to be regular or at least historically original:

yā (MS. *ya*) *iṣavo yāthudhānānām* VS. TS MS ŚB NīlarU ApMB. The word *iṣu* is regularly fem. in the older language (always in RV.).

Here the masc. pronoun may have been due to the series of masc.

ye's in the preceding and following formulas

avalām (MS. KSA *avalān*, but MS p p *atalām*) *danāmūlāh* VS MS KSA ŚB.

vy amīvāś (TB. °vāś) *cālayasvā viśūcīh* RV. TB Both edd. of TB *amīvāś*, and comm likewise *amīvān rogān*, finding no difficulty in making *viśūcīh* agree. No masc. is otherwise recorded, and in view of the fem. adjective *viśūcīh* we may assume an ancient corruption

pravayāhnāhar jinvā VS. ° *pravāyāhne 'har jinvā* MS.: *pravāsi* TS KS.

Vait (*prāvo 'sy ahnānsi* GB. Gastra, corrupt) The masc. is otherwise unknown, but MS p p. gives *pravāya*

[*rtēna* (MG. *rtēva*) *sthūnām* (ApMB HG *sthūnāv*, MG *sthūnā*) *adhī roha vanśa* (MG. *vanśah*) AV. AG. HG ApMB MG. See §740.]

§789. In the rest we find no criterion to determine clearly the original gender. In some cases both seem equally regular; one is a ἀπ λγ.

enam parīsrutah kumbhah AV.: *enam parīsrutah kumbhyā* ŚG. Other GS. texts preserve *kumbhah* which seems to be original in this formula

dadhi mantham (ŚŚ *manthāmi*) *parīsrutam* (ŚŚ *parīsrutam*) AV ŚŚ.

agner alśnah kanīnakam (VSK °kām, TS MS. KS °nīkām) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB

vītrasyāsi kanīnakah (MS MŚ MG. °nīkā) VS MS ŚB MŚ MG : *mītrasyāsi kanīnikā* KS : *vītrasya kanīnikāsi* (VSK °nalāsi) VSK TS. ApŚ

śimāh (VS. *śimāh*) *līnvanu* (VS ° *śamyantu*) *śimyanah* (VS *śamyantīh*) VS (bis) TS KSA † An unknown word; cf VV 2 §§278, 572.

Masculine and neuter

§790. Among the masc.-neut. variants appear a number in which we think we see reason for believing that the shift is due to assimilation in gender to another word in the context, most commonly a predicate noun. Special attention will be called to these.

§791. We begin with words which seem to be regularly or originally masculine. Thus, first, the word *asu* as neuter is recorded heretofore only in a Hindu lexicon (see BR.) Even Benfey's Glossary to SV. gives the gender as masc. Yet the following is the only occurrence in SV, and here it is obviously neuter; the VSK. reading in the second variant confirms such a possibility. We see no chance of interpreting either case as due to assimilation:

asum (SV *asu*) *rinann apah* RV SV.

vyānaś (KS *apānaś*) *ca me 'suś* (VSK 'su) *ca me* VS. VSK TS. MS. KS. *kṛnotu so adhvarāñ* (VS TB 'rā) *jātavedāh* VS. MS. KS. TB. AŚ.: *lṛnutām tāv adhvarā jātavedasau* MŚ. so *adhvarā* (AB. 'dhvarā *karatī*) *jātavedāh* AB ŚB. Nowhere has *adhvara* been recorded as neuter; but this case is well attested and certain. VS. comm interprets *adhvarāñ*; TB. comm considers the form a loc !

grīṣmo dakṣinaḥ pakṣah (MS *dakṣinam pakṣam*) MS TB. TA. Followed in MS. by *varṣā ullāram* (sc *pakṣam*). MS. unmistakably makes *pakṣa* neuter. Neither BR. nor pw. record such a usage; Monier Williams states that it occurs 'in one passage' which is not cited.

[*gātum yajñāya gātum* (TA once *gātu .gātu*) *yajñāpataye* RVKh TS. MS. ŚB. TB. TA (both) N. But TA Poona ed. has only *gātum*, which is doubtless the true reading]

§792. In several cases a masc. noun is made anomalously neuter, apparently under the influence of the neuter gender of a predicate noun: *nikāyaś* (MS KS 'yam) *chandah* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. In this and the next it is quite likely that the original form of the variant *pāda* had the variant word in neuter gender, by assimilation to *chandah*, and that the regular masc. form is actually secondary.

samudram (VS ŚB 'raś) *chandah* VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

vivadhāś chandah VS. TS. ŚB: *vivadhām* (KS 'dhaś) *chandah* MS. KS. *yajñas* (TA *yajñam*) *tapah* TA MahānU. Poona ed. of TA. has v. l. *yajñas*; and so the comm reads in both edd.

§793. Next words which are regularly or originally; neuter there are several cases of *hārdi*:

indrasya hārdy (AV. *hārdim*) *āviśan manīṣibhiḥ* (AV. *manīṣayā*) RV. AV. SV.

mano me hārdi (VSK *hārd*) *yacha* VS VSK TS. KS. ŚB ApŚ.: *mano hārdim yacha* MS MŚ. Once (out of three occurrences) the MS. pp reads *hārdi*.

mā me hārdi tvīṣā (MŚ *hārdim dviṣā*) *vadhīh* TS. MŚ: *mā no hārdi tvīṣā vadhīh* RV. Three mss. of MŚ. *hārdi*.

avakrandena tālu (TS KSA *tālum*) VS TS MS KSA Regularly neuter; occasionally masc, but BR cite no Vedic instance
valso jarāyu (KS *garbho jarāyuh*) *praladhuk pīyūṣah* AV. TS. MS KS *jarāyu* is regularly neuter; the Hindu lexicons allow it to be either masc. or fem KS may be thus interpreted, or it might be considered an adaptation to the neuter *us*-stems, cf. the next
 [*svam* (JB TA *punar*) *jarāyu* (TA °*yur*, Poona ed text °*yu*, but note seems to indicate that all mss read °*yur*) *gaur iva* AV KS JB TA ApŚ Here the word is accusative; consequently if *jarāyur* be read, it could only be understood as if from a neuter *us*-stem]
yāni kṣetrāni yā vanā AV.. *yāni dhanvāni ye vanā* (read *vanāh* with two mss) ApMB. *vana*, regularly neuter, is quoted once as masc in BR, from the Rāmāyana

[*catvāri śrīgā trayo asya pādāḥ* RV. VS MS KS GB TA MahānU ApŚ N. Conc quotes *śrīgās* for GB, but Gastra reads *śrīgā* with all mss, and obviously this is the only possible reading]

§794. In the following we seem to find assimilatory influence of other words in the passage:

dhartram (TS. °*raś*) *catuṣṭomah* VS TS MS KS ŚB The predicate noun assimilates the regularly neuter *dhartra* in TS

vyomā (TS *vyoma*) *saptadaśah* VS TS MS. KS. ŚB KŚ MŚ The regular neut gender of *vyoman* is found only in TS Undoubtedly the original reading of the formula was *vyomā*, masc by assimilation to *saptadaśah* (*stomah*).

ayam sahasramānavo (so read) *vidharma* (ApŚ °*mā*) SV. ApŚ MŚ Probably assimilation of gender in ApŚ. to the subject *ayam*

nāko 'si bradhnaḥ (MŚ *bradhno 'si*) *pratiṣṭhā samkramanam* (ApŚ °*naḥ*, MŚ °*kramanatamam*) KS ApŚ MŚ No masc. *samkramana* is recorded, and the word can scarcely be an adjective, but it seems likely that ApŚ. assimilates either to the gender of *nāko* and *bradhnaḥ*, or more vaguely to the personalization of the goldpiece here addressed in personalized guise

§795. We come now to words in which both masculine and neuter gender are, as far as we can see, equally standard, or at any rate we cannot tell which is more original in the absolute, tho textual criticism may suggest that one form or the other was first used in these particular formulas:

yat sānoḥ sānum āruhat (SV. *sāno āruhaḥ*) RV. SV Both genders in RV

yeṣu saumanaso bahuh (MG *saumanasam mahat*) AV VS ApŚ LŚ ŚG.

MG : *et saumanaso bahuh* HG As an abstract the word would be expected to be neuter, but the masc is otherwise known (e.g. AV. 3. 30 7) and is clearly primary in this variant.

adityā uṣṇīṣam asī MS. TA ApŚ. MŚ . *indrānyā uṣṇīṣah* VS. ŚB

Both genders are familiar, probably the neut is primary here

akṣitś ca me kūyavāś ca me TS : *kuyavam* (MS. v. 1 *kū*°) *ca me* 'kṣitś' (VS 'kṣitam') *ca me* VS MS KS The word *yava* is masc, and is followed by *kūyava* in TS This stem seems to occur only here except that RV has *kuyava* as a demoniac name or epithet (here of course masc) Most likely the majority of texts have the original gender (neut).

[*prajananah* (MahānU. °*nam*) TA MahānU. So Conc, but both edd of TA read *prajanah*; MahānU has vv II *prajanah* and *prajananah*. Either *prajanah* or *prajananam* must be read; both would be regular]

§796. We may mention here a few cases concerning the masc and neut stems *brahman*, which are properly different words distinguished by shift of accent; in unaccented texts their oblique cases are indistinguishable. See VV 2 §460 for some of these and other somewhat similar cases considered from the phonetic asp :t (*a* : *ā*)

yam (MahānU. *yad*) *antah samudre kavayo vayanī* (MahānU *vadantī*)

TA MahānU Referring to *brāhman* or *brahmān*; even in TA. other neuter pronouns occur in the context

ṛtasya brahma prathamota jajñe TB : *bhūtānām brahmā prathamō ha* (mss °*mota*) *jajñe* AV.

tan no brahmā (TAA. °*ma*) *pracodayāt* MS TAA (not TA °) MahānU.

brahma (ApŚ °*mā*) *devānām prathamajā ṛtasya* PB. ApŚ . *brahmadevī prathamajā ṛtasya* JB 2. 258 (Caland, PB transl 21 3 7 note).

brahma devakṛtam upahūtam TS MS. TB AŚ ŚŚ : *brahmā devakṛtopahūtā* ŚB The context is the same and refers to the cow, in ŚB. only is the subject of this pāda personalized by assimilation to the cow, the pple being made fem. and the stem *brahman* personal (quasi-fem ?): 'she, god-created, has been invoked as *Brahmā*'. VV 2 §460 is incorrect.

Feminine and neuter

§797. Here also the shift in gender seems to be due sometimes to assimilation to adjoining words. We begin with words which are usually or originally fem :

varṣās cākṣuṣyah VS ŚB.: *varṣāni cākṣuṣāni* TS. MS KS. The rainy season is meant; the gender is usually fem, but occasionally neut, doubtless because *varṣa* 'rain' is neut in the early language, and in this variant the original form doubtless had neut gender

ājyam uktham avyathāya (TS *avyathayat*, KS. *avyathāya*) *stabhnātu* (MS. °*notu*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. Instead of *avyathā*, which is to be expected, KS uses an otherwise unknown *avyatha* 'firmness' (probably neut, less likely masc). The same with *prāṅgam uktham*, *marutvatīyam* u°, *nṣkevalyam* u°, *vaiśvadevāgnimārute ukthe*, etc.

§798. Due to assimilation to an adjoining word.

nṣṭyam (KS. °*yā*) *nakṣatram* MS. KS. This rare name for the constellation *svāti* occurs as *nṣṭyā* in TB (see BR s v.). We assume that KS has the 'proper' form and that MS. assimilates to *nakṣatram*, as in the next.

viśākham (TS °*khe*, KS. v. 1 °*kā*) *nakṣatram* TS MS KS. See §752.

§799. The regular or original gender is neuter in the next group:

tābhīr yāsi dūtyām (MS. °*yam*) *sūryasya* RV. MS. *yābhīr yāsi dūtyām sūryasya* TB. See Pischel *VSt* 1. 22. The regular form is *dūtya*; but in this variant, of course, the fem is older

asmākena vṛjanenā jayema RV. AV : *ariṣṭāso vṛjanībhir jayema* AV. [*idam tava prasarpnam* (JB. °*nā*) RV JB † 3 169c Oertel and Caland emend JB to °*nam*, as the gender of *idam* seems to require]

[*ihi tisro 'ti rocanāh* TB. ApŚ.: *etu tisro 'ti rocanā* AV. So Conc. There is no actual variant in the form, since it is followed by *y-*, AV. *p p* to be sure reads *rocanā*, as if neut, which is the regular gender of the word; but the fem adjective *tisro* proves that *rocanāh* fem. must have been understood]

§800. Due to assimilation:

viśo yantre (KS *yantrī*) *nudamāne arātīm* KS. TB. ApŚ. The word is in apposition with *devī* (dual fem), and is assimilated to it in gender in KS, *yantre* is neuter, but the change may have been helped along by the fact that it is formally ambiguous, since it might be derived from a fem **yantrā* as well as from neut *yantra*

prthivy udapuram annena viṣṭā TS : *udapurā nāmāsy annena viṣṭā* MS KS. A nonce-word, but the neuter gender of TS is rather to be expected (*pura* neut); it is assimilated in gender to the subject in MS. KS. (probably original).

§801. In the rest either gender seems justifiable; mostly nonce-words are concerned, but the first contains *svastī* or °*tih*, in which both genders are known:

paraśur (TS *parśur*) *vedūh paraśur naḥ svasti* (TS. °*tih*) AV. TS. The loss of final visarga is an easy phonetic change (VV 2 §381), and *svastih* occurs just before, even in AV. On the other hand TS. may have *svastih* by assimilation to this preceding form.

kyāmbv atra rohatu RV.: *kyāmbūr atra rohatu* (TA. *jāyatām*) AV. TA. The word is known only here

asyopasadyām mā chaitsī ŚB. BrhU.: *asyopasadye mā riṣāma* ŚG.† 3. 7. 3c, Kauś *upasadi* : *upasadya*, probably 'worship'; neither known elsewhere.

kṣatrasya tvā paraspāya brahmaṇas tanvam pāhi VS. ŚB.: *brahmanas tvā paraspāyāh* (MS. °*pāya*, p p. °*pāyāh*) *kṣatrasya tanvas pāhi* MS. TA. (pratika, °*pāyā* [iti], ApŚ. MS). Stems *paraspa* : °*pā*; as abstracts ('protection') both recorded only here. See §152 In the same passages:

prāṇasya tvā paraspāya (MS °*pāya*, v. 1 °*pāyāś*, p p. °*pāyāh*) *caḥṣuṣas* MS TA. (pratika ApŚ.). And:

divas tvā paraspāyāh (MS. °*pāya*) *antarikṣasya* . MS. TA. (pratika ApŚ.).

§802. Apparently due to assimilation:

varuṇasya skambhanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS KS. MahānU. ApŚ. Nonce-word; either gender is formally good; KS. doubtless assimilates to the gender of *śamyā* 'yoke-pin', which is addressed. So in the next, in the same context:

varuṇasya skambhasarjanam (KS. °*ny*) *asi* TS. MS KS. MahānU. MŚ.: *varuṇasya skambhasarjanā sthah* VS. ŚB. On the dual see §769.

3. Distinctive feminine forms varying with masculine as 'common gender'

§803. An interesting little group of cases concerns words which refer to feminine entities and appear in one variant in distinctively feminine forms, while the other variant shows forms that are masculine or at least not distinctively feminine; they may be called 'common gender' forms. Thus the acc pl of the 2d personal pronoun is, of course, regularly *yusmān* without regard to gender. But since the ending suggests masculine rather than feminine gender, the form *yusmās* is twice used in VS. (followed by ŚB) when referring to feminine entities (Whitney 492a, Wackernagel 3 p. 468):

yusmān (VS. ŚB. *yusmā*) *indro vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye* VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TB.

śvam āyantam abhy atra yusmān (VS. ŚB. *yusmāh*) VS. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

§804. Somewhat similarly, the technical priest-name *hotrāsansin* is once feminized when it is made to refer to *āpah*, fem., in a ritual passage: *āpo me hotrāsansinah* (AG °*sinyah*) §B ApS AG

§805. In the preceding the masculine ('common') form is regular, the feminine unusual and analogical. In a couple of other cases the feminine form is regular. Thus stems in the agent suffix *tar* regularly have feminines in *trī* (Whitney 375c, Wackernagel 3 p. 202), but in one variant the 'common gender' form is used with a feminine noun:

adbhr̥ vīsvasya bhartṛbhīh ApMB.: *adbhīh sarvasya bhartṛbhīh* ŚG. The latter doubtless feels *bhartṛbhīh* as an appositional noun 'the waters, bearers of all'.

§806. Yet more anomalously, MS once uses the masculine form *adhīpati* instead of the fem. *adhīpatnī* referring to Aditi. The formula occurs in a list of similar ones with different god-names, mostly masc., so that *adhīpati* is properly found in most of them, this doubtless helps to determine the use of the common gender form in MS. But all the other texts have the 'proper' fem.:

adūr adhīpatny (MS °*patūr*) āsīt VS TS. MS KS §B

4 The indefinite neuter

§807. A neuter epithet, most commonly an adjective or pronoun, tho sometimes the adjective is practically substantivized, is not infrequently used in an indefinite or absolute sense, translatable in English by a periphrasis containing the word 'thing' or the like, or by a pronoun in like construction. Such a passage may, in a variant form, appear with a masc. or fem. form, which indicates that the author has more clearly in mind the gender of the entity referred to. The masc. or fem. form with definite reference may be dual or plural when the number of the entity referred to requires it, while the indefinite neuter is regularly singular in any case, such variants, involving difference of number as well as gender, have been listed above in §§727 ff. and will not be repeated here, they belong, of course, equally in this group.—We shall append here also a group of cases in which an indefinite neuter varies with an equally indefinite masculine, the only difference being that the latter is personal ('such and such a one'), the former impersonal ('such and such a thing'). Substantive pronouns, which may either be indefinite neuter singular, or agree in gender and number with predicate nouns, will also be mentioned here (cf. §§730, 776)—Hirt, *IGGr* 3 §226, regards the indefinite neuter as an inheritance from a prehistoric period in which grammatical gender did not exist.

§808. Adjectives of definite reference varying with indefinite neuters occur as follows:

indrasya (also *viṣnor*) *dhrūvo* 'sī (TS. ApŚ *dhrūvam asi*) VS TS MS. KS.

ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ A knot (*granthi*, m.) is addressed; hence masc. in most texts. 'Thou art Indra's (Viṣnu's) firm one (firm thing; Keith 'fixed point'; Caland 'Festes').'

brahmavani tvā kṣatравanā rāyaspoṣavanī paryūhāmī VS. ŚB.: *brahmavanim tvā kṣatравanam* (TS KS. add *rāyaspoṣavanam*) *paryūhāmī* TS. MS. KS MŚ *tvā* refers in all to a post of udumbara wood, *audumbarī* (sc. *sthūnā*), and is fem. (cf. TS. 6 2. 10 3, and KŚ. 8. 5. 31). In VS ŚB it is made neuter 'thee, a brahman-winning thing' etc Mahidhara, in his commentarial way, takes it quite simply as for *vanam* with loss of ending, referring to Pān 7 1 39.

abhi tvādhām sahīyasā RV ApMB: *upa te 'dhām sahīyasīm* AV. The RV. original has a neuter indefinite, 'with that which is stronger, a stronger thing', but really means a plant just like AV., which makes the adjective agree in gender with *oṣadhi*.

ya (*yas*, *yah*) *strīnām jīwabhojanah* VS. TS. KSA ŚŚ: *yat strīnām jīwabhojanam* Vart. The 'antecedent' is *añjim*, 'the slippery one', referring to the male member; it is masc. even in Vart. which follows with these indefinite neuters, 'the thing that is'

agnir ekākṣareṇa (MS. KS. °*kṣarayā*) *prāṇam* (MS. TS KS. *vācam*) *udajayat* (VS ŚB add *tam ujjeṣam*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB And so *aśvinau dvyakṣareṇa* (°*kṣarayā*), *viṣṇus tryakṣareṇa* etc, 17 items in same passage With the fems. doubtless *vācā* is to be supplied: 'with monosyllabic (etc) utterance'. The accent (*ék°*) shows that possessive adjective compounds are meant in all texts (not, then, 'with one syllable'). Mahidhara supplies *chandasā* with them, but it seems more likely that they are indefinite. 'with the monosyllabic (thing)'

indrasya vajro 'sī vārtraghnah TS MS. KS TB MŚ ApMB.: *indrasya vārtraghnam asi* VS. ŚB. Since a bow is used in the ritual of the Vāj school, VS ŚB may understand *dhanus*; yet it is at least as likely that the adjective is indefinite ('thing relating to the Vṛtraslayer, victorious').

§809. Pronouns, relative and demonstrative, varying between indefinite neuter and definite masc or fem.:

lad aśvinā paridhattam svasti TS.: *tam aśvinā paridhattam svasti* (MŚ. *svastaye*) KS. MŚ. The masc refers to wind, here invoked in the ritual. The indefinite neuter must really have the same reference.

sam tam (KS. ApŚ. *ta*) *siñcatu rādhase* (KS ApŚ °*sā*) RV. KS. Vait ApŚ *ta*m refers to soma-drops (*drapsa*, *anśu*); this is repeated in KS. once with the indefinite neuter *ta*. Another KS. passage adapts the formula to a different context, where *ta* refers to *chidram*; this is repeated in ApŚ.

yām āśām emi kevalī sā me astu AV.: *yad ichāmi manasā sakāmah* TB. Followed by:

videyam enām manasi praviṣṭām (TB *enad dhrdaye nviṣṭam*) AV. TB. The definite 'what desire I go to' of AV. is replaced by 'what (thing) I desire' in TB; hence neut. for fem in the following pāda *pumān enam tanuta ut kṛṇāti* RV.: *pumān enad vayat y udgrṇāti* AV 'This' in RV. refers to *yajña* in the preceding. In AV. no word for sacrifice occurs in the context, and *enad* is indefinite, tho it must mean something of the same sort

yam āśirā (VS. *yad āśirdā*) *dampatī vāmam aśnutah* VS. TS In VS, 'what good thing'; in TS gender influenced by the following *putra*, which is the specific boon obtained.

yad indro apibac chacibhāḥ VS KS AB. ŚB. TB. AŚ ApŚ : *yam asyenādro apibāṇ śacibhāḥ* MS Preceded by *yad atra kiṣṭam* (*riptaṁ*) *rasnah sutasya* The relative is made masc. in MS. in reference to *sutasya* (m) which immediately precedes. Followed by:

aham (AB. AŚ. *idam*) *tad* (MS. *ta*m) *asya manasā kivena* (MS * *ghṛtena*), same texts.

deva savitar etam (LŚ. *etat*) *te yajñam prāhur* ŚŚ LŚ.: *etam te deva savitar yajñam prāhur*.. VS. ŚB. The context of LŚ refers to *samidh* (fem), and the pronoun must be indefinite ('this thing').

ya etad (TA MahānU. *enam*, MahānU. v. I. *etad*) *vidur* (ŚB. BṛhU. *ye tad vidur*) *amṛtās te bhavanti* ŚB. TA. BṛhU. MahānU. KU. ŚvetU. 'Those who know this (him; TA. comm. *paramātman*).'

tad (MŚ. *ta*m) *aham manase prabravīmi* VSK. TB. ApŚ. KŚ. MŚ. Vait. 'I proclaim this (truth; MŚ him, referring to Savitar).'

*ka*m (KapS ms *kiṁ*) *svd garbham prathamam dadhra* (KapS. °*rur*) *āpaḥ* RV. VS. TS MS KS. KapS Raghu Vira em to *ka*m, wrongly; Oertel 18 In RV. etc. *ka*m is adjectival to *garbham*; in KapS substantival, 'what (thing)?' On *dadhrur* see Edgerton, *Language* 10 243f.

tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokam VS. ŚB.: *ta*m *anu prehi sukṛtasya lokam* TS. KS It seems that *ta*m must go with *lokam*; there is then no expressed object of the verb in TS. KS. The VS has a lect fac.; *tad* is the object and refers back to *yad* . of the preceding.

eṣa (MahānU. *etat*) *te kāma* TAA. MahānU.: *kāmaitat te* AV. etc. The TAA. comm. supplies *ājyabhāga*; that on MahānU. *havh*, but the latter with *etat* is surely indefinite. The formula *kāmaitat te* occurs in a different context and is perhaps not really to be brought in here. In the same passage:

eṣa (MahānU. *etat*) *te manyo* TAA. MahānU.

§810. In other cases an indefinite neuter varies with a masculine which is equally indefinite, but personal. This occurs especially in negative expressions, where the meaning is 'no one' : 'nothing':

ahir jaghāna (PG *dadarṣa*) *kam* (AG. MG. *kim*) *cana* AG. PG. HG.

ApMB. MG. 'The serpent has killed (seen) no one (nothing).'

ṛtam nātyeti kim (GG. *kaś*) *cana* TB. ApŚ MŚ. GG.

māmīṣām (TS. TB. ApŚ. *maiṣām*) *kam canoc chiṣah* RV. SV. VS. TS.

TB. ApŚ : *māmīṣām moci kaś cana* AV.: *maiṣām uccheṣi kim cana* AV.

nakir (SV. *na ki*) *indra tvad uttarah* (SV. °*ram*) RV. SV. AŚ. ŚŚ. Followed by:

na jyāyān (SV. *jyāyo*) *asti vṛtrahan* RV. SV. And:

nakir (SV. *na ky*) *evā* (SV. *evam*) *yathā tvam* RV. SV. Wackernagel 3 p. 562 considers (*na*) *ki* (found only in SV.) a mere corruption.

To us it seems clear that it is a deliberate variant, a neuter to RV.'s masc, formed on the analogy of the endless neut. nom-acc. of 1 stem nouns. See also §820 where both *nakir* and RV. *nakis* are adverbial.

yasmāj jātam na purā kim canaiva VS.: *yasmāj jāto na paro 'nyo* (ŚŚ. *anyo*) *asti* JB ŚŚ.: *yasmād anyo na paro asti jātaḥ* PB. *yasmād anyan na param kim canāsti* Varit.: *yasmān na jātaḥ paro anyo asti* ('*sti*') VS. TB. KŚ. ApŚ. MahānU. NrpU.: *yasmāt param nāparam asti kim cū* TA. MahānU. N.: *tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kim canāsa* RV. TB : *yasmāj jāta na parā naiva kim canāsa* TA Only the forms *jāta na parā* of TA. need explanation. The comm. takes them as fem. sg., supplying *prajā* But more likely they are Vedic neuter plurals (indefinite).

§811. But also with positive expressions, meaning 'such and such a one' or 'thing', sometimes it is hard to see the reason for the variation, as in the first:

gopāyamānam (KS. °*naś*) *ca mā rakṣamāṇam* (KS. °*naś*) *ca . . gopāyetām* (°*yatām*) KS. PG MG. 'The protecting one (thing) and the guarding one (thing) shall protect. . ' Occurs in a list of formulas, the subjects of which are all personal (masc. or fem.) in all texts except

for this formula in PG MG Parallels in AV. 8. 1. 13. Why PG MG. provide this one formula with an impersonal, neuter subject does not appear

avasphūrjan (MS KS. °*jad*) *hetih* (TS *prahetih*, MS KS. *dhetih*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB. 'The one who (that which) thunders is his weapon' Griffith and Keith render simply 'thunder' The surrounding formulas generally have personal subjects The following one has *vidyut*, perhaps MS KS. have adapted the form of *ava*° in an external, mechanical way to the ending (-i) of this word But *vidyut* is regularly fem (exceptionally neut according to pw, without quoting any occurrence)

brhad (ŚB *mahad*) *dha tasthau bhuvaneṣv antah* RV ŚB AA. *brhan ha tasthau rajaso vimānah* (JB *vimānawa*) AV. JB. Both 'the great one', masc. or neut.

śukro brhan dakṣinayā (TB. *brhad dakṣinā tvā*) *pṛpartu* AV. TB. The comm on TB understands by *brhad* the *sāman* of that name. That on AV. takes *śukro brhan* as *Sūrya*, *Whitney*, *Soma*.

[*yan* (ŚŚ *yam*) *nah pitā samjānūte* AB ŚŚ Indefinite in both. AB.. 'what (i.e. the situation which) our father approves' ŚŚ might be interpreted: 'whom (whatever person, really thinking of *Śunah-śepa*) our father approves' But the ŚŚ comm. reads *yan*, clearly understanding *yad* (gloss: *yan no 'smākam pitā samjānūte tasmīn ādeṣe vayan tīṣṭhāmahe*) It seems that *yam* is only a bad writing for *yan*]

Substantive pronouns in equational sentences

§812. In introducing equational sentences, pronouns may be in the indefinite neuter singular without regard to the gender or number of the noun referred to, or they may agree in gender and number with the latter. Cf. §§730, 776, where other examples are quoted, and §826

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt pīluppilā*,

kā (TS TB *kim*) *svid āsīt pīṣāṅgulā*,

kā (TS TB ApŚ *kim*) *svid āsīt pūrvacutīh*, all VS TS MS KSA ŚB TB, the last in ApŚ

kah (VS *kim*) *snt pṛthivyā varṣīyān* (VS. °*yah*) VS AŚ ŚŚ The answer expected is 'Indra', hence masc *kah* in most texts

5. Adverbial forms

§813. Related to the indefinite neuter are the numerous neuter forms used as adverbs; it is the indefiniteness of the neuter gender which

makes it the favorite form of adverbs. When forms of other genders are used adverbially, we take it that in principle they must have been originally definite, with ellipsis of some noun; altho, to be sure, there are such cases where it is difficult for us to suggest the noun to be supplied, and we may admit that such forms come to be used as stereotyped adverbs. Among the variants we find distinctively fem. as well as neut. adverbs, varying with adjectives of any of the three genders, as well as with other adverbs.

§814. We begin with the rare instances of fem. adverbs varying with masc. adjectives:

ud enam uttaram (VS TS KS ŚB °rām) *naya* AV. VS TS. MS KS ŚB. Vait ApŚ MŚ Kauś : *ud asmān uttarān naya* ApŚ
divaś cid antād upamām (TA † *upa mām*, RV. *antān upamān*) *udānaḥ* RV AV. SV TA. Whitney adopts the *v* 1 *upa mām* for AV. Benfey takes *upamām* as an adverb. See §495

§815. Neuter adverbs varying with masculine adjectives:

āgne yāhu suvidatrebhīr arvān (MS. *arvāk*, p p *arvān*) RV: AV. MS. TB N.

yuktā (so Poona ed. of TB. for *yuktā* Conc.) *harī vṛṣanā yāhy arvān* (MS *arvāk*, p p *arvān*; KS ms *arvāḥ*, ed. *arvāk*) RV MS KS. TB. *prān* (VS TB *prāṅk*, MS *prāk*, p p *prān*) *somo atidrutah* VS VSK MS ŚB TB ApŚ.

pratyak (p p *pratyān*) *somo atidrutah* MS. *pratyān* (VS TS MS † ŚB * TB *pratyāṅk*) *somo atidrutah* (VS * †10 31b, MS *atidrutah*) AV † (see Whitney's note) VS (bis) VSK TS MS KS ŚB. (bis) TB ApŚ

etat tvā deva savitar vṛṇate ŚB : *deva savitar etam tvā vṛṇate*. AŚ ŚŚ N.

tam u tvam (SV. *tava tyan*) *māyayāvadhīh* RV. SV. Preceded by: *yad dha tyan māyinaṃ mṛgam* SV.'s *tyan* can only be construed as an adverb. It is due in some part to the preceding *tyam*.

tam idam (ApMB *imam*) *vr vṛhāmi te* RV AV. ApMB 'I here (now) pluck it out for thee' *idam* is an adverb; ApMB makes it into a pronoun agreeing with *tam*.

svasti nah pūrṇamukhaḥ pari krāmatu (HG °*mukham pari krāmantu*) ApMB HG See §404

ava tara (TS *avattaram*, MS p p *avataram*, AV. *avatta o*) *nadiṣv ā* (AV. *nadinām*) AV VS TS MS KS ŚB *avattaram* is apparently an adverb. See §404

tad āsata ṛṣayah sapta sākam AV. *tasyāsata ṛṣayah* (TS TAA °*āsata harayah*) *sapta tīre* TS ŚB BrhU TAA *tad* seems to be adverbial

asvinendram na jāgrm (TB. °vī) VS. MS. TB. See §762.

tan tvā pra viśāmi sarvaguh saha yan me 'sti tena AV : *tan* (KS † *ta*) *tvendragraha prapadye* (ApŚ *pravīśāni*) *saguh saha yan me 'sti* (astī) *tena* KS ApŚ *ta* in KS adverbial

viśvak patantu didyavah RV. *viśvañico asmac charavah patantu* AV.

dyumad vibhāti bharatebhyah śucih (VS *śuci*, comm. *śucih*) RV SV. VS. TS MS. KS. *śuci* may be an adverb; but cf. VV 2 §381

tan (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyā* (MS. °yī) TS. MS TA Perhaps bad writing (*tan* for *tam*).

tan (JB. *tam*) *mā puṁsi kartary crayadhvam* JB. KBU As prec
somah prathamō vīdē RV. PG. HG. ApMB.: *somasya jāyā prathamam* AV. 'Soma was the first to marry thee': 'thou wast Soma's wife first.'

ye 'do (MS *amī*, KS *vādo*, VS ŚB. *vāmī*) *rocane divah* RVKh VS TS MS KS ŚB. ApMB : *ye cāmī rocane divi* NīlarU *adas* adverb, 'there'.

§816. A special group under this heading may be formed of the variants involving the pronominal neuter *yad*, used as a conjunction, in variation with masculine forms of the same pronoun:

arundhatīm ye (ApMB *yad*) *dhruvatām ha ninyuh* ApMB. HG '(The ṛsis) who have led': 'since (the ṛsis) have led'

toke vā goṣu tanaye yad (and *yam*) *apsu* RV (both)

nava yat puro navatim ca sadyah RV. AV.: *nava yo navatim purah* RV. AV. SV.

pūrvo yat (MŚ *yah*) *sann aparo bhavāsi* ApŚ MŚ

pra ye (SV. *yad*) *gāvo na bhūrnayah* RV SV

yad (MŚ *ya*) *āgachāt pathibhir devayānāḥ* VS TS KS ŚB TB MŚ

ya (TA ApŚ ApMB *yad*) *ṛte* (PB † *yaḥṣate*) *cīd abhiṣṛṣah* RV AV SV TB. TA. KŚ. MŚ ApŚ Kauś ApMB GG

yena tvābadhnāt (KŚ *mā*°, TS ApMB *yam* *abadhnāta*, MŚ MG *yaj* *jagrantha*) *savitā suśevah* (AV. °vāh, TS ApMB * *suketah*, MŚ MG *satyadharmā*) RV AV TS MŚ KŚ ApMB (bis) MG

viśvalarmā vīmanā ād vīhāyāḥ (KŚ *vīmanā yo vyomā*, MS *vīmame yo vīhāyāḥ*, TS. *manasā yad vīhāyāḥ*) RV VS TS MS KS AŚ N

yad (SV *yo*) *devasya śavasā prārīnāḥ* RV. SV

yad agne kavyavāhana TS TB. ApŚ.: *yo agnah kravyavāhanah* (VS KS *kavya*°) RV. VS. KS AŚ

yad (IŚ *yam*) *devāso lālāmagun* AV VS ŚB ŚŚ IŚ

anu yam viśve madantī (AV.* *anu yad enam madantī* *viśva*) *īmāḥ* RV AV (both) SV. VS AA ApŚ. MŚ N

tiṣṭhā ratham (TB. ApŚ *rathe*) *adhi tam* (VS. ŚB *yam*, TB *yad*) *vajra-hasta* (TB. °*tah*) RV. VS ŚB. TB
viprā ṭgātham gāyata yaj jujoṣatī (AA °*ṣat*) AA. ŚŚ : *viprāya ṭgātham gāyata yam jujoṣate* SV.

§817. Feminine adjectives varying with neuter adverbs The first case involves the conjunction *yad*, as in the last paragraph:

andhena yat (TA *yā*) *tamasā prāvṛtāsī* (TA °*tāsi*) AV. TA. 'When she was (thou who wast) enveloped in blind darkness'

yajñasya jīhvām avdāma guhyām (MG *guhyam*) RV. TS. MS. KS
 'We have found the secret tongue (in secret the tongue) of the sacrifice'

viśvair devair anumatā (KS TA °*tam*) *marudbhīh* AV. VS TS MS. KS. ŚB. TA The original fem adjective applies to *sītā* 'furrow'. In TA. it occurs in a different connexion which requires a masc. (§849). In KS the connexion is the same, and the neut. must be taken as an adverb.

caraty ananuvratā ApMB. HG : *vicaranty apativratā* ŚG. MDh.: *yac cacārānanuvratam* ApŚ See §404

asambādā yā madhyato mānavebhyah MS.: *asambādham badhyato* (read *ma*°) *mānavānām* AV Kauś See §623.

achīdrām tvāchīdrena juṣṭam (KS. °*ṣām*, v. 1 °*ṣam*) *grhnāmi* MS. KS. ApŚ. The fems refer to *surā*. Caland on ApŚ. would read *juṣṭam* (adverb) in KS, and since the best ms. reads so, with the parallel texts, he may be right But *juṣṭam* as fem adjective would be equally construable.

§818. And once a fem noun, in the dative (quasi-adverbial), varies with a neuter adverb:

tam (MS. *tan*) *mā devā avantu śobhāyai* (MS °*yī*) TS. MS. TA 'Unto splendor' virtually equals 'splendidly'. See §487.

§819. Neuter adjective varying with fem adverb:

upamam (SV. °*mām*) *devatālaye* RV. SV *upamam* goes with *śavaḥ* preceding; *upamām* must be an adverb.

§820. In the rest both variant forms seem to be adverbial. The only clear case of masc-neut variation here concerns the Rigvedic *nakis*, formally a nom sing masc, but sometimes used adverbially; twice in the same verse SV. replaces it by *na ki*, on which see §810 above: *nakir* (SV. Svidh. *na ki*) *devā minīmasi* (SV Svidh *inī*°) RV. SV. Svidh. *nakir* (SV. *na ky*) *ā yopayāmasi* RV. SV

§821. Once, also, SV. substitutes *nakih* for RV. (*nū*) *cit*: *nū cit* (SV. *nakih*) *sa dabhyate jamaḥ* RV. SV.

§822. We may mention also the following, which simulates a masc - neut variation with the forms *kam* : *kim*, altho of course *kam* cannot be, historically, an acc sg masc of the stem *ka*·

prajāyāḥ kam (AV. *kim*) *amṛtam nāvṛṇīta* RV AV

§823. As to fem - neut variants, we find chiefly a group involving the equivalent adverbs *pratārām* and *°rām* (once *samtārām* : *°rām*):

pra tāry agne prataram na āyuh RV MS. KS ApŚ · *prātāry agne pratārām na āyuh* TS

jīvātave prataram (SV SMB *°rām*) *sādhayā dhuyah* RV SV SMB
indremam prataram (VS TS ŚB *°rām*) *kṛdhi (naya)* AV VS TS MS
KS ŚB

drāghīya āyuh prataram (TA † *°rām*, MG *pratīram*) *dadhānāh* (AV **te dadhām*) RV AV (ter) TA AG MG *āyur dadhānāh prataram navīyah* AV

sāmṛjyāya prataram (ApŚ *°rām*) *dadhānāh* RV KS ApŚ MŚ
adhī kṣamī prataram dīdhyanāh RV AV · *asmin kṣaye pratārām dīdyānāh* SV

pra tam (RV * *no*) *naya prataram* (TS ApMB *°rām*) *vasyo acha* RV (bis) VS TS MS KS ApMB

samīṣtam cit samīaram (VS TS KS *°rām*) *sam śīśādhi* AV VS TS MS KS

§824. Otherwise we have noted only the following, in which both variant forms are parts of the pple of a compound verb and are perhaps hardly to be classified here, cf VV 2 §505

svamkṛto 'sī KS *svāmkrto 'sī* VS TS MS ŚB ApŚ MŚ

6 Pronouns referring to nouns of different gender

§825. Pronouns which refer to a series of nouns of different genders may agree with the nearest noun in gender, or with the gender of the plurality of the nouns, or else they may be masc if the series includes both masc and fem nouns

tās (ApMB *te*) *tā vadhū prajāvatīm* AV ApMB Preceded by *yā oṣadhayo yā nadayo yāni kṣetrāni yā vanā* (ApMB *yāni dhanvāni ye vanāh*, so read) In AV *tās* follows the gender of the fems of the first pāda, in ApMB *te* follows that of the nearest noun, *vanāh* (on which see §793), or is masc as including both masc and fem (see next)

rohāt kundrñācī golattīhā tā apsarasām (VS *te 'psarasām*) VS. TS MS KSA Since *rohāt* is regularly fem, the fem pronoun is expected (with only fem nouns) The masc of VS is apparently due to

taking *rohāt* as masc (so VS comm.); with a series including masc and fem nouns, a masc pronoun is justified by usage (Renou, *Gram* p. 500).

7. Pronouns agreeing with antecedent or predicate noun.

§826. When the antecedent and the predicate of a substantive pronoun are of different genders, the pronoun may agree with either (cf. §812).

namas te bṛhate yat ta uttarato yat ta uttarah pakṣah LŚ · *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttarah pakṣah* AA · *namas te bṛhate yas ta uttaro bāhur yas ta uttarah pakṣah* ŚŚ *bṛhat* means the *sāman* of that name. Similarly *namas te rathamtarāya (rātham°)*, and *namas te vāmade-vyāya (rājanāya)*, see Conc

(*yadī vrkṣād abhyapaptat phalam tad*) *yady antarikṣāt sa u vāyur eva* AV : (*yadī vrkṣāgrād abhyapatat phalam*) *yad vāntarikṣāt tad u vāyur eva* HG : (*yadī vrkṣād yady antarikṣāt phalam abhyapaptat tad u vāyur eva* ApMB. The neuter *tad* of ApMB. HG refers back to *phalam* and keeps its gender, despite the masc predicate *vāyur*. The masc *sa* of AV. is doubtless to be explained by the gender of the predicate, altho *apām stokah* of the preceding verse may also have been influential

strīyah satīs tān (TA *tā*) *u me punsa āhuh* RV. AV TA N 'Those that are women, they declared to me to be men' The original makes the pronoun agree in gender with the predicate, TA changes it to agree with the antecedent

§827. Somewhat similarly, an adjective epithet in the following variant agrees in gender either with the subject (Agni, so most texts), or with an adjoining noun—predicate of a different clause this time, but one which immediately precedes and is closely associated in TA, the text which makes this agreement.

sampriyah paśubhir bhava (TB. ApŚ *bhuvat*, KS °*yah paśubhiḥ*) MS KS TB ApŚ · *sampriyam prajayā paśubhir bhuvat* TA Subject is Agni in all, the formula *purīṣam asī* precedes in TA and KS, and follows in MS

8 Compound nouns

§828. On the familiar use of neuter singular dvandvas as the equivalent of duals (or plurals) of any gender see §751. Peculiar is the case of the dual stem *ahorātra*, for the masc. or neut. gender of compounds in *-rātra*, see Wackernagel 2, 1, p. 40. Note that there is nothing in

the context of the following variant to disprove that *-rātrās* and *-rātre* may be fem (which gender the word has at least in VS 14 30):

ahorātrās (KS TA °*trāni*) *te kalpantām* VS KS ŚB TA . *ahorātre te* (TB *me*) *kalpetām* MS TB.

§829. Occasionally shift of gender is due to taking a form in one case as a karmadhāraya, then keeping the gender of the last member of the compound, and elsewhere as a bahuvrīhi, then agreeing in gender with the noun it modifies Thus:

ayakṣmayā (KS. °*mena*) *pari bhuja* VS TS MS KS NilarU Preceded in all by *yā te hetir mādhuṣṭama*, *haste babhūva te dhanuh*, *layāsmān viśvalas tvam* (with slight variants). Since KS has fem *layā* (referring to *hetir*) in pāda c, like the rest, the neut *ayakṣmena* of pāda d can only be taken as a karmadhāraya, 'with non-disease' *pīvoannān* (VS °*nā*, MS °*nam*, p p °*nān*) *rayivṛdhah sumedhāh* RV VS MS AB. TB. AŚ ApŚ All texts but VS intend *pīvoannān*, a bahuvrīhi, 'he seeks men with rich food' Mahidhara, followed by Griffith, takes VS in the same way, calmly stating that the final *n* of the acc. masc is lost! Unless it is a phonetic variant or corruption (cf VV 2 §307, to which this should be added), it must of course be a karmadhāraya, acc pl neut: 'he seeks rich foods' *latrāpi dahre* (MahānU *dahram*) *gaganam viśokah* (TA Poona ed °*kam*, v 1 °*kah*) TA MahānU *viśokah* 'freedom from grief', coordinate with *gaganam*, which is modified by *viśokam* 'free from grief'.

9 Nom. agentis (masc) : nom actionis (fem or neut)

§830. Occasionally the same (or virtually the same) word is used either as a noun of agent (masc) or a noun of action (neut or fem. according to formation):

eṣa vas tadvivācanaḥ ŚŚ : *eṣa vah sadvivācanam* AB. Comm on AB paraphrases by *adhyāpanam* and supplies *kariṣyati* Better, 'he (shall be) to you instruction in what is right' ŚŚ, 'instructor in that'

sā (MS *yā*) *prathamā samskṛtīr viśvavārā* (MS *yajñe asmin*) VS MS ŚB : *sa prathamah samskṛtīr viśvakarmā* TS TB ApŚ. The latter make a noun of agent out of *samskṛtī*

10. Substitution of one noun for another

§831. Sometimes the change of gender in an epithet is due to the substitution of one noun for another, altho the context is in general the same. Thus, as between masc and fem :

avasṛṣṭā (TB. ApŚ. °*taḥ*) *parā pata* RV AV SV. VS TS TB. Vait. ApŚ.

AG Followed by:

śaravye brahmasamṣṭe (TS °*tā*) RV AV SV. VS TS . *śaro brahmasam-
ṣṭaḥ* TB. ApŚ For *śaravyā* TB ApŚ substitute the synonym
śara.

ūrvam gavyam pariśadanto agman RV KS ('surrounding it they pene-
trated into the prison-cave of the kine')· *urvīm gavyām pariśadam
no akran* AV (a far-reaching Verballhornung; Whitney, 'they have
made for us a wide conclave rich in kine')

gīreh pravartamānalah RV . *gīreh avacarantikā* AV. Preceded by *kuṣ-
umbhakas tad abravīt* RV , *karnā śvānt tad abravīt* AV. The fem
gender of *śvāndh* is otherwise unrecorded and is ignored by the
dictionaries

§832. As between masc and neut :

yam (AV. TS ApŚ. *yat*) *te devī nṛtīr ā babandha*,

pāśam (AV. TS. *dāma*) *grīvāsv avicartyam* (VS ŚB *avicṛtyam*, AV *avi-
mokyam yat*),

tam te (AV. *tat te*, TS *īdam te tad*) *vi śyāmy āyūṣo na madhyāt* (MS KS
nu madhye, AV *āyūṣe varcase balāya*) AV. VS TS MS KS ŚB ,
and the first in ApŚ MŚ Here the two synonyms are *pāśa* masc
and *dāman* neut.

§833. As between fem and neut :

yatheyam strī pautram agham na rodāt AG. SMB. PG. ApMB HG :
yathedam strīpautram aganma rudrīyāya MG. The latter has a
far-reaching reconstruction; *īdam* agrees with *strīpautram*

§834. These cases, where the nouns to which the variant epithets
apply are clearly expressed, are simple enough. More dubious are some
cases in which, without change of the general context, an epithet changes
its gender, apparently in agreement with nouns which in at least one
form, and usually in both, are not expressed in the context at all A
simple instance, requiring no comment, is the following, in which the
late RV. hymn 6 75 speaks of the bow as 'father of many daughters'
(arrows?), *bahvīnām* fem , for which MS. substitutes 'of many sons',
bahūnām masc (no one would want many daughters!):

bahvīnām (MS *bahūnām*) *pitā bahur asya putrah* RV. VS TS MS
KSA ApŚ.

§835. In other cases the nouns denoted by the variant epithets are
in one or both cases often uncertain Masculine and feminine·

tvam uttamāsy oṣadhe RV VS · *uttamo asy oṣadhīnām* AV The AV.
6 15. 1a repeats RV. 10 97 23 with change of gender, apparently
referring to an unnamed plant with masc name (according to the
comm *pālāśa*, but Kauś uses barley).

[*atī dhanveva tān īhi* RV. AV SV VS : *dadhanveva tā īhi* TA : *nidhanveva tān īmi* TA The TA repeats the verse in the same context, once recording *tā(s)*, fem, which seems to us to make no possible sense We believe that it has merely lost final *n* by the phonetic process treated VV 2 §309, to which this variant should be added]
tāsām vīśīṇānām (KS *vīśīṇyānām*) MS. KS : *teṣām vīśīpriyānām* (VS ŚB °*nām* vo 'ham) VS. TS ŚB Preceded in same verse by *vās* (TS *yeṣām*) *tīsrāḥ paramajāḥ* (MS *prathamajāḥ*) Reference is to soma-cups (*graha*), and we do not understand the fem, yet note *tīsrāḥ* even in TS (The TS comm supplies *prakṛtayah*) Keith ignores the point Perhaps a fem synonym of *graha*, such as *āsuti*, is understood

jīvam (ApMB. *jīvām*) *rudanti vi mayante* (AV *nayanty*) *adhvare* (AV °*ram*) RV AV ApMB In an obscure stanza used in the wedding rite, see Bloomfield *AJP* 21 411 ff, Oldenberg *Noten* on 10 40 10 The fem of ApMB surely means the bride, it is still problematic who is meant by *jīvam*

enām (ŚG *enam*) *kumāras tarunah* AV ŚG, and:

enām parīsrutah kumbhah AV.: *enam parīsrutah kumbhīyā* ŚG The fems refer either to the house (*śālā*) or to the chief post (*sthūnā*), the masc apparently to the latter under its name *sthūnārāja*

utemam paśya MS MŚ : *utemāḥ paśya* TS See §740

asyai (TS *asmai*) *saṁ datta vīryam* (TS *bheṣajam*) RV VS TS *asyai* refers to an herb, into which all herbs are to put their healing power, of course for the benefit of the *yajamāna*, to whom TS refers directly with *asmai*

śīvebhur (AV VSK TS * *śīvābhur*) *adya parī pāhi no gayam* (vr̥dhe) RV AV VS VSK TS (both) MS KS TB The masc agrees with *pāyubhiḥ* in the preceding in some texts, in others some such masc (or neut ?) word has to be supplied, or else it is an indefinite, quasi-adverbial neuter With the fem. the AV comm supplies *ūtibhiḥ*, it might however be considered adverbial.

anu manyatām anumanyamānah (TS °*mānā*) AV TS And *lasya* (TS *lasyai*) *vayam hedasī māpī bhūma* AV TS These two pādas occur in a hymn addressed to Anumatī, to whom the fems refer, the masc forms of AV are well attested but we can explain them no better than Whitney (see his note)

vīśvā (MS *vy*) *amīvāḥ pramuñcan mānuṣībhiḥ* (KS °*ṣebhyah*, MS °*ṣānām*) AV MS KS See §573

saṁ eti śīve vacasā (SV *vīśvā ojasā*) *patim dvah* AV SV By *vīśve*

AV undoubtedly means 'all men'. Benfey suggests either that *vśvā(h)* is a nominal instead of a pronominal form, in that case masc, or else that *stutayah* is to be supplied with it. Ppp is reported by Roth as reading *vśvā*

[*anābho mṛda dhūrta* (MS *dhūrte*, v 1 °*ta*) MS MŚ : (*anārbhava mṛda*) *dhūrta* (KS °*te*) *namas te astu* ('*stu*) KS ApŚ Knauer on MŚ would read *dhūrta* also in MS Rudra is addressed and no voc fem seems possible; if a voc form is concerned it can only be *dhūrta*. But *dhūrte* occurs in KS, KapS. (4.6.45.1, see Oertel 101), and in two mss and p p of MS. The persistence of the form suggests that *dhūrta* is a lect fac. Perhaps we have an obscure corruption of some form containing the pronoun *te*, or some sort of noun form, dat sg or loc sg]

[*mānasya patni śaranā syonā* AV : *mā nah sapatnah śaraṇah syonā* HG. Followed by:

[*devī devebhur nimitāsy agre* AV. : *devo devebhur nimitāsy agre* HG. The fems. *nimitā* and *syonā* are sufficient to prove the corruption of HG, Oldenberg adopts the AV. readings]

§836. A special case under this heading is formed by an interesting group in which occur pronouns or adjectives referring (in the fem.) to a collective noun such as *senā* 'army', or (in the masc.) to the individuals which compose the collectivity. Cf §715:

indra āsām (AV MS KS *eṣām*) *neitā bṛhaspatiḥ* RV AV. SV. VS. TS.

MS KS The fem pronoun refers to *senāh* 'armies', in the context, the masc to the men who compose them
yuvam tām (SV. *ubhau tām*) *indra vṛtrahan* AV. SV. As in prec; here *senā* sing

āmūr aja pratyāvarṭayemāh RV. VS TS MS KSA. *prāmūn jayābhīme jayantu* AV. The original *amūr* probably refers to armies (Geldner) Whitney takes the AV. form as *amūn*, referring to the individual enemies, but p p *amūm* (comm *śatrusenām*).

nama āvyādhanībhyo vvidhyantībhyāś (KS *vvidhyadībhyāś*) *ca vo namah* VS TS MS KS In this litany to Rudra and his associates, the plural doubtless refers to Rudra's hosts, understanding *senā* plu; the masc of KS to the individual members

§837. Masculine and neuter:

māteva putram bibhṛtāpsv enat (MS *bibhṛtā sv enat*, TS KS *bibhṛtā sv enam*) VS TS MS KS ŚB. The neut refers to the ashes put into water (mentioned in the context); the masc apparently to Agni, the fire here carried in a pan.

vardhamāno (TS. °*nam*) *mahān* (TS. MS *maha*) ā *ca puṣkare* (TS °*ram*) VS TS. MS KS ŚB The half-verse accompanying this one in VS 11 29 is addressed to a lotus leaf (*puṣkara* or *puṣkaraparna*, both neut) on which is laid a lump of clay representing Agni. Our *pāda* is followed by *divo mātṛayā varinā* (*varimnā*) *prathasva* Mahīdhara on VS thinks that *vardhamāno* still refers to the lotus leaf, with 'Vedic' change of gender With Griffith we must rather understand Agni, in the form of the lump of clay, as addressed. In VS 13 2 the verse is used in laying a lotus leaf on the site of the āhavanīya fire-altar, and Agni is doubtless again addressed in the 2d half verse TS. uses neuters, referring to the lotus leaf as in the other half verse.

ya enad veda sa id enad (AV. *enam*) *arhat* RVKh AV. The neut refers to *hṛanyam*, the mase apparently to an unexpressed *man* or some mase name of a jewel (Bloomfield, *SBE* 42 669).

svasty uttarān (MS MŚ °*ran*, TS ApŚ °*rāny*) *aśīya* TS MS. KS ApŚ. MŚ. Used in the shaving ceremony, the neut we take to refer to *śmaśrūni*, with Caland and Henry (otherwise comm. and Keith) The mase pl (intended also in MS MŚ) may refer to *keśān*, it is hardly necessary to emend as Schroeder suggests.

devaśrud imān (sc. *keśān*) *pravape* MS MŚ. *devaśrūr elān* (sc. *śmaśrūni*) *pravape* TS H̄G As prec

[*viśo* (SV. *dāso*) *viśvā anu prabhuh* (TB *prabhu*) RV SV MS TB Followed by *s-*, doubtless phonetic corruption in TB, cf VV 2 §381] [*saṁśīlatam kṣatram jṣṇu* (Ppp MS KS TA *kṣatram me jṣṇu*, AV. *kṣatram ajaram astu jṣṇuh*) AV Ppp VS TS MS KS ŚB TA. *jṣṇuh* can only be a blunder, VV 2 §381]

§838. Feminine and neuter.

gāthayanti pariṣkṛtam (AV °*tā*) RV. AV See Oldenberg, *Noten* on 10 85 6 Apparently the neut refers to Sūryā's garment (*vāśah*) AV makes the fem refer to Sūryā

haviṣ (*havih*) *kṛvantah parivatsarīnam* (MG °*rīyam*, HG † SMB † °*rīnām*) AV SMB ApMB. HG. MG Both Kirste and Jörgensen confess inability to interpret the fem, and we can do no better But its occurrence in two texts, of different schools, is very strange [*ya ābabhūva* (PB ā^a) *bhuvanāni viśvā* (PB *viśvāh*!) VS PB JB. ŚŚ Vait *viśvāh* is perhaps a misprint, certainly an error (VV 2 §381); the comm. has *viśvām*]

§839. Masculine, feminine, and neuter.

ūrnamradasam (ūr^{nā}) *tvā śrīnām* (KS *ūrnamradah prathasva*, Kauś

ūnamradam prathasva) svāsastham (VS.† ŚB † °sthām) devebhyah
VS TS KS ŚB. TB Kauś ApŚ. Masc in TS TB ApŚ. (applying to *prastara*); fem in VS. ŚB. (to *vedi*), neut. in KS. Kauś (to *barhas*?).

11. Transfer of epithet

§840. The preceding group of variants leads over naturally to those in which the change in gender is explained by the application of an epithet to different nouns in the context. These are of the same type as those classed under 'transfer of epithet' between various case forms, many of which, it will be remembered, show change in gender as well as case, these will not be repeated here. Transfer of epithet appears in the following variants between masculine and feminine forms:

īdāno (KS °nā) vahnur (KS. °nam) namasā AV. VS VSK. TS MS KS
See §399.

aṅgāny ahrutā yasya (TS and vikāra of ŚB. *yasyai*) VS TS. KS ŚB. Followed by *tam mātṛā* (KS *tam devās*, TS and vikāra of ŚB *tām devaḥ*) *saṁ ajīgamam* (KS *aciklpan*). The masc (original) makes the pronouns refer to the embryo (*garbha*) of the cow; the vikāra of ŚB contemplates the possibility that the embryo will be female (and belongs with §782). TS, on the other hand, contains a genuine and obvious 'transfer of epithet', making the pronouns refer to the cow herself (who, to be sure, is referred to in the stanza only by second person pronouns).

tad agnir anumanyatām ayam (PG. *iyam svāhā*) PG HG. The simpler, and presumably original, reading is *ayam*, referring to Agni, *iyam* is difficult; Stenzler omits the word in translating and regards it as an intrusion, Oldenberg renders by 'N. N', apparently as standing for the name of the bride (the verse is spoken by the bridegroom); the comm. on PG makes *iyam* agree with *svāhā* as n. pr., 'and this Svāhā (Agni's consort).'

dvāro devīr anv asya viśve (MS KS *viśvāḥ*) AV VS. TS MS KS. The masc *viśve* is a coordinate subject, along with *dvāro*; in MS. KS. it becomes an epithet of the latter.

tām tvam svadhām tars sahopa jīva ApMB.: *tam svadhām akṣitam tarṣ sahopajīvāsau* HG. Most likely HG. is original: 'upon that (wave, *ūrmī*, which is) sweet drink (and is) inexhaustible live thou with these.' ApMB. makes the pronoun agree with *svadhām*.

kasmai (KS tasmai) deva vaṣad astu tubhyam VS. VSK MS KS. ŚB : *tasmai ca devī vaṣad* .TS. The voc masc refers to Prajāpati (or

'Ka'); the fem of TS to Pṛthivī (denoted by *uttānāyāi* in the preceding)

garbham sravanām agadam akah (AŚ *akarma*) TS AŚ ApŚ *garbham sravanām agadām akarma* ApŚ : *ukhām sravanām agadām akarma* (KŚ *aganmā*) KŚ MŚ The masc forms go with *garbha*, the fems with *ukhā* (which is clearly understood even when not expressed)

apāsya ye śsināh pāsāh KS ApŚ · *apāsyāh salvanah pāsān* Kauś The fem refers to Nirṛti, preceding, the masc apparently to the *yajamāna*

indrena dattam prayatam (TS *dattām prayatām*) *marudbhūh* TS MS KS Preceded by *ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtasya panthām* (MS *nābhīm*) The masc pples agree with the last word, the fems with *dhārām*

mā hnsīṣur vahatum uhyamānam (ApMB † *ūhyamānām*) AV ApMB 'Let them not injure the procession as it proceeds' 'let them not injure the procession and her (the bride) that is being carried off'

§841. In some of the above the 'epithet' is in one form more or less independent, in a couple of others it is quite distinctly so, that is not really an 'epithet' of another word at all (cf §15).

pratyañ ud eṣi mānuṣān (AV.* °ṣiḥ) RV AV (both) ArS N Preceded by *pratyañ devānām viśah* The RV *mānuṣān* = 'humans, men', in AV sc *viśah*

mṛgā na bhīmās taviṣṭbhūh arcinah (TB *taviṣṭbhūh ūrmibhūh*) RV TB The orig *taviṣṭbhūh* is apparently a noun, 'with might', TB feels that a form of the adjective *taviṣa* is required, and supplies *ūrmibhūh*, perhaps recollecting RV 6 61 2

§842. Transfer of epithet, masculine and neuter

anāptā yā (AV *ye*) *vah prathamā* (AV. p p °māh) AV KS ApŚ. See §552, end

eṣa vasūni pibdanā (SV °nah) RV SV The adj is transferred from *vasūni* to *eṣa* (= Soma)

śambhu mayobhu (TB TA *śambhūr mayobhūr*) *no hṛde* RV SV TB TA Kauś N Preceded by *vāta āvātu bheṣajam*, the adjectives go with *bheṣajam*, or with *vātaḥ*

asmin have puruhūtah purukṣuh (AV TS °kṣu) RV AV Ppp TS KS Preceded by *uruvyacā no mahiṣah śarma yansat (yachatu)* Transfer from *mahiṣah* to *śarma*

kakubham (kakuham) rūpam vṛṣabhasya (rūpam ṛṣ°) rocate brhat (VSK *brhan*) VS VSK TS MS KS ŚB. In VSK *brhan* goes with *somah* following

codad rādha upastutaś (ArS. °*taṃ*) *cid arvāk* RV. AV. ArS MS. TB.

The adjective is transferred from the subject (Indra) to *rādhas tad ayam* (MG *idam*) *rājā varuno 'numanyatām* AG. SMB PG ApMB HG MG. In MG. *idam* (with *tad*) replaces *ayam* (with *rājā varuno*)

vīduharās tapa ugro (AV *ugram*) *mayobhūh* RV. AV.

matsvā susīpra (SV °*prin*) *harīvas tad* (SV. *taṃ*) *īmahe* RV. SV. 'We wish that': 'we pray to [thee] here'

yenā samatsu sāsahah (SV °*hih*, MŚ °*hi*) RV SV. VS ApŚ MŚ. The original *sāsahah* is a verb form, in SV. it becomes an adjective epithet of the subject. 'whereby (thou shalt be) conquering in battles'. In MŚ this adjective is made to go with the preceding *manas*.

brahmādhigupīah (PG *brahmābhi*°, MG. *brahmābhigūrtam*) *svārā kṣarāṇi* (PG *surakṣitah syām*, MG *svārākṣānah*, most mss *svārarakṣānah*) *svāhā* (MG omits) AG PG MG In MG. the first word is attracted into agreement with the preceding neuters (*bhūtam bhaviṣyad uta bhadram astu me*), in the others it goes with the 1st person subject

dhr̥ṣānam (AV. °*no*, but Whitney translates °*nam*; AA *dādhṣāṇam*) *dhr̥ṣitam* (AV. °*taḥ*, but Whitney translates °*taṃ*) *śavah* AV. AA. ŚŚ† The masc forms, if accepted, would apply to Indra, the subject of the preceding *pāda*, instead of to *śavah* The passage is very troublesome

§843. In the next (cf. §15), the 'epithet' is in one variant made an independent word, *amṛto* modifies *panthā(h)*, but MS. uses *amṛtam* as an independent noun, 'nectar':

prānasya panthā amṛto (MS °*taṃ*) *grahābhyām* VS. MS KS TB

§844. Transfer of epithet, feminine and neuter:

upasthāsānām mitravat astv ojah TS MS AŚ : *upasthāsā mitratatidam ojah* KS In KS *mitra*° agrees with *āsā*, in the others with *ojah*. *tebhī mā*, (ApŚ *tābhī no*, ApMB *tābhīḥ tvā*) *devah savitā punātu* MS. ApŚ ApMB Preceded by *śatam pavitrā vīatā hy* (MS. *vīatāny*) *āsu* (sc *apsu*) The pronoun refers to *pavitrā* in MS, in the others to *āsu* (*apsu*)

§845. The next may perhaps be classified as showing an original 'epithet' made into an independent word (§15); but the reconstruction of the secondary ApMB is very sweeping It means 'shine thou for my foot-water (*padya*, neut)'. In the original, *padyā* is used as an epithet of the noun Virāj:

mayi dohaḥ padyāyā virājah (MG. adds *kalpatām*) AG. HG MG : *mayi padyāyā virājo dohaḥ* ŚG ŚŚ PG. : *mama padyāyā vi rāja* ApMB.

12. Phrase inflection

§846. In many cases variation in gender accompanies and signalizes the adaptation of old material to a new context. Sometimes several *pādas*, or even an entire verse, is thus readapted. For example, the *Rigveda* itself contains a verse which is used twice, once in a woman's charm against feminine rivals, and once in a man's charm for dominion and victory. The two verses are practically identical thruout, but the subject is feminine in one case, masculine in the other. Hence the variants:

asapatnā (RV. also °*nah*) *kilābhuvam* (ApMB. °*bhavam*) RV. ApMB ; followed immediately in both RV and ApMB by:

asapatnaḥ sapatnahā RV AV : *asapatnā sapatnaghñi* RV. ApMB.

§847. Such a variation may properly be called a *vikāra* in the technical sense. Many of the variants here included are nothing but technical *vikāras* or *ūhas*; often they appear in the same passage, modulated according to different nouns, as in the following, where the AV. in a single hymn applies the epithets once to *mitrāvaruṇau*, masc., and once to (*dyauh* and) *prthivī*, fem. :

jarāmṛtyum kṛṇutām samvidānau (and °*ne*) AV. (both).

§848. We find the following variants of this sort; first some in which all three genders appear:

vānaspatyo 'sī PB. ApŚ MŚ AG : *vānaspatyam asī* KS : *vānaspatyūsi* MS. ApŚ MŚ

jāgataṁ asī MS TA. ApŚ : *jāgatāsi* MS. : *jāgato* 'sī MS. MŚ. Also *gāyatram asī*, *gāyatro* 'sī, *gāyatro asī*, *traiśtubho* 'sī, °*bham asī* *salakṣmā* (MS. KS °*ma*) *yad viśurūpā* (VS MS. KS ŚB. °*pam*) *bhavāti* (MS KS. *babhūva*) RV. AV. VS MS KS. ŚB : *viśurūpā yat salakṣmāno bhavatha* TS See §727.

§849. Between masculine and feminine, besides those just quoted, occur:

trpto 'ham MS. KS. MŚ. : *trptāham* (v. 1 *trpto* 'ham) MŚ In the last the words are spoken by the *patnī*; it is a simple *ūha* of the other, recollection of which is responsible for the v 1 with masc *tāste* (TS. MŚ *te nah*) *kṛṇvantu bheṣajam* RV. AV. TS MŚ PG Different contexts; perhaps not true variants.

agnim kulāyam abhisamviśantīḥ (ApŚ °*vasānāḥ*) MS ApŚ : *agnim grhapatīm abhisamvasānāḥ* TB ApŚ The entire verse is repeated, with subjects respectively *prajāḥ* and *paśavaḥ*

aido me bhagavo 'januṣṭhā maitrāvarunah MS. *aidi me bhagavaty' aja-niṣṭhā maitrāvarunī* MS. Ūhas, followed by the respective directions: *iti pumānsam jālam abhimantrayeta*, and *iti striyam jālam abhi°*. In the same passages the next four:

citrā citram (and *citrām*) *asūl* MS,
citrāś citrā (and *°rān*) *asuvan* MŚ,
punyā punyam (MS * *punyām*) *asūl* MS MŚ,
punyāh punyā (and *°yān*) *asuvan* MŚ.

jyotiṣ viśvasmai bhuvanāya kṛvatī (and *kṛvan*) RV. (both). To Uṣas and Savitar respectively.

tam (KS * *tām*) *agne hedah pari te vṛnaktu* VS TS MS KS (both) ŚB. To Agni and *māyā*; in adjoining stanzas in KS., the others also have both stanzas but with a different pāda instead of *tām*. KS. has allowed one stanza to influence the other

tasya te bhaktwānsah syāma (MS. KS *bhaktwāno bhūyāśma*) AV. MS. KS.: *tasya te vayam bhūyṣṭhabhājo bhūyāśma* ApŚ : *tasyās te bhak-ṣwānah syāma* (MS KS ApŚ †* *bhaktwāno bhūyāśma*, AŚ *bhāgam aśmahī*) MS KS TB ApŚ (b1s)-AŚ. Different contexts
tāns te paridādāmy aham ApŚ. *tām te paridādāmy aham* (TA. *°dadāmi*) TA ApŚ

trir ā divo vidathe patyamānah (and *°mānāh*) RV. (both)
tvaṣṭrīmantas (MS MŚ *tvaṣṭri°*, ApŚ *tvaṣṭu°*) *tvā sapema* VS. MS. KS. ŚB. ApŚ : *tvaṣṭrīmatī* (TS ApŚ *tvaṣṭi°*, so also TA Poona ed with v. 1 *tvaṣṭri°*) *te sapeya* TS TA. ApŚ. The fem subject is the patnī, see §725

pari tmanā viśurūpo jṃgāsi (and *°rūpā jṃgāti*) RV (both).
viśvaṣ devair anumātā (KS TA *°tam*) *marudbhīh* AV. VS TS. MS. KS. ŚB. TA. Different context in TA ; on KS see §817.

indrāya somam suṣutam bharantaḥ (and *°tāh*) RV. (both)
aśmeva tvam sthūrā (Ppp MG ApMB * HG † *[1. 4 1b] *sthūro*) *bhava* Ppp (for AV *aśmā bhavatu te tanūh*) AG ŚG. SMB PG ApMB. HG. MG. The fem to the bride, the masc in different context to a boy

pari dhātā dhātā no varcasemam AV.: *pari dhātā dhātā vāsasainām* (HG. ApMB *°nam*) SMB HG ApMB As prec.

śatāyusaḥ (SMB. *°ṣīm*) *kṛṇuta dūrgham āyuh* SMB. ApMB HG. As prec.
āyusmatīdam pari dhātva vāsah AV. SMB. PG MG : *āyusmann idam* MG.: *āyusmān idam* ApMB. HG. As prec.

upahūto 'yam yajamānah () TS MS ŚB TB AŚ. ŚŚ. ApŚ. *upa-hūteyam yajamānā* TB. The whole of the second passage in TB. is a vikāra of the other. It contains the next six.

- divye dhāmann* (°many) *upahūlah* (TB * °hūlā) TS MS TB *
ullarasyām devayajyāyām upahūlah (TB. * °lā) TS ŚB TB.
tasminn upahūlah (TB * °lā) MS TB. AŚ ŚŚ.
upahūto bhūyasi haviṣkarane (haviṣk°) MS. AŚ ŚŚ : *bhūyasi haviṣkarana*
upahūlah (TB * °lā) TS † 2 6 7. 5, TB (bis) ŚB
viśvasya priyasyopahūlasypahūlah (and °lā) TB (both)
viśvam asya (TB * asyāh) *priyam upahūlam* TS TB (both)
ṛṣāsi ṛṣṇyātan (Kauś °lati) AV † Kauś † Different contexts, tho
 both in rites for virile power; AV. addresses the man concerned,
 Kauś. the magic herb .
irām rahanto (ApMB *rahato*, MG *rahanti*) *ghṛtam ukṣamānāh* AŚ ApŚ
 AG ŚG. ApMB. MG : *irām rahantah śumanasyamānāh* HG. See
 §739.
iśānam vāryāṇām RV. AV. SV. TS. MS KS JB.: *iśānā* (sc āpah)
vāryānām RV. AV. MS TB. TA.
mayi puṣṭim (AV *puṣṭam*) †*puṣṭipatir* (AV. *puṣṭa*°) *dadhātu* (AG
 †*dadātu*) AV. MS KS. TAA MahānU. ApŚ AG SMB . *mayi*
puṣṭim puṣṭipatnī dadhātu KS The latter in a different context
yalamānā (and °no) *raśmibhiḥ sūryasya* RV (both)
rākāyā aham devayajyayā prajāvān (and °vatī) *bhūyāsam* ApŚ. (both)
 Spoken by the yajamāna and his wife respectively, in adjoining
 passages In the same the following:
sinivālyā aham devayajyayā paśumān (°matī) *bhūyāsam*, and
kuvā aham devayajyayā puṣṭimān paśumān (*puṣṭimatī paśumatī*) *bhū*°.
rodena kṛṇvatir (°vaty, °vanto) *agham* AV. (ter)
viśūcīm (and *viśvañcam*) *vi vṛhāmasi* AV. (both)
śivah śagmo bhavāsi nah TB ApŚ . *śivā ca me śagmā caidhi* TB ApŚ
samvalsarasya śaṣṭhah (TS. * KS * *śaṣṭhi*) TS KSA Both in a series
 of formulas, with the masculines different parts (*avayava*, m) of
 the shoulder are offered; with the fems various ribs (*vañkri*)
vasūni cārur (SMB *cārye*, ApMB *cāryo*, v. 1 *cāyyo*, HG. *cāyyo*) *vi bhajāsi*
(bhrjāsi, bhajā sa) jīvan AV. SMB HG. ApMB. See §334
sa calārārasam (and *sā calārthārasam*) *viṣam* AV. (both)
sa jīva śaradaḥ śalam ŚB BṛhU. KBV AG SMB. PG. ApMB HG
 MG N Mbh : *sā jīva śaradaḥ śalam* ApMB. An ūha
samjagmāno abibhyuṣā RV. AV. SV. N.: *samjagmānā abibhyuṣṭi* (MS
avirhulāh) AV. MS.
sa (and *sā*) *no viśvā atī dvīṣah* RV. (both)
sā (HG. *sa*) *mām ā viśatād iha* (MG *viśatām ihaiva*) ApMB. HG. MG ,
 and RVKh Scheftelowitz 10 151 3d

sa (and sā) no dohatām suvīryam (MŚ suvīram) TB ApŚ MŚ (both in all texts) Ūhas, in same passages
sumṛdīkām abhiṣṭaye RV. TS MS : *sumṛdīkām abhi*° RV. VS VSK. TS. MS. KS. ŚB.

yasmād bhūtā (bhūto) nīśidasi MŚ (both)

yantā rāṭ TS KSA. TB : *yantrī rāṭ* VS TS MS. KS ŚB. ApŚ. MŚ.

And, in same passages:

yanlāsi yamanah VS. TS KS KSA ŚB TB : *yantry asi yamanī* (TS. *yamatrī*) VS TS MS. KS ŚB MŚ

sa (AV. sã) *nah śarma trwarūtham vi yansat* (AV *ni yachāt*) RV. AV. MS KS. TB. ApŚ

ūrdhwām enām (VS * ŚB. * LŚ * *ūrdhwam enam*) *uc chrayatāt* (*chrāpaya*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB. * TB AŚ ŚŚ Vait LŚ * ApŚ. In same passages the next:

athāsya (TS. MS TB. °syā, KSA *adhāsya*, VS * LŚ. * *athāsya*) *madhyam edhatām* (*edhatu*, *ejatu*, *ejati*) VS * TS MS KSA ŚB TB AŚ ŚŚ. Vait. LŚ *

ut tīṣṭha (VS ŚB KŚ. *utthāya*) *brhatī* (TA *brhan*) *bhava* VS. TS MS. KS ŚB. TA MŚ Followed by:

ūrdhwā (TA. °vas, VS ŚB *ud u*) *tīṣṭha dhruvā* (TA °vas) *tvam* VS TS. MS KS. ŚB. TA.

yamena tvam yamyā samvidānā (TA * °uah) VS TS † MS. KS. † ŚB. TA. (bis). The fem of all but TA applies to Nirṛti In the two TA. passages, which are different from the other contexts, a dead man is addressed; the form should according to the sense be masc both times Yet once TA reads *samvidānottamam* (combining with *uttamam*, first word of the next pāda); for which the comm says *samvidānā samvidāna aikamatyam prāptah* Here we must either understand *sāmvidānah* with 'double sandhi', or a mechanical reminiscence of the (more original) feminine form found in the other texts.

amṛtā martyebhyah RV.: *amṛtaṁ martyēbhyah* TB ApŚ

soruh satī na nīvartate TA : *uruh san na nīvartate* TA. Ūhas, in adjoining passages

anīśitāsi sapatnakṣit VS . *anīśitāh* (KS ApŚ add *sitha*) *sapatnakṣayanāh* MS KS ApŚ : *anīśito* 'sī *sapatnakṣit* VS ŚB.

bhavaṭi bhikṣām dehi Kauś : *bhavān bhikṣām dadātu* AG

aham vo asmi sakhyāya śevah MS *yuṣmākam sakhye aham asmi śevā* AV. The next is in the same passage:

uttham śreyo manyamānedam āgamam AV : *idam śreyo manyamāno vā āgām* MS.

vatsam gāyatrīm anu tā ihūguh AV . *gāyatram vatsam anu tās ta āguh* TB
gāyatram chando anu samrabhadvam MS : *gāyatrīm chandānsy anu*
samrabhantām KS ApŚ (Add to VV 1 §337) The latter means
 'the *gāyatrī* (and the other) meters.'

pāvamūnasya (TS KS *pāvamūnena*) *tvā stomena gāyatrasya* (KS °*tryā*)
varitanyā TS MS KS. See §586.

pāvamūnyah (ŚG °*nāh*) AG ŚG Sc. *trpyantu* 'The *pāvamūni* hymns:
 the (ṛṣis) of the p hymns'

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